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AN

HISTORICAL REVIEW

OF THE

STATE OF IRELAND,

FROM THE

INVASION OF THAT COUNTRY UNDER HENRY II.

TO ITS

UNION WITH GREAT BRITAIN

ON THE FIRST OF JANUARY 1801.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

BY FRANCIS PLOWDEN, Esq.

VOL. III.

Pauci prudentiâ honesta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis discernunt: plures aliorum eventis docentur. TAC. 4. *Ann.* 33.

Few are qualified by their own reflection to mark the boundaries between vice and virtue. To separate the useful from that which leads to destruction is not the talent of every man. The example of others is the school of wisdom. MURPHY'S *Trans.* Vol. i. p. 273.

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AN

HISTORICAL REVIEW

OF THE

STATE OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE IRISH LEGISLATIVE INDEPENDENCE IN THE YEAR 1782 *TO THE BREAKING OUT OF THE REBELLION IN THE YEAR* 1798.

WE have traced Ireland through centuries of calamity and oppression in all the variety of irritation, despondency, moderation, firmness, resentment, and submissiveness, at last settled in the enjoyment of a free and independent constitution, by the liberal, manly, and constitutional conduct of an administration, which though short-lived has left this country a practical lesson, that the principles, which have carried a minority into power are not always abandoned by them, when they have acquired it. To the Rockingham administration did Ireland owe her independence in 1782. It remains for us to consider the use made of it by that country. The appointment to the vice-regency of Ireland had been ever considered as a principal part of the support and strength of the British administration. Upon this ground was the Earl Temple appointed under the administration of Earl Shelburne. He had intermarried with the daughter of Earl Nugent, upon whom her father had on the marriage settled the bulk of his large domains in Ireland. Lord Nugent had on every occasion, both in public and private, proved himself a sincere and warm lover of his country: the relative gratitude of the Irish to his son-in-law, the character and accomplishments of the new viceroy, and the virtues of his amiable consort,

had ensured him a most cordial welcome and an anticipated earnest of his zealous efforts for the happiness and prosperity of the Irish people. He succeeded the Duke of Portland on the 15th of September, 1782, and was received with public expressions of joy and satisfaction.

During the short period of Lord Temple's continuance in the government of that kingdom, his chief attention appears to have been directed to the establishment of a system of œconomy throughout the different departments; a reformation supereminently necessary. The short-lived administration of Lord Shelburne, of which Lord Temple was no inconsiderable support, determined his vice-regency on the 3d of June, 1783. He was in power long enough to have brought upon himself much invidious opposition, from several secondary dependants upon the Castle, who dreaded nothing so much as a scrutiny into the system of their abuses; and not long enough for the nation to have felt the happy effects of so laudable an investigation. His lordship's indefatigable assiduity and perseverance in scrutinizing the accounts, minutiæ and details of office were wholly unprecedented. It was during the Rockingham administration, that the conclusion was properly put to the contest between Great Britain and the American colonies; for in February, 1782, the British House of Commons came to the following resolution:

"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, most "humbly to represent to his majesty, that the further prose- "cution of offensive war on the continent of North America, "for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience "by force, will be the means of weakening the efforts of this "country against her European enemies; tends, under the pre- "sent circumstances, dangerously to increase the mutual enmi- "ty so fatal to the interests both of Great Britain and America, "and, by preventing an happy reconciliation with that country, "to frustrate the earnest desire graciously expressed by his ma- "jesty to restore the blessings of public tranquillity."*

Measures having been accordingly adopted for terminating the unfortunate contest, the peace was concluded by Lord Shel-

* To which address his majesty returned this answer:

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

"There are no objects nearer to my heart than the ease, "happiness, and prosperity of my people.

"You may be assured that, in pursuance to your advice, I shall take such "measures as shall appear to me to be most conducive to the restoration of "harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies, so essential to the "prosperity of both parties; and that my efforts shall be directed in the most "effectual manner against our European enemies, till such peace can be ob- "tained, as shall be consistent with the interests and permanent welfare of my "kingdoms."

burne's administration; which could not fail to infuse joy into the Irish nation, and render them more reconciled to the sudden change of that administration, through which they had obtained their independence, in which Lord Shelburne bore a considerable part.

The parliament of Ireland was not then sitting: but it has been observed, that the questions of simple repeal and positive declaration or renunciation of rights was kept up by the armed bodies of the volunteers with a warmer spirit of difference, than they had been within the walls of parliament. And as these differences could not be concealed from the British parliament, it behoves us to consider, how they were induced to act upon them. On the 19th of December, 1782, in the British House of Commons, Colonel Fitzpatrick begged to call the attention of government to the circumstance, which had given some alarm to the people of Ireland, the decision of an Irish cause in the court of King's Bench in England. He wished just to beg that ministers would, before the recess, give some intimation of what they intended to do in that question.

Mr. Secretary Townshend assured the honourable gentleman, that government had spent many hours in the business of Ireland, and they had the strongest dispositions to do every thing in their power to confirm the happy settlement, which had taken place last session. He explained the late decision to have arisen from a circumstance, which could not be provided against, viz. that the cause had been in the court for eighteen months, and the judges were bound to decide upon it.

Colonel Fitzpatrick said, that he was only anxious, that satisfaction should be given to the Irish nation on this ground, and that they should learn, before the recess, that this country was well disposed to give every necessary satisfaction. This was particularly to be wished, because pains had been taken to spread ideas, that what had been done was not sufficient for the security of Ireland; and on the score of this decision surmises had been thrown out against the friends of order and reason, who were convinced of the rectitude of the intentions of Britain. He understood, that there were several other causes in the court of King's Bench.

Mr. Secretary Townshend assured him there were not. Though there were two appeals before the House of Lords, which had also been there before the act of last session; but he understood, that they would be removed, and pains had been taken to prevent any more appeals from being brought to England.

The Attorney General explained the reason of the late decision very clearly, and said it was impossible for the noble lord (Mansfield) at the head of that court, who was the pride and

ornament of human nature, to prevent the decision. He said there were no more Irish causes, and it was now impossible, that there should be any more.

Mr. Fox declared, that the intentions of those ministers, who had sent the repeal of the declaratory law, were thereby to make a complete, absolute, and perpetual surrender of the British legislative and judicial supremacy over Ireland. This was the intention of government; and it was the clear conviction both of ministers and of the gentlemen of Ireland, who interested themselves in the business, that the manner in which this was done was the best possible way, and the least liable to exception. Since that had been done, opinions had been propagated, that a renunciation was better than a repeal. A renunciation was then thought of; but it was the opinion of the gentlemen, that if Britain did it by a renunciation of the right, it would be offensive to Ireland, because thereby we should have declared, that we possessed the right. Again, a renunciation, stating it to be a right, which we never legally possessed, was what England would not be brought to agree to, and therefore that plan pursued was preferred to every other: it was clearly understood to be a complete surrender, and was received with cordiality by those gentlemen, whom he would pronounce to be the best and truest friends to Ireland.

*On the next day Mr. William Grenville (secretary to his brother, the lord lieutenant of Ireland) said, he lamented, that he had not been present at a conversation, which he understood had taken place the preceding night, relative to Ireland; if he had been present, he would have informed the house, that the late decision in the King's Bench in England, which had occasioned much jealousy in Ireland, had been taken notice of immediately by the lord lieutenant, who had not lost a moment to remonstrate on that subject with his majesty's ministers, and to make known to them the effect it had produced in the minds of the people of Ireland; and he must do ministers the justice to say, he had found them very well disposed to remove the ground of jealousy; it was necessary also, that he should do justice to the lord lieutenant, by declaring, that there was not a man in either kingdom, more decidedly of opinion than his excellency was, that the faith of England was pledged to Ireland for the truth of this proposition, that England had fully and completely renounced all legislative and judicial jurisdiction; and that nothing could be more conducive to the harmony and interests of both kingdoms, than that this national faith should be preserved inviolate. He said, he intended to move for a call of the house at an earlier day than the 22d of next month: how-

* 9 Parl. Debates, p. 121.

ever, he hoped, that gentlemen would be in town before that day; in that hope he gave notice, that a motion would be made in the house relative to Ireland.

Mr. Secretary Townshend complained, that what he had said in the conversation last night on the subject of Ireland, had been grossly misrepresented in some publications; for though he had said, that "great pains had been taken to prevent any more appeals being brought from Ireland," yet he was represented to have said just the very contrary: it was not of much importance, he observed, what he, as an individual member of the house, might have said; but when it might be supposed, that he was speaking the sentiments of his majesty's ministers, it was of great consequence, that he should not be misrepresented.

Lord Beauchamp said, that as a friend of both kingdoms, his only object was to secure a lasting harmony between them; if he should be able to root out every remains of jealousy, his great object would be accomplished, and he would sit down the happiest of men. As to the writs of error to England, he knew they could in future be of no effect; for as a law had passed in Ireland to prevent the judges of that kingdom to certify into England the record of the proceedings in any cause, so of course there was an end of appeals, as far as Ireland could put an end to them; but as an act of parliament of Ireland could not shut up a court of law in England, it was necessary that an English act should be passed for that purpose; for, until such an act should pass, he should hold it to be sound law, that whatever person feels, or thinks himself aggrieved by a decision of a court of law in Ireland, may apply to the King's Bench in England, which court is bounden to entertain his cause, though it be at present impossible that the judges of that court could give redress in such a case, as every decision in England affecting a cause, that originated in and belonged to Ireland, made since the passing of the Irish act alluded to, must of course be null and void. He appealed then to the house, if it would not be proper to pass a law, which should direct the courts not to entertain Irish causes, their decisions on which must necessarily be ineffectual.

On the 22d of January, 1783,* Mr. Secretary Townshend brought forward the business of Ireland before the House of Commons, with an explicit avowal, that the principle, upon which the parliament had acted last session, was to give Ireland every satisfaction, that justice demanded, and that was consistent with the dignity of Great Britain. The mode, that had been adopted to convey that satisfaction, might not have been

* 9 Parl. Debates, p. 138.

such as to prevent all cavil, and to take away every pretext from those, who might have a greater wish for embroiling, than for settling public affairs. Ireland did not desire, and would not accept of a grant of rights from Great Britain; and at the same time her good sense, and her regard for this country, would not suffer her to propose or demand what England would not do, what she could not do, without recording her own shame, namely, to declare, that for centuries she had usurped the rights of Ireland. As for himself, nothing was farther from his intention, than to impeach the mode of proceeding of the administration, under whose direction the Irish business had been conducted last year; he believed that sincerity and wisdom had guided their steps; but some untoward circumstances had intervened, to prevent them from producing all the good effect, that might have been expected from them, particularly a late decision in the court of King's Bench here, which had excited jealousies in the breasts even of the best intentioned men in Ireland. In what he had just said, Mr. Secretary declared, nothing could be farther from his meaning, than in any, the most distant manner, even to reflect on the conduct of the judges of the court King's Bench, with regard to their determination of the writ of error. He was perfectly conscious, that they were bounden to act as they had done; that it was not in their own power legally to have acted otherwise; and, that in reality, what they had done, did not affect the question between the two countries. Ireland claimed a sole and exclusive exercise of judicature, as well as of legislation; having given up the legislation, the judicature was certainly not worth contending for; and therefore, were there not other great and weighty reasons of policy and justice in the case, he should think England ought, knowing what the wish of Ireland was, to meet it cheerfully and readily. He wished that his motion might pass unanimously, that the people of Ireland might see that England meant fairly, when she set out to remove the causes of their jealousies and discontents. He then moved for leave to bring in a bill "*For re-*
"*moving and preventing all doubts which have arisen, or may*
"*arise, concerning the exclusive rights of the parliament and*
"*courts of Ireland in matters of legislation and judicature, and*
"*for preventing any writ of error, or appeal, from any of his*
"*majesty's courts in that kingdom, from being received, heard,*
"*and adjudged, in any of his majesty's courts in the kingdom of*
"*Great Britain.*"

Mr. W. Grenville (Secretary to Lord Temple) seconded the motion; he was happy to find that government had so early, and of their own accord, brought forth the business; for though he would not say how jealousies had been excited in Ireland, there was no doubt, but jealousies did exist there; and that the late

transaction in the court of King's Bench here, had in no small degree contributed to spread them wider. The necessity of taking some steps that should amount to such a prevention, struck him so forcibly, that he could not but rejoice exceedingly at what he had heard that day; at the same time he meant not to suggest the smallest impeachment of the measures of government last session, or of the intention of those gentlemen, who had managed the business on the part of Ireland.

Mr. Eden rose next. He said, that when Mr. Fox's propositions were discussed on the 17th of May last, he had ventured to declare his belief, that those propositions would be satisfactory to Ireland, and his opinion, that they ought to be satisfactory. He had not yet seen any reason to believe he had erred in either idea: he added, that he was far from meaning to express or convey censure, either on the ingenuity of the individuals, who had raised the doubt, or of the jealous sensibility of the people, who had adopted it. A doubt originated by the noble lord, forcibly stated in Ireland by the legal precision of Mr. Walshe, supported by the admirable and unwearied abilities of Mr. Flood, and countenanced by the manly firmness and eminent integrity of the Recorder of Dublin, was certainly not to be treated otherwise, than with respect. He never had admitted, nor would admit, that Ireland owed her acquisitions to the battalions of her volunteers, farther than as the volunteers were understood to express the general sense of the nation. His deference in these matters had been paid, not to their English firelocks, but to their Irish unanimity; he would have paid at least an equal deference to as many farmers or manufacturers, with the implements of their industry in their hands. Ireland ought then to found and rest her security, which she safely might, on the basis of national wisdom, national affection and national faith.

Colonel Fitzpatrick said, there was one expression, which he found fault with, and that was, that there were doubts and jealousies subsisting in the kingdom of Ireland. He knew of no such doubts and jealousies, and that house knew of none. There had not come to their knowledge, by any petition, memorial, or representation whatever, any account of these jealousies. If they noticed all rumours of reports, they would never know where to stop; for there would always start up some individuals, who would, by weak pretexts, and under various masks, endeavour to raise clamours as distinct from the voice of the nation, as the purpose, which they had in view, was distinct from the true interests of their country. The minds of men in Ireland had been, as it were, fermented and worked up into a kind of political fever; and he that expected that they would subside altogether in an instant, and grow every where perfectly calm and tempe-

rate, must be equally unacquainted with the state, humours, and sensations of the body politic, and the body natural. It was naturally to be imagined, that there would be in that country, as there must be in all countries, certain restless spirits, to whom the return of peace and order must be unfavourable. That such men should be ready to propagate stories and suspicions, was not strange; and it was no ways to be wondered at, if, by their address and cunning, they should bring over a certain set of men to listen to them. But was a wise and prudent government to call such clamours the voice of the nation? Certainly not; and he therefore wished that on the present occasion, there had not been any mention made of the jealousies of the Irish nation.

Lord Beauchamp said, that there were jealousies in Ireland, was not to be doubted: that there were grounds for these jealousies, was an incontrovertible proposition*; that the writ of error from Ireland, returnable into the King's Bench of England, was coeval with the constitution of Ireland; it was impossible, therefore, that the mere repeal of the 6th of George I. could take this writ away: now, if it did not take it away, with what truth in argument could the right honourable gentleman say, that this country had fully and completely surrendered every legislative, every judicial jurisdiction over Ireland. But the right honourable member would say, "it was only of the "appellant jurisdiction of the House of Lords that the Irish "complained." To what did a writ of error brought into the King's Bench here ultimately tend? Why, to establish that very appellant jurisdiction of the British House of Lords, of which the Irish had complained; for no man could doubt but the party, who, in the appeal to the King's Bench, should think himself aggrieved, was by law entitled to take out a writ of error returnable in parliament; and thus the English lords come once more into possession of that very judicial jurisdiction, which the right honourable gentleman would have the Irish erroneously believe had been fully surrendered up to them. His lordship took up the other branch of jurisdiction, the legislative; and he maintained, that the Irish had been as much deceived in this point as in the former; for though it were said, and erroneously said, that the rights of England over Ireland in matters

* Colonel Fitzpatrick, on this occasion, read a paragraph out of a letter published by Lord Beauchamp to the Belfast volunteers, in which he had said, *if the people acquiesce in what has been done, my lips are for ever closed on the subject.* He contended, the people had acquiesced; and was therefore surprised to find the noble lord running a race with the minister, who should first open his lips. On the very next day, (23d of January, 1783) Mr. Secretary Townshend announced to the house the signing of the preliminaries of peace between Great Britain, France, and Spain; and that a cessation of hostilities with the United States of Holland had been agreed upon.

of legislation, had been surrendered, scarcely three weeks had passed, when the English parliament legislated for Ireland, by passing an act prohibiting the exportation of blocks used in callico printing; in this act, Ireland was expressly named, notwithstanding the very recent repeal of the 6th of George I. Had not the Irish a just cause for being alarmed at this breach of faith with them? But was this the only instance of attempting to legislate for Ireland? No: for that kingdom was expressly named in the act which opened the British ports for the importation of sugars, &c. the produce of St. Kitts, and other late British islands in the West-Indies. Surely, an attempt to open the ports of a kingdom, was one of the highest acts of sovereign power; and yet this power the British parliament had assumed, just after they had, in the opinion of the right honourable gentleman, surrendered all legislative authority over Ireland. Was it unnatural then, that jealousies should subsist in that country? He was very willing to allow, that in these cases the word Ireland had slipped in by oversight, and that it had passed the house through that indifference and inattention, which but too strongly prevailed. He did not doubt the sincerity of their intentions, but the matter might naturally excite disturbance in Ireland. And if none of all this had been done, a transaction had taken place at the close of the last session, which, of itself, might well excite jealousies, and keep them alive; for a noble lord in the upper house had read in his place a bill, which he said he would at another period move for leave to bring in, which bill proposed to resume and maintain the right of England to legislate externally for Ireland. Were the people of that country to be the sport and caprice of every man? Were they to have no other tenure, no other security for their rights, than the construction of law, than the mere repeal of a declaratory act? Was it not, therefore, wise and prudent in the ministers to avail themselves of the present circumstance, when one parliament was sitting and the other not, to take such steps as would effectually stifle all jealousy, and draw from the parliament of Ireland, at their next meeting, addresses of affection, of kindness, of generosity, instead of gloomy and resentful remonstrances.

Colonel Fitzpatrick and Mr. Fox would not object to the Secretary's motion, although they saw no necessity for the bill; it was therefore moved for and carried unanimously.

In the discussion of the preliminary articles of peace, was formed the memorable coalition between Lord North and Mr. Fox. Several of the friends of both these gentlemen vehemently reprobated the terms of Lord Shelburne's peace. These gentlemen had, indeed, violently opposed each other on the question

of the American war: but that being now set to rest, such of the former opponents as supported, or opposed rather measures than men, found no longer any grounds for opposing each other, and therefore united into one body for the common good of their country. On the 22d of February, the coalesced party brought all their forces to bear upon the ministry; and after a very long and heated debate, they outvoted the minister by 17 upon the following question:*...." That the concessions made " to the adversaries of Great Britain, by the provisional treaty " and preliminary articles, are greater than they were entitled to, " either from the actual situation of their respective possessions, " or from their comparative strength." In consequence of this defeat of the minister, on the 25th of February, 1782, the Secretary of State moved, " That the house, at its rising, should " adjourn to Friday next:" it was not unknown to gentlemen, that arrangements were making for a new administration; and it would be but proper that the house should adjourn over a few days, in order to afford time for completing the arrangements.

Earl Nugent opposed it; he said, that a bill of the greatest importance relative to Ireland, was to be referred to a committee of the whole house on the morrow; and gentlemen must see the impropriety of putting off a business so materially affecting such a great part of the empire, merely that ministerial arrangements might be made, when the bill had nothing to do with ministers: it was the great work of the people of England.

The lord Advocate declared himself a friend to the adjournment, for the very reason, that moved the noble lord to oppose it: the bill to which he alluded was of too great a magnitude to

* 9 Parl. Debates, p. 369. The house sat till past three in the morning; the ayes were 207, the noes 190. In consequence of this censure passed on the peace by the House of Commons, the Earl of Shelburne quitted his office of first commissioner of the treasury; and the chancellor of the exchequer declared publicly in the house, that he only held his place till a successor should be appointed to fill it. A ministerial interregnum ensued, which lasted till the beginning of April; during which time the kingdom remained in a state of great disorder, without any responsible government at home, the finances neglected, the military establishments unreduced, and the negociations with foreign powers, which the critical conjuncture of affairs rendered peculiarly important, entirely at a stand.

Various causes were assigned for the extraordinary delay in the appointment of a new administration. Those who wished to shift all blame from the court, alleged, that the chief obstacle arose from the mutual jealousy, which still subsisted between the new allied parties, and the difficulties they found in adjusting their several pretensions. Others have supposed, that the interval was employed in private intrigues with the individuals of different parties, and in an attempt to form an administration independent of the great leading connections. Others again did not hesitate to assert, that on the failure of this attempt, the influence possessed by the lord high chancellor, whose dismission was a point insisted on by the coalition, was the principal arrangement. Such were the public conversations at the time, and so matters were frequently alluded to in the debates in parliament.

be agitated during what he might call a ministerial interregnum; it was a bill that ought to have the marked countenance and support of administration.

Earl Nugent replied, that there was nothing farther from his wish than that the bill should be carried through parliament by ministerial influence; nothing could do more honour to this nation, or give more satisfaction to Ireland, than that the bill should originate, and be carried through in a conviction in the minds of the people of England, that the bill was founded in justice, policy, and equity: the people of Ireland could have but little reason to deem the bill a security to their constitution, if they should be by any means led to think that it had been carried by the influence of administration, against the wishes of the people: nothing could satisfy the people of Ireland, but the idea, that the people of England with one voice agreed to the passing of this bill, from a conviction that it was fit it should be passed, and without being biassed in their judgment by ministerial influence: it was not upon floating administrations, that stability could be founded; and therefore it was to the people of England, not to ministers, that Ireland appealed; and the people of England represented by that house, could alone give permanency to measures, they never could derive it from the insecure tenure of ministerial influence: ministers had nothing to do with the business; the people were concerned; and their representatives in that house might therefore proceed with the bill without giving themselves any trouble about ministers; he cared not who were, or who were not ministers; he was under no obligation either to those who were in, or to those, who, from report, he understood were likely to be their successors; the bill concerned the nation, and the representatives of the people, who were most intimately concerned in it, ought to proceed in their own business without waiting for ministerial arrangements, for if they did, an idea might go forth, which ought to be crushed, that the bill was to be supported by the influence of administration.

On the 2d of April, 1783, it was announced to the British parliament that a new* arrangement was formed; when Mr.

* The following is a List of the Coalition Administration.

The Duke of Portland, First Lord of the Treasury.
Lord North, and Mr. Fox, principal Secretaries of State.
Lord John Cavendish, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord Viscount Keppel, First Lord of the Admiralty.
Lord Viscount Stormont, President of the Council.
The Earl of Carlisle, Privy Seal.

The above seven persons to form the cabinet.

Lord Loughborough, Sir William Henry Ashhurst, and Sir Beaumont Hotham, Lords Commissioners for the custody of the great seal.

Pitt moved the order af the day on the American trade bill. Lord Sheffield violently opposed it as one of the most ill-managed and ill-considered bills ever brought before that house. In the course of his speech, he adverted to what he had said some few days before upon the subject of that bill's affecting Ireland.* That kingdom received as a right every advantage she had lately acquired, except the participation of the West-India monopoly; for that she was thankful, and in return passed the act, which lays the same duties as Britain on imported sugars, and other West-India articles, and lays prohibitory duties on similar articles from foreign islands. By this bill that monopoly would cease; deprived of the advantage, Ireland would think, that Britain had done away the consideration, which induced her to shut her ports against foreign sugars. The Irish act laying prohibitory duties was biennial, and would expire next Christmas; and it was not to be supposed under these circumstances she would continue it. Her redress would be to take foreign West-India goods, at least she would not think it necessary to charge her own consumption of sugars with higher duties, than were required from America. She would expect to have West-India goods on as good terms as the American

The Earl of Surrey, Frederic Montagu, Esq. and Sir Grey Cooper, Lords of the Treasury.

Hugh Pigot, Esq. Lord Viscount Dungannon, Hon. John Townshend, Sir John Lindsey, William Jolliffe, Esq. and Whitshed Keene, Esq. Lords of the Admiralty.

The Earl of Hertford, Lord Chamberlain.

The Earl of Dartmouth, Lord Steward of the Household.

Right Honourable Charles Greville, Treasurer of the Houschold.

Lord Viscount Townshend, Master General of the Ordnance.

John Courtenay, Esq. Surveyor General of the Ordnance.

Henry Strachey, Esq. Store-keeper of the Ordnance.

William Adam, Esq. Treasurer of the Ordnance.

Honourable Richard Fitzpatrick, Secretary at War.

Edmund Burke, Esq. Pay-master of the Forces.

Charles Townshend, Esq. Treasurer of the Navy.

The Earl of Cholmondely, Captain of the Yeomen of the Guards.

James Wallace, Esq. Attorney-General.

John Lee, Esq. Solicitor-general.

Lord Foley, Joint Post-Master General.

Richard Brindsley Sheridan, Esq. and Richard Burke, Esq. Secretaries to the Treasury.

Honourable Mr. St. John, and Honourable Colonel North, under Secretaries of State.

The Earl of Sandwich, Ranger and Keeper of St. James's Park and Hyde Park.

The Earl of Jersey, Captain of the band of Pensioners.

Lord Hinchinbrook, Master of the Buck Hounds.

The Earl of Mansfield, Speaker of the House of Lords.

The Earl of Northington, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Mr. Wyndham, Secretary of State for Ireland.

William Eden, Esq. Joint Vice-Treasurer of Ireland.

* 9 Parl. Debates, p. 594.

States, now become foreign. West-India planters should consider, whether a direct trade to the American States would recompense them for the loss of the Irish consumption; and parliament should consider what would be the state of smuggling from Ireland into this country, if Ireland should become the depôt for foreign West-India goods, or of our own, under low duties.

The Irish judicature bill, which had gone up and been once read in the lords, had been suspended in its progress from the moment the change in ministry had been spoken of; and Lord Thurlow publicly avowed in a conversation upon that bill's standing for the order of the day, that he had been the person, who advised the noble lord, who had moved the first reading of the bill, not to move the second, but to let the bill remain till his majesty's present ministers chose to take it up. His lordship further observed, that the bill then before the house had been concerted with the advice of the present lord lieutenant of Ireland; a noble lord, of whom both in private and in public he had heard sufficient in praise to convince him, that he was a man of great abilities, of great wisdom, and of great integrity. Advice coming from such a man, and it being considered what a great stake that noble lord had in both countries, too much attention could not certainly be paid to the noble lord's suggestions. For these reasons, he hoped, and most anxiously hoped, that the noble lord was not to be recalled, but was to remain where he was, and where he had conducted himself in his high capacity, in a manner that redounded so much to his own honour, at the same time that it was productive of infinite advantage to the interests of both kingdoms. His lordship reasoned upon this for a considerable time, and said, that if unfortunately the noble earl were to leave Ireland, and any body else were to be sent thither, it would become a noble Duke (of Portland) more particularly to inform the house in the fullest manner, how the present bill would suit that wisdom, which the administration of that day meant to pursue, that the house might judge of the propriety, practicability, and policy of the whole, before they darkly and blindly gave their sanction to one part only. Then the Earl of Mansfield put the question, "that the bill be read a second time "on Monday next, and the lords be summoned;" which was ordered accordingly; and on the 14th of April, 1783, Lord Aberdeen made a very long and able speech upon the bill then under the contemplation of the house: He had seen with infinite pleasure, that what Ireland had required of England, had been in all its extent acquiesced in by his majesty's ministers. He had seen an act of parliament no less offensive to the constitution of this country, than subversive of the right of Ireland, repealed and expunged from our Statute Books. But he had also seen,

that although this had been done at the instance and requisition of both houses of parliament in Ireland, Ireland was not satisfied with it; and seeing that, as the true friend to both countries, he endeavoured to draw that line of relation betwixt the two, which the interest of each seemed to call for and require, and in which he felt himself upholden, maintained, and supported by the constitution of England.

In considering the subject, two things occurred to his observation; one the right, which this country had exercised of internal legislation over Ireland; the other, the right, which this country possessed of external legislation over Ireland, so far as that legislation regarded the navigation and commerce of that kingdom. With respect to the first, the right of internal legislation, it was clear to him, that no right so manifestly in the teeth of the constitution of this country, however it had been exercised, could on principle be maintained; for as it was a fundamental principle of the constitution, that legislation and representation were inseparable, therefore inasmuch as Ireland was not represented in the British parliament, Ireland could not be subject to the legislature of the British parliament; but of the right of external legislation, so far as it respected the navigation and commerce of that kingdom, his opinion and judgment were the very reverse: that right being founded on the right to the dominion of the sea, was a common law right, a fundamental right coequal with the constitution of this country, he found it so laid down passim in all our common law books, as well as expressly declared in the statute of the 20th of Henry VI. chap. 9. to wit:

" The parliament of England cannot bind Ireland, as to their lands, for they have a parliament there; but they may bind them as to things transitory, as the shipping of wool, or merchandise, to the intent to carry it to another place beyond sea." An authority, which whilst it maintained the rights of external legislation *quoad* the commerce of Ireland, it defeated the right of internal legislation, for the reason given, namely, " for that " they have a parliament there."

He asked if the people of Ireland wished to remain subjects of the crown of England? If they did, the moment that bill passed, they were no longer so. For the subjects of the crown of England must be, and are, of continual necessity, under the legislative authority of this country. The crown itself is under the legislative authority of this country, and of course those, who are dependant upon this crown, so far as the constitution admits of it, must be so too. That they may be subjects of the king of England, is true, and so they will be; and so are the people of Hanover subjects of the king of England; but does

Ireland wish to be upon the footing of Hanover with this country? and yet the case must and will be so. Suppose an act of parliament were to pass, restraining the prerogative of the crown in any given instance with respect to Ireland, would not Ireland be bounden by that act of parliament? Must not Ireland submit to that act of parliament? For how could Ireland oppose or resist it but by an act of rebellion, if the people of Ireland be the subjects of the crown of England, and the crown of England be subject to the legislation of England? Do the people of Ireland wish to have seats in the British parliament? This bill incapacitates them from being members of the British legislature. It was by acts of parliament, that the right of sitting in the two houses of parliament was regulated; and the people of Ireland not being to be bounden by acts of parliament, they are in so much aliens, *quoad* their claim to this right. From the moment that act did pass, the Irish were no longer our fellow subjects. If that right be in us, that right is delegated to us, and no delegated right is, or can be in its nature transferable. This is sound constitutional doctrine, and not to be opposed; besides, at best this is but an act of parliament, and all acts of parliament are repealable; and then the right reverts to its fundamental source. Let the Irish remember, that the 6th of George I. has been repealed.

The Duke of Richmond said, that in many respects he agreed with the noble earl, and must do him the justice to say, he never heard a series of arguments better digested. His grace went over much of the old ground, and amongst other things their lordships would be pleased to consider, that not only in regard to peace and war, in regard to rivalship in commerce, in regard to ecclesiastical matters, the separation created by the present bill would be materially alarming to England. Suppose that England should have occasion to go to war, and Ireland should find herself disposed to remain at peace, should refuse to give aid, and furnish her quotas to the cause of the empire; suppose that in negociations for peace, the terms agreed on by the English ministers, should be objected to by the Irish; suppose that in regulations and treaties of commerce with foreign states the Irish should contend with the English, in these and a thousand other possible suppositions, was it possible that this total separation could be submitted to by the people of England? But there were other most important dangers to be apprehended. All these arguments powerfully bore upon the ultimate necessity of an incorporate union, without which the two kingdoms must be constantly exposed, to these monstrous anomalies and mischiefs in government. These were reasons that made it indispensably necessary for their lordships to enquire whether this was to be followed by any other measure, and whether the

present ministers had adopted it as a part of a system, upon which the mutual connection of the two countries was to be established. This was particularly necessary to be known, on account of the very unaccountable and opposite mixture of opinion and principle that existed in the cabinet at that time. It was impossible that he, or that any man could rationally trust to the measures of an administration, where the principles were so opposite and contradictory; one part of which he revered as much as he reprobated the other. The noble duke severely animadverted upon Lord North's conduct respecting Ireland, and endeavoured to prove, that the noble lord had been the cause of all the uneasiness and oppression felt and complained of by Ireland, and of her taking up arms to do herself justice, when she found the British parliament would do nothing for her. His Grace stated the frequent attempts made to relieve her trade in trifling particulars, all of which were defeated by the opposition of local interests. He mentioned the bill allowing her to import her own sugars, which he said was ultimately defeated by the interposition of Lord North, on a division of 64 to 58; he afterwards stated the declaration of a noble earl at that time at the head of his majesty's councils (Earl Gower) at the end of the session of 1779 (that the address then moved respecting Ireland by the Marquis of Rockingham, should not be opposed, if the censure of ministers were taken out) the accompanying promise, that something for the relief of Ireland should be thought of against the next session, and the noble earl's subsequent resignation of his office, and his informing the house when parliament met again, that his reason for having quitted his majesty's councils was, "because the promise "he had ventured to make to their lordships had not been "fulfilled, and nothing had been done for Ireland." His Grace dwelt on these particulars for some time, and then took the liberty of asking from the noble duke, who was at the head of the new administration, not what was to be his system, but whether or not it were the design of the cabinet to follow up this bill with others; and whether this were only a part, or the whole of their system with regard to the settlement of the relative situation of the two kingdoms?

The Duke of Portland said, that it would be a very improper thing for him to divulge prematurely the purposes of the king's ministers. He always had been, and always should be ready, to do every thing in his power to cement the connection between Great Britain and Ireland, on terms of mutual affection and mutual interest. He therefore most heartily concurred in the present bill; he submitted to the candour of the house whether it were fair to suspect until there was an appearance of guilt, and whether it were right to call upon him for official communications

future measures or designs. Beside, their lordships would recollect how very short the time was since they had come into office, and in fairness they could not be expected to be fully informed of the various topics in the offices.

Lord Thurlow professed, that he could not see any thing unseasonable or improper in the question, which the noble Duke had asked. It was applicable to the occasion, and he thought, that without being satisfied on the point, their lordships could not fairly be called to the decision of the present question. What was the question? Was the present bill the whole or only the part of a system? On what grounds was it to be adopted by the present ministers? For what purpose was it to be passed? To what end was it to be applied? In all this was there any thing, which in the smallest degree, could give embarrassment to ministers in answering? There had been full time from Friday to Monday, to have examined every paper on the subject: and what made this appear more singular, was, that many of those papers must have come from the noble duke himself, and a noble earl his now colleague in administration; would not their lordships then suppose, that no men could have been fixed on so capable of speedily determining what was expected, and what ought to be done to secure a lasting and permanent connection with our sister kingdom? and yet these men, according to their own accounts, were the most improper and incapable of all persons living. He said he could not but lament the frequent changes, which revolutions in politics in this kingdom made in the lord lieutenants of that country. The people were scarcely settled with a representative of the crown, before intelligence arrived, that they were to part with him, and that another was appointed in his stead. This circumstance was sufficient to make them have a very poor opinion of the councils of this country, and that we were guided by caprice, whim, and unsteadiness: the present nobleman who filled that high office, by his generosity, his large connections in both countries, his affability and integrity, had won their good opinion in a short time; and this was no sooner done than their favourite was to be taken from them.

Lord Loughborough said, that on this question he had no peculiar means of acquiring information with respect to the designs of the cabinet. He had no other information than as a lord of parliament, and as such, he must declare freely, that he thought the present conversation, for it was not a debate, on the merits of the bill, extremely irregular, if not disorderly. Not a word was started in objection to the bill as to itself, but ministers were called upon to divulge their future system, and to declare what they were to be to the house. He did not think this

perfectly consistent with fairness, nor was it the kind of opposition, which any ministry would have reason to dread.

Lord Viscount Townshend said, it was not candid nor fair to demand from ministers, at so early a period after their introduction to office, the system which they were to pursue with Ireland. This, at least, was evident; that if they meant to act a fair, a manly, and an honest part, the present bill was necessary, since it confirmed what was done in the last session, and none of those alarming evils were to be apprehended from it. The fluctuation of Irish opinions was easily to be accounted for. The incessant change of the government must naturally give rise to fresh jealousies and new opinions, and while this very great evil continued, it was impossible that we could expect to see our sister kingdom truly and permanently fixed in her system and sentiments. He declared it was his opinion, that for want of acting unequivocally on former occasions, all our misfortunes, including even the loss of America, had arisen; that what they felt in their own breasts should govern their public conduct; and the national honour, like the personal honour of their lordships, should be deemed sacred, and on no account to be violated. Public credit depended on the public faith; the abandonment of the latter consequently must prove the ruin of the former. After a very heated debate and personal reflections from the Duke of Chandos and Lord Radnor upon the new ministers having seized on the reins of government by force, and outraged royalty by peremptory conditions, the bill was committed without a dissenting voice.

No bill ever produced more debates, yet it never brought on one division. And it must be allowed, that under the variety of changes, which the British ministry experienced at that critical period, they all centred in one accord, to give ease, satisfaction, and perfect constitutional liberty to Ireland. There cannot be a more unimpeachable voucher, than the *act for finally settling the independent legislation and judicature of Ireland.

* The act 23 George III. c. 28. intituled, "An Act for preventing and removing all doubts which have arisen, or may arise, concerning the exclusive rights of the parliament and courts of Ireland, in matters of legislation and judicature; and for preventing any writ of error or appeal from any of his majesty's courts in that kingdom from being received, heard, and adjudged, in any of his majesty's courts in the kingdom of Great Britain."

"Whereas by an act of the last session of this present parliament, intituled, "An Act to repeal an act, made in the 6th year of the reign of his late majesty King George I. intituled, An Act for the better securing the dependancy of the kingdom of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain, it was enacted, That the said last mentioned act, and all matters and things therein contained, should be repealed: And whereas doubts have arisen whether the provisions of the said act are sufficient to secure to the people of Ireland the rights claimed by them to be bound only by laws enacted by his majesty and

Whilst the British senate was earnestly employed in giving and securing freedom to Ireland, and in the ministerial interregnum, which suspended the action of the British government, Ireland was not wholly inactive. The corporation of the city of Dublin presented the following address to the lord lieutenant:

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.

"WE, the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, "and Citizens of the City of Dublin, in common council as- "sembled, unanimously think it our indispensable duty at this "time to approach your excellency with our sincere acknow- "ledgments for your prudent and indefatigable regard to the "honour and welfare of this country.

"Your excellency's early attention to the removal of all "doubts relative to the independency of the legislation, and ju- "risdiction of the parliament of Ireland, the general and œco- "nomical reform introduced into several departments of the "state, and the many great and apparent advantages we enjoy, "and are likely to experience, from your excellency's wise, firm, "and virtuous administration, must at all times excite and de- "mand the highest expressions of gratitude, and make us earn- "estly solicitous for the continuance of your government over "a people affectionate to your person, and truly sensible of your "honourable intentions.

"the parliament of that kingdom, in all cases whatever, and to have all ac- "tions and suits at law or in equity, which may be instituted in that kingdom, "decided in his majesty's courts therein finally, and without appeal from "thence, therefore, for removing all doubts respecting the same, may it please "your majesty, that it may be declared and enacted; and be it declared and "enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and "consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present "parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said right "claimed by the people of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted by his "majesty and the parliament of that kingdom, in all cases whatever, and to "have all actions and suits at law or in equity, which may be instituted in "that kingdom, decided in his majesty's courts therein finally, and without "appeal from thence, shall be, and it is hereby declared to be established and "ascertained for ever, and shall, at no time hereafter, be questioned or ques- "tionable.

"II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no writ "of error or appeal shall be received or adjudged, or any other proceeding be "had by or in any of his majesty's courts in this kingdom in any action or suit "at law or in equity, instituted in any of his majesty's courts in the kingdom "of Ireland; and that all such writs, appeals, or proceedings, shall be, and "they are hereby declared null and void to all intents and purposes; and that "all records, transcripts of records or proceedings, which have been trans- "mitted from Ireland to Great Britain, by virtue of any writ of error or ap- "peal, and upon which no judgment has been given, or decree pronounced "before the first day of June, 1782, shall, upon application made by, or in be- "half of the party in whose favour judgment was given, or decree pronounced, "in Ireland, be delivered to such party, or any person by him authorized to "apply for, and receive the same."

" It has been justly observed, that all nations have experi-
" enced a period of exaltation as well as of depression.

" From an ill-judging policy, this kingdom felt the latter;
" from the well-timed and liberal sentiments which prevail, it is
" likely to attain the former.

" We assure your excellency, that the citizens expect the
" consummation of this great business from a nobleman of in-
" dependent fortune and principles, equally the friend of Great
" Britain and Ireland; sensible that their interests are the same,
" they do most firmly rely on your goodness, that nothing in
" your power will be wanting to secure to this nation the com-
" plete and perpetual enjoyment of commercial and constitutional
" freedom.

" In that persuasion, we cannot but represent to your excel-
" lency, that as the time is critical and important, no circum-
" stances whatsoever should induce a change, which might pre-
" judice, but cannot benefit this country; and your excellency
" must be convinced there are situations, in which the yielding
" even to the finer feelings of the mind, (however amiable in
" private life) must be considered as political error, and a de-
" sertion of public duty.

" Your excellency will please to receive this address, not as
" the ordinary and common compliment paid to persons in your
" high station, but as the language of freemen sensibly alarmed,
" who highly approve your conduct and revere your virtues; and
" who will not behold with indifference the moment, which
" shall terminate your excellency's administration.

" In testimony whereof, we have caused the common seal
" of the said city to be hereunto affixed, this 7th day of March,
" 1783."

To this address the following answer was returned:

" I am too sensible to this address of affectionate regard, to
" answer it in the common expressions of good-will: my heart
" is indeed too full; and I truly feel an honest pride in receiving
" such a testimony of the sense, which the city of Dublin en-
" tertain of my zeal to promote the first object of my wishes,
" the constitutional and commercial freedom of Ireland. To
" such an object I would gladly sacrifice every private feeling:
" and as long as I can flatter myself, that my exertions are ac-
" ceptable to his majesty, or may be serviceable to this king-
" dom, I will hope that no circumstances will prevent me from
" continuing to you that proof of my interest in your prosperity,
" which an unremitting attention to the great lines of an honest
" government can so truly give. But in every situation, I never
" can forget how much I owe to your affection; and my con-
" stant prayer, my constant object will be, that the honour,
" pride, and happiness of Ireland, may be perpetual, and that

" it may be founded on the surest basis of a liberal and consti-
" tutional connection with your sister kingdom."

In order to gratify the public mind, and to draw it from speculative questions, it was thought adviseable to institute a new order of knighthood, that should give additional lustre to the national consequence, which at this time appeared to be the favourite object of all ranks of people. Letters patent were accordingly passed for creating a society, or brotherhood, to be called, " *Knights of the Illustrious Order of St. Patrick*," of which his majesty his heirs, and successors, were appointed to be sovereigns; and the lord-lieutenant for the time being, was to officiate as grand master. The following were appointed knights companions of the order, viz. His Royal Highness Prince Edward, his Grace William Robert Duke of Leinster, the Earls of Clanricarde, Antrim, Westmeath, Inchiquin, Drogheda, Tyrone, Shannon, Clanbrassil, Mornington, Courtown, Charlemont, Bective, and Ely. The Archbishop of Dublin for the time being, was appointed Chancellor; and the Dean of St. Patrick's, in like manner, Register; and Lord Delvin, Secretary.

On the 11th of March, the Knights were invested with due solemnity before the lord-lieutenant at Dublin Castle; and on the 17th of the same month (being the festival of St. Patrick, tutelar Saint of Ireland,) they were installed. And the ceremonial of the installation was conducted throughout with the utmost regularity, order, and magnificence.

Various speculations had at different periods been set on foot in Ireland for peopling the country by an influx of foreigners, at times when cruelty was inventive to check the population of the aboriginal natives of the soil. But the ill-judged policy of listening to the distresses of foreigners, whilst the more piercing cries of their own subjects were unheard or unheeded, though frequently attempted, has generally failed.

Disputes and dissensions had long subsisted between the aristocratic and democratic powers in the republic of Geneva, which had finally terminated in favour of the former, through the interference of the kings of France and Sardinia, and the cantons of Zuric and Berne. In consequence of which, a number of the citizens of the popular party resolved to quit a country, in the government of which their weight and authority had been totally extinguished.

On this occasion they turned their eyes upon Ireland, and commissioners were accordingly sent by them to Dublin, to consult and treat with that government in relation to their reception into that kingdom. The commissioners, on their arrival, received the greatest personal attention from the people in general, (then all alive to every claim of civil liberty,) but more

especially from the different corps of volunteers in the province of Leinster, into several of which, as a mark of respect paid to the cause they came to solicit, they were chosen as members.

Their request, with respect to the admission of their countrymen into Ireland, was eagerly complied with by government, who, with a degree of avidity, offered them an asylum in that country. Accordingly, the names and numbers of the emigrants from Geneva having been laid before the privy council, they fixed upon a place for their residence at Passage, near to the confluence of the rivers Barrow and Suir, in the county of Waterford, in which district a very considerable tract of land was then shortly to revert to government; and this it was resolved should be appropriated and granted in fee to these Genevese settlers, and the place named "*New Geneva.*"*

* The following warrant was issued by the lord lieutenant on that occasion:

To the Earl of Tyrone, the Right Hon. John Beresford, the Right Hon. John Blaquiere, K. B. the Right Hon. Henry Theophilus Clements, the Right Hon. John Foster, the Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, the Right Hon. William Wyndham Grenville, the Right Hon. James Gaffe, David Latouche, Esq. jun. Andrew Caldwell, Esh. Traven Hartly, Esq. Alexandra Jaffray, Esq. and Messeiurs G. Ringler, E. Clavier, Du Roveray, E. Gase, Grenus, and Divernois.

Whereas the Sieur Divernois did, by his memorial of the 27th of September last, represent unto us, that, in consequence of certain alterations, which had taken place in the political constitution and government of the state of Geneva, a considerable number of the citizens and inhabitants, attached to the blessings of a free government, were disposed, under assurances of the enjoyment of certain privileges and protection, to settle themselves in this kingdom, to bring with them their property, and to establish here those manufactures, which had rendered the citizens of that state so wealthy; and that the sum of fifty thousand pounds sterling, British money, would be necessary to enable the first thousand emigrants to effect their purpose, of which a sum, not exceeding one half, to be applied to defray the expences of their journey, and the carriage of their effects; and the remainder to be applied in the building, or providing houses for their reception: and whereas we did lay the said memorial before the lords of his majesty's privy council, who, by their resolution of the 27th day of September last, expressive of the importance of the object, and the advantages to be secured to this kingdom by the accession of a body of respectable citizens, and to its commerce, by the introduction of a manufacture so extensive and beneficial, and by the immediate acquisition of a very material addition to the national wealth, did unanimously request, that his majesty would be graciously pleased to take the same into his royal consideration, and to adopt such measures in this case, as to his majesty's great wisdom should seem meet: and we having transmitted the said memorial and resolution to be laid before the king, his majesty hath been graciously pleased to signify his royal approbation of the design aforesaid, founded upon principles so truly interesting to justice and humanity: and of his royal disposition to induce the said merchants, artists, and manufacturers, citizens, or inhabitants of Geneva, to settle in Ireland, under the conviction, that by their civil and religious principles, their industry, and their loyalty, they would materially contribute to the advantage of this kingdom.

These are, therefore, to pray and to empower you to consult together, and to report unto us what agreements, regulations, warrants, and authorities, will, in your opinion, be necessary and proper for carrying his majesty's gracious intentions into execution, under the heads following, viz.

The terms insisted upon by the Genevese, previous to their becoming subjects of a new state, were, 1st. That they should be represented in parliament; 2dly. That they should be

1st. For the grant of a sum of fifty thousand pounds to certain state officers, and to certain of the nobility and gentry of this realm, together with the six commissioners now in this kingdom from the Genevans; the said sum to be granted to them in trust for the use of the Genevans settling in this country, whereof a sum, not exceeding one half, is to be applied to the charges of their journey, and the carriage of their effects, to be distributed by the said commissioners, in such proportion as they shall think equitable, upon the consideration of the circumstances, the character, and the talents of each emigrant: and the remainder to be expended in the building a town, and settling them therein.

2dly. To consider the rights, privileges, franchises, and immunities to be granted to the inhabitants of the said new intended town; and so soon as the general system shall have been submitted to, and approved of by us, then to prepare a draught of a charter, which will be referred to the consideration of his majesty's law servants for their opinion, and afterwards submitted to his majesty for his royal approbation, granting to the said citizens of the New Geneva, the establishment of magistrates, councils, or assemblies, with powers for regulating their internal concerns, in such manner as shall be most agreeable to the laws, under which they lived happily in their own country, and as shall be agreeable to the dispositions of the people, observing nevertheless, that, in no instance whatsoever, such municipal laws, or regulations, be repugnant to the laws of this kingdom; and, in case that it should be necessary to apply to parliament for farther powers for carrying such charters, or purposes, into execution, then to prepare a draught or scheme of such bill or bills, as may be necessary to be submitted to the legislature.

3dly. To consider in what manner a sufficient portion of land shall be secured to the said citizens of Geneva, to examine and recommend with all expedition a situation for their new town, and to consider and prepare every arrangement which may expedite the construction of it, and to report by what mode the persons arriving in this kingdom, shall from time to time be accommodated, until the new town, or a sufficient portion thereof, shall be erected for their reception: as also in what manner the said houses shall be distributed to individuals, or a sufficient portion of ground to those, who may wish to build at their own expence; and in what manner the freedom of the new town shall be secured to such persons having been citizens or inhabitants of Geneva, and possessed of those qualifications of conduct and of morals, upon which the success of this establishment must depend, (as are not yet arrived or naturalized) so that, upon their arrival and naturalization, they shall be entitled to the benefits of the body corporate aforesaid.

And whereas young persons of rank and fortune, from all parts of Europe, resorted to the city of Geneva, to profit from the system of education established there, under professors of eminence in useful and liberal studies and accomplishments; and whereas a school or academy, formed upon the same principles in this kingdom, would forward his majesty's gracious dispositions for the encouragement of religion, virtue, and science, by improving the education and early habits of youth, and would remove the inducements to a foreign education; and being conducted with that attention to morality and virtue, which hath distinguished the establishments in that city, may attract foreigners to reside in this kingdom for the like purpose, we do farther pray and empower you to consider and digest a plan for a school and academy of education, to be established in the new colony, and to make a part of the constitution hereof, under such institution and regulations, and with such privileges as may best contribute to the ends hereby proposed.

And we do pray and empower, that, after having given these subjects in general the fullest consideration, you do report unto us a particular detail of what shall be thought most fitting to be granted and ordered for the advan-

governed by their own laws. The first of these conditions might have been a matter of opinion, and subject to discussion; but the two last were holden to be incompatible with the laws and the constitution of Ireland, and as such totally rejected.

This disagreement between the parties on leading points stopped all further procedure in the business. Some of the Genevese, however, transported themselves into Ireland; but they soon found by experience, that nothing was gained by changing their situation; and most of them, after a short stay, quitted the kingdom.

The reciprocal advantages, which might have accrued to Ireland and the Genevese emigrants, from the proposed settlement, even had it taken place to the fullest extent, could never, it is presumed, have equalled, or been in any degree proportionable to the sanguine expectations some men had been led to form on this subject. It should be considered, first, that the Genevese are, for the most part, mechanics, and that therefore they must have been but ill-suited, from their former habits of life, to the toils of agriculture; next, that they were to be settled in

tage and encouragement of the Genevans settling in this kingdom aforesaid, and for the welfare and prosperity of the new colony, that the necessary representations thereupon may be laid before his majesty without loss of time; so that every facility may be given to the adoption of every measure calculated to give the said citizens of Geneva the fullest proofs of his majesty's royal protection and regard.

Given under our hand and seal of arms, at his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 4th day of April, 1783,

By his excellency's command,

S. HAMILTON.

The following letter was soon after received by Mr. D'Ivernois, from Mr. Secretary Hamilton.

SIR,

I am commanded by my lord-lieutenant to acquaint you, that he has signed a warrant to the proper officers to make out the draught of a commission, to be submitted to his majesty for his royal signature, appointing the several noblemen and gentlemen who are to be entrusted with the settlement in this kingdom of the colony of Genevans, as also the draught of a royal letter, granting the sum of 50,000*l.* to those commissioners for that purpose.

His excellency has also given farther directions to the prime serjeant, attorney and solicitor general, to prepare a draught of a grant of a charter of incorporation for the said colony, and draught of such bills to be laid before the parliament at their next meeting, as shall be requisite for effecting the several purposes desired.

His excellency has at the same time commanded me to assure you of his cordial disposition to the new settlement, and of his intention to forward every measure which shall be necessary for the protection and encouragement of the colony, with as much dispatch as the necessary forms in a business of so much importance will admit.

I have the honour to be, with great regard, Sir,

Your's, &c.

S. HAMILTON.

a part of Ireland where their support must have arisen from their daily labours on the soil, and from their having but few wants of their own to gratify, more than from their ingenuity in forming and constructing a variety of ornamental articles, which the luxury and riches of populous and trading towns can only create a market for. Whether or no this measure of government, had not in fact proved abortive as it did, it is very questionable whether it would ultimately have been productive of any real advantage to that kingdom. Certain, however, it is, government at this time must have entertained the most implicit and unqualified confidence in the steady attachment of the volunteers and people of Ireland to the constitution of their country, or otherwise they never could have levied the large sum of 50,000*l.* upon a very distressed country, to purchase the probable introduction of turbulent and democratic principles, with a thousand self-exiled martyrs to democracy, from the Antibazilican school of Geneva.

Lord Temple did not quit the government till the 3d of June, 1783, when he was succeeded by the Earl of Northington. The reports of an immediate dissolution of parliament, which in fact took place on the 15th of July, 1783, had thrown the whole nation into a new political fever. The armed body of volunteers assumed to themselves, rather than allowed credit to their representatives for having acquired a constitution at least similar to that of Great Britain. They considered, that it would be a disgrace to quit their arms, whilst any benefit to their country could be still obtained by them; and they now generally bent their thoughts to the improvement of the state of representation of the people in parliament. They had been much encouraged in this pursuit by the spirited addresses of the county of York and of other counties to the commons in favour of reform, as well as by the persevering efforts of the Duke of Richmond, Mr. *Pitt, and other then popular members, to

* On the 7th of May, the day after the call of the house, Mr. William Pitt made his promised motion respecting the reform of parliamentary representation. As the mode of proceeding by a committee, proposed last year, had formed one of the principal objections against the reform itself, he thought it more adviseable to bring forward some specific propositions: these were,

1. "That it was the opinion of the house, that measures were highly necessary to be taken for the future prevention of bribery and expence at elections.

2. "That for the future, when the majority of votes for any borough shall "be convicted of gross and notorious corruption before a select committee of "that house, appointed to try the merits of any election, such borough should "be disfranchised, and the minority of voters, not so convicted, should be entitled to vote for the county in which such borough should be situated.

3. "That an addition of knights of the shire, and of representatives of the "metropolis, should be added to the state of the representation." He left the number to future discussion, but said he should propose one hundred.

bring about a reform in the representation of the people in England. Committees of correspondence to this effect were instituted with the most forward and zealous advocates for reform in England, and the letters received from them were circulated with avidity throughout Ireland.†

On the 1st of July, 1783, at a meeting of the delegates from forty-five companies of the province of Ulster, assembled at Lisburne in pursuance of a public requisition (Lieutenant Colonel Sharman in the chair), it was resolved unanimously, That a general meeting of the volunteer delegates of the province of Ulster, on the subject of a more equal representation of the people in parliament, is hereby earnestly intreated, to be held at Dungannon, on Monday the 8th day of September next.

Resolved unanimously, that the following gentlemen (seven to be a quorum) be appointed a committee of correspondence for communicating with the other corps of the province, for taking preparatory steps to forward the intentions of this meeting, and for collecting the best authorities and informations on the subject of a parliamentary reform, viz.

Lieutenant Colonel Sharman,	Colonel Rowley,
Captain Black,	Major John Crawford,
Dr. Alex. Crawford,	Lieutenant Colonel Banks,
Major Burden,	Mr. Robert Thompson,
Captain Wad. Cunningham,	Captain Thomas Prentice,
Rev. Mr. Craig,	Lieutenant Tomb.
Dr. Samuel Moore,	

Resolved unanimously, That the following address be published in the public prints:

To the VOLUNTEER ARMY of the Province of ULSTER.

"FELLOW CITIZENS,

"In common with every class of Irishmen, you "are sensible, that this kingdom for many centuries might have "continued to bear its chains in ignoble and indigent obscurity, "had not an army of its citizens, by a great effort, dared to cast "them off.

The debate continued till near two o'clock, without any novelty of reasoning or diversification of argument. The number of petitioners this year had decreased. Only fourteen counties appeared, and most of the petitions had a very inconsiderable number of names subscribed. The whole amount was said not to reach 20,000. Amongst the converts to the question, appeared Mr. Thomas Pitt and the Lord Advocate of Scotland. The former of these gentlemen made the house an offer of the voluntary surrender of his borough of Old Sarum. The house divided on the order of the day, ayes 293, noes 149.

† These letters were from the Duke of Richmond, Dr. Price, Mr. Wyvil, Dr. John Jebb, Lord Effingham, Mr. Cartwright, and others.

" That the dignified conduct of that army lately restored to " the imperial crown of Ireland its original splendour, to nobi- " lity its ancient privileges, and to the nation at large its inhe- " rent rights as a sovereign independent state; that by incul- " cating the glorious spirit of toleration, it has united the once " distracted inhabitants of this country into an indissoluble " mass, and promoted the most exalted reverence for the laws, " are facts that will exhibit a splendid and interesting figure in " the annals of the age.

" From a military institution, so singular in its nature as to " comprehend the several gradations of nobles, commons, mer- " chants, yeomen, and mechanics, every substantial good will " be expected by wise and virtuous men.

" They will with honest pride behold in the state an unparal- " leled combination of the military with the civil character, ex- " isting only for the general interests of the community, and " prepared, on the purest principles of the constitution, to give " efficacy to the wishes of three millions of people.

" The idea of a well-digested parliamentary reform, has ever " experienced a favourable reception in the uncorrupted breasts " of Irishmen and of Britons. It has been uniformly looked up " to as the true source of public virtue and of political salvation, " by the first characters these kingdoms have produced. In " this age we have seen it warmly supported by that consum- " mate statesman, the late Earl of Chatham; and revived by " the heir to his abilities and name, the present William Pitt. " It has received the sanction of the most eminent and honest " men in both houses of the British parliament, of a great num- " ber of the most respectable shires in England, and the volun- " teer delegates of the province of Munster, and within these " few days, of the unanimous vote of thirty-eight corps, re- " viewed at Belfast.

" Among the many glorious effects of which a more equal " representation of the people of Ireland would be productive, " the following are obvious:

" The destruction of that party spirit, whose baneful influ- " ence has at all times been injurious to the public weal; a re- " vival of the native dignity of the crown, by imparting to each " branch of the legislature its distinct and proportional weight; " and the abolition of that train of courtly mercenaries, who " must ever continue to prey on the vitals of public virtue, till, " the balance of the constitution being restored, the necessity " for governing by regular systems of seduction, shall no longer " exist.

" Then would the constituent body regain its constitutional " control over its trustees, and venal majorities would not be " found to support the most dishonourable and pernicious mea-

" sures, in opposition to the sense of the unpolluted part of the " legislature, as well as contrary to the universal wishes of the " public, as to the true intent of the institution of parliaments.

" With due deference for the august body, which we have " presumed to address, we therefore beg leave to express our " wishes, that the volunteer delegates of Ulster would assemble " with the same spirit of loyalty, patriotism, and firmness, which " actuated them on the memorable 15th of February, 1782: to " deliberate on the most constitutional means of procuring a " more equal representation of the people in the parliament of " Ireland, as the only measure, which can give permanency to " the late renovation of our constitution, or restore that virtue " to the representative body, without which, though the mere " forms of a free government may be preserved, its spirit must " inevitably perish.

" Signed by order of the meeting,
W. M. SHARMAN, Chairman."

On the same day was made, published, and sent to the Dungannon delegates the following report of a committee of correspondence, appointed by forty-five corps, assembled by public advertisement at Lisburne on the first of July last, for the purpose of obtaining information on the important subject of a more equal representation of the people in the parliament of Ireland.

" The committee in discharge of the trust invested in them, immediately opened a correspondence with a number of the most eminent and well informed characters in Great Britain and Ireland, and received answers fraught with most valuable information on the subject.

" Such of them as enter minutely into the business will be submitted to the provincial assembly if thought eligible, considering the length of their detail, and the great delay which their disclosure will unavoidably occasion. If it be more agreeable to the meeting, for the general diffusal of a body of knowledge on so great a political subject, the principal letters will be published by the committee's secretary; by which means the dispatch necessary to so great an assembly will be greatly promoted.

" The Yorkshire Association, so celebrated for its spirit and numbers, meet about the close of the present month, in order previously to receive the decisions of this province.

" The society for constitutional knowledge in London, in which are enrolled the names of the first characters in England (strenuous labourers in the glorious business of reform in our sister kingdom), have ordered the addresses of the Ulster regiment, and of the forty-five corps, convening the provincial meeting of Ulster, to be entered in their books, published in the

prints, and circulated gratis through the kingdom, in order that the exertions of Ireland may give a spur to the spirit of the British nation.

"The committee is rejoiced to observe, that the English letters are full of expressions of a high sense of the wisdom, spirit, and unanimity, that have characterized the volunteer army of Ireland: and that they all concur in conceiving the present to be the very moment, in which a radical parliamentary reform can best be effected. They universally agree in the idea, that the delegates at Dungannon should enter into a very comprehensive view of the matter, so as the principles of reform may be strongly marked in their resolves: receiving the sanction and concurrence of a general convention of delegates from the four provinces, a coincidence of sentiment in which they hold to be certainty of success.

"Founded on much deliberation, assisted by the best information they could procure, the committee have ventured to prepare resolutions, comprehending a general system of ideas on the subject, which they will take the liberty, through their chairman, Lieutenant Colonel Sharman, with much humility, to move in the august body of representatives of the volunteer army of Ulster.

"The committee of correspondence have now only to apologise for their inability to so weighty a charge: happy if their labours shall meet the approbation of their fellow citizens, or tend in the most remote degree to any valuable purpose. They trust, that the spirit of firmness and integrity, which has already restored this ancient kingdom to her rank in the nations, will crown the 8th of September, 1783, as a day which is to form the groundwork of internal emancipation, on a basis as great as that on which our rights as an independent nation, have been with such rapid success already established."

The eve of a dissolution, the speculations upon the new elections, and the successful efforts of the patriots in the people's cause, had worked up the elated minds of the volunteers to an enthusiasm for parliamentary reform little short of that, which they had before evinced for free trade and legislative independence. The state and constitution of their House of Commons was fully and fairly set before their eyes even by the most moderate of their leaders. It consisted of three hundred members; sixty-four of them were sent by the counties, the remainder by cities and boroughs. The sixty-four from counties were in some measure, in the option of the people, and about as many more from the cities and boroughs might, by extraordinary exertions of the people, be freely chosen. Upon that calculation, the people by possibility might send one hundred and twenty-eight members to parliament. The other boroughs,

which were close or snug, sent the remainder one hundred and seventy-two. These were the property of some few lords and commoners, and being the majority, the House of Commons consequently as it stood was the representative of an aristocracy. It was to that point that government had been long tending. It was their constant object to keep up by means of this aristocratic influence in the commons that oligarchy or monopoly of power in that kingdom, which it was found nothing but an incorporate union possibly could dissolve, and which whilst it lasted was the fatal bane and calamity of that kingdom.

The next public act towards the attaining of this object, was a circular letter for England, composed and agreed upon by the committee of correspondence, and dated from Belfast on the 19th of July, 1783. It was also immediately published throughout Ireland; and as it contains the feelings and sentiments of the armed bodies of Ireland, and they had been allowed in both parliaments to speak the genuine sense of the people of Ireland, the historian cannot more faithfully transmit them to posterity than in their own words.

Ordered, That the following circular letter, signed by the secretary in the name of this committee, be forwarded to..... inclosing a copy of the resolutions of the provincial meeting of volunteers of Munster, and of the proceedings of the forty-five volunteer delegates assembled at Lisburn on the first inst. respecting a parliamentary reform.

To, &c. *Belfast, 19th July*, 1783.

"Your attachment to the rights of the people, and to the "general prosperity of the British empire, induce us to address you on the present great and momentous occasion.

"The spirit of freedom, which pervades all ranks of people "in Ireland, with the just and wise policy of the British nation, "having for ever removed all possible cause of jealousy between "the sister kingdoms, and united us to Britain on the basis of "equal liberty and similar constitution; it becomes the duty, "as it is the interest of each kingdom, to assist the other in their "endeavours to restore to its ancient purity and vigour, a decayed, enfeebled, and sickly constitution.

"In both nations, it is now generally acknowledged, that this "great object can be obtained by no other means but by a reform "of the representation in parliament. In England, the measure "has for the present miscarried, though supported by so many "wise, honest, great, and independent men. We trust, however, it has miscarried only for a season, and that the next "attempt will prove successful. Ireland has now taken up the "idea, and if we shall be so happy as to see success crown our "efforts, we think considerable weight will be thereby added

" to the endeavours of the people in England. The people of " the two nations, united in pursuit of the same important " object, must be not only powerful, but irresistible.

" The enclosed papers, which we request you may peruse, " will shew how far this country has already gone in determin- " ing to procure a more equal representation; the unanimous " resolutions of about fifteen thousand volunteers, already de- " clared in a very few weeks, assure us the resolves of the dele- " gates of Ulster, who are to assemble on the 8th of September " next, will be no less unanimous; and we well know, that what " the volunteers (vast numbers of whom are freeholders) shall " determine on, the other freeholders and people in general, " who are not volunteers, will adopt and support, by every " means in their power: the aged fathers cannot differ from their " sons, respecting a matter, on which depends every thing, that " either hold dear for themselves or their posterity.

" That you may see the very depraved state of our represen- " tation, it is necessary to observe, that out of three hundred " members, of which our House of Commons consists, about " two hundred and twenty are returned by boroughs. Those " one hundred and ten boroughs are divided into three classes: " 1st. Those, where the right of election is vested in the Pro- " testant inhabitants at large: 2d. Those, where the right of " election is vested in the chief magistrate, burgesses, and free- " men: 3d. Those, where the right of eclection is confined " to the chief magistrate and burgesses, frequently not ex- " ceeding five or six in number, and seldom above ten or " twelve.

" Almost all the boroughs are either venal and corrupt, or " implicitly obedient to the arbitrary will of their respective " landlords, who dictate to the electors in the most absolute " manner. Those landlords claim by prescription a kind of " property in those boroughs, which they transfer by sale like " an estate, and receive from eight thousand to nine thousand " pounds for a borough, and a seat for a borough is generally " sold for two thousand pounds; so that every seven or eight " years the borough brings in four thousand pounds to the " patron. Unhappily for Ireland, our counties are also too " much governed by our peers and great men, whose influence " over many of their respective tenants is very great. This " consideration has given rise here to a doubt in the minds of " some well-meaning men, as to the propriety of adding to the " number of knights of the shire, as generally now, two great " families endeavour to divide between them the seats for the " county, the others remain neutral, or join the independent " interest. It is alleged, were there six seats for the county, " six great families would divide them, and that to such a com-

" bination, the independent freeholders would not be able to
" make any effectual opposition.

" May we now intreat, as a most important favour conferred
" on us, and on this kingdom, that you will favour us with your
" sentiments and advice, as to the best, most eligible, and most
" practicable mode of destroying, restraining, or counteracting
" this hydra of corruption borough-influence; that we may be
" enabled to lay your opinion before the provincial assembly
" of delegates at Dungannon: and as our last meeting for
" arranging business previous thereto, is fixed to be on the 20th
" of August, we hope you will be obliging enough to forward
" your reply, so as to be with us about that time.

" Many apologies are due for this long address, and for the
" very great trouble we have requested you to take; but we are
" young in politics, and wish for information from men of more
" wisdom, experience, and abilities. This however we may
" venture to assert, that if we can only be directed to the best
" mode, the mass of the inhabitants of Ireland is so completely
" alive and sensible to the necessity of a well-digested reform,
" that there cannot remain a doubt that what it attempts, in
" conjunction with the virtuous part of England, must be effec-
" tual.

" The several matters on which we have requested your
" opinion are thrown into one view in the following queries.

" In order to the purity of parliament, and to restore that
" constitutional control, which the constituent body should have
" over the representative,

" 1st. Is it necessary that the boroughs, where the elective
" suffrage is vested in a few, and which in general are at
" the absolute disposal of one or two persons, should be disfran-
" chised, and in their place the county representatives in-
" creased?

2d. " The Protestant inhabitants consist of near one mil-
" lion, who return three hundred members; would it be wise
" to increase the number of representatives for the nation at
" large?

" 3d. A plausible objection, mentioned before, has been made
" against an increase of county representatives; has that argu-
" ment much weight, and if it has, is it remediable?

" 4th. Should suffrage be extended; and if it should, who
" are the proper objects of such extension?

" 5th. In order to guard against undue influence, would it be
" wise to have the members returned by ballot?

" 6th. Would not a limitation of the duration of parliament,
" to a shorter term than eight years, have excellent effects; and
" should it be less than triennial?

" 7th. If the abolition of the enslaved boroughs is necessary: " would it be equitable or expedient that they be purchased by " the nation?

" 8th. What specific mode of reform in the representation of " Ireland best suits your own ideas, considering the situation of " this country; and what are the steps, which you conceive " best adapted to effect that reform?

" You will be so obliging as to direct your reply to our chair- " man, Lieutenant Colonel Sharman, at Lisburn.

" Signed by order,

" H. Joy, jun. Secretary."

As soon as the delegates had come to unanimous and strong resolutions upon the necessity and nature of some parliamentary reform before the members were all returned, in order to influence the electors in their choice, and the elected in their obedience to the call and wishes of their constituents, on the 8th of September, 1783, the following resolutions were published, and rapidly and gratuitously circulated throughout every part of the kingdom.

ULSTER VOLUNTEER ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of two hundred and seventy-two companies of the Volunteer Army of the province of Ulster, by their delegates held at Dungannon, on Monday the 8th of Septemtember, 1783,

Colonel JAMES STEWART, of the Tyrone regiment in the chair,

The following resolutions were unanimously entered into:

I. " *Resolved* unanimously, That freedom is the indefeasible " birthright of Irishmen and Britons derived from the author of " their being; and of which, no power on earth, much less a " delegated power, hath a right to deprive them.

II. " *Resolved* unanimously, That they only are free, who " are governed by no laws, but those to which they assent, either " by themselves in person, or by their representatives freely " chosen, subject to the control, and frequently returning into " the common mass of constituents.

III. " *Resolved* unanimously, That the majority of our House " of Commons is not chosen by the people, but returned by the " mandate of peers or commoners; either for indigent boroughs, " where scarcely any inhabitants exist, or considerable cities " and towns, where the election franchise is vested in a few, " who are thus suffered to place the highest trusts of society

" against the interest and will of the many, in the hands of men, " who seldom act as if they considered themselves accountable " for their conduct to the people.

IV. " *Resolved* unanimously, That by the ancient constitu- " tion of parliaments, elections of representatives were for cen- " turies annual, and in many instances more frequent; and the " exercise of suffrage among freemen universal.

V. " *Resolved* unanimously, That every approach to those " fundamental principles, tends to a renovation of, not an inno- " vation in the constitution.

VI. " *Resolved* unanimously, That the elective franchise " ought, of right, to extend to all those, and those only, who are " likely to exercise it, for the public good.

VII. " *Resolved* unanimously, That the present inadequate " representation, and the long duration of parliaments, destroy " that balance, which by our constitution should subsist between " the three estates of the legislature, render the Commons " House independent of the people, procure certain majorities " in favour of every administration, and threaten either an ab- " solute monarchy, or that still more odious government, a ty- " rannical aristocracy.

VIII. " *Resolved* therefore, That the present imperfect repre- " sentation, and the long duration of parliaments, are unconsti- " tutional, and intolerable grievances.

IX. " *Resolved* unanimously, That as the voice of the com- " mons of Ireland is no less necessary for every legislative pur- " pose, than that of either the king or lords, the people have a " just and inherent right to correct the abuses of representation, " whenever such abuses shall have so increased, as to rob them " of their constitutional share in their own government.

X. " *Resolved* unanimously, That it is the interest of parlia- " ment itself to effect a substantial reform; as the very existence " of that assembly must become precarious, when it shall lose " the confidence of the people, to whom originally it owed its " creation, and from whom alone its powers were derived.

XI. " *Resolved* unanimously, That we solemnly pledge our- " selves to each other and to our country, to seek a speedy and " effectual redress of these our grievances, and to co-operate " with our fellow subjects, in every exertion necessary to obtain " it. We call for the aid of every upright senator, of every " man, whether in Ireland or Great Britain, who bears or wishes " to acquire the title of a freeman.

XII. " *Resolved* unanimously, That we have attended with " admiration to the noble, though hitherto ineffectual efforts, " of those illustrious characters and virtuous citizens who, in " England and Scotland, strenuously labour to procure redress " of similar grievances. May the examples of the sister na-

" tions mutually animate the inhabitants of each to persevere " with unremitting ardour, till the glorious labour be finally " completed.

XIII. " *Resolved* unanimously, That a committee (of five " persons from each county) be now chosen (by ballot) to re- " present this province in a grand national convention, to be " held at noon in the Royal Exchange of Dublin, on the 10th " day of November next; to which we trust each of the other " provinces will send delegates, to digest and publish a plan of " parliamentary reform, to pursue such measures as may appear " to them most likely to render it effectual, to adjourn from " time to time, and convene provincial meetings if found ne- " cessary.

" The following gentlemen were accordingly chosen by bal- " lot, viz.

DELEGATES.

Antrim.

Colonel O'Neill
Lieutenant Colonel Sharman
Colonel Rowley
Captain W. Todd Jones
Colonel T. M. Jones

Armagh.

Earl of Charlemont
Lieutenant Colonel Brownlow
Sir Capel Molyneux
Lieutenant Colonel Sir Walter Synott
Captain James Dawson

Cavan.

Lord Farnham
The Hon. J. J. Maxwell
Captain Francis Saunderson
Colonel George Montgomery
Captain Henry Clements

Donegal.

Colonel Alex. Montgomery
Colonel John Hamilton
Lieutenant Col. A. Stewart
Colonel Robert M'Clintock
Lieutenant Colonel Charles Nesbitt

Down.

Colonel Robert Stewart
Captain Matt. Forde, jun.
Major Crawford
Colonel Pat. Savage
Captain Gavin Hamilton

Fermanagh.

Colonel Irvine
Colonel Sir Arthur Brooke
Captain A. C. Hamilton
Jason Hazard, Esq.
Captain James Armstrong

Londonderry.

Lord Bishop of Derry
Col. Right Hon. Thomas Connolly
Colonel Right Hon. Edward Carey
Captain Leckey
Captain Ferguson

Monaghan.

Col. Charles Powell Leslie
Colonel Francis Lucas
Colonel John Montgomery
Captain William Forster
Colonel James Hamilton

Tyrone.

Colonel Stewart
Lieut. Colonel Montgomery
Colonel James Alexander
Lieut. Colonel Charleton
Captain Eccles.

XIV. "*Resolved* unanimously, That it be an instruction to "said committee, that the delegates from each county do pre- "pare, and carry with them to the national convention, an ac- "count of all the cities, towns, and boroughs of this province, "the mode of election in such as at present return members to "parliament, as near as may be the proportionate number of "Protestant and Roman Catholic inhabitants in each, and a "conjecture of their comparative properties.

XV. "*Resolved* unanimously, That we are decided in opi- "nion that the representatives of the people ought not in future "to consent to any bill of supply for a longer term than twelve "months, nor more than six months, until a complete redress "of the aforesaid grievances be obtained."

The following Address of the First Regiment of Irish Brigade, to the Chairman of this Association, on the 15th of February, 1782, being read:

"To Colonel WILLIAM IRVINE, Chairman of the Ulster Vo- "lunteer Delegates, assembled at Dungannon, February 15, "1782.

"SIR,

"I AM directed by the First Regiment of Irish "Brigade, to acquaint you, that on the 22d day of last month, "at a full meeting of that corps, they unanimously adopted the "resolutions of the Ulster delegates assembled at Dungannon, "on Friday, the 15th day of February last.

"To that assembly, unprecedented in the annals of mankind, "which is the glory of the present times, and must be the won- "der of futurity, Ireland owes her emancipation.

"Toleration, the offspring of benevolence and wisdom, was "no sooner adopted by that illustrious body, than received and "cherished through the whole nation, and the inhabitants of Ire- "land from a divided, became an united people.

"You, Sir, and the highly respectable body, of which you "are chairman, will hear with pleasure of every accession of "strength to the volunteer army: I am happy, therefore, to ac- "quaint you, that this regiment, though but four months embo- "died, is numerous and respectable, a circumstance sufficient "to convince the world, that the public virtue of this kingdom "daily increases, and that the glorious flame of liberty blazes "through the nation.

"At this great crisis, when the western world, while laying "the foundation of a rising empire, temptingly holds out a sys- "tem of equal liberty to mankind, and waits with open arms to "receive the emigrants from surrounding nations; we think it "a duty we owe to our country, to promote, as far as our ex- "example can reach, an affectionate coalition of the inhabitants

" of Ireland. Animated by this sentiment, and convinced that " national unanimity is the basis of national strength, this regi- " ment affords a striking instance how far the divine spirit of " toleration can unite men of all religious descriptions in one " great object, the support of a free constitution.

" I have the honour to be, Sir,

" With the highest respect,

" Your faithful and most obedient servant,

" JOHN SUTTON, President.

XVI. " *Resolved* unanimously, That this association enter- " tain the most grateful sense of the approbation of such liberal " and patriotic men as compose that respectable body; that we " rejoice in the accession of their abilities to the common cause, " and that we will be happy to co-operate with them in effecting " the complete liberty and happiness of the good people of this " kingdom.

XVII. " *Resolved* unanimously, That the following address " to the volunteer armies of the provinces of Munster, Leinster, " and Connaught, be printed with these resolutions.

" To the VOLUNTEER ARMIES of the Provinces of Munster, " Leinster, and Connaught.

" FELLOW SUBJECTS,

" THE transcendent events, which our united " efforts have produced, present an eminent instance of the pro- " tecting hand of heaven; whilst the progressive virtue and ge- " neral union of the people, naturally prompt them to revive the " spirit of an unrivalled constitution, and to vindicate the inhe- " rent rights of men.

" The most important work yet remains, which neglected, our " past attainments are transitory, unsubstantial, insecure! an " extension to thousands of our beloved fellow-citizens of a " franchise, comprehending the very essence of liberty; and " drawing the line which precisely separates the freeman from " the slave.

" Suffer us, therefore, to conjure you by every endearing tie, " that connects man with man, with unceasing zeal to pursue " one of the most glorious objects, that ever agitated the human " mind: a restoration of virtue to a senate long unaccustomed " to speak the voice of the people; a renovation of the ancient " balance of your government; and a firm establishment of the " first gifts of nature, on the ruins of an avowed corruption, at " once the bane of morals and of liberty.

" From a grand national convention, distinguished by inte- " grity, and inspired with the courageous spirit of the constitu- " tion, every blessing must result.

" With one voice then, the voice of united millions, let Ire-
" land assert her claim to freedom!

" Through her four provincial assemblies, let her temperate
" declarations flow to one common centre: and there, ma-
" tured into an extensive plan of reform, be produced as the
" solemn act of the volunteer army of Ireland: as a demand
" of rights, robbed of which, the unanimated forms of a free
" government would be a curse; and existence itself cease to
" be a blessing.

" FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

" THE eyes of an enlightened world, are
" this instant upon us! Munster has, in part, already led the
" way: and millions of our fellow-subjects of Britain, in whom
" the flame of liberty still burns with lustre, behold with delight
" our exertions in the common cause; and in our success, see
" the certain harbingers of their own.

" Let the reflection that Greece, the seat of liberty and of
" science; that Rome, the mistress of the world; and that in-
" numerable states, once flourishing and free, now lay prostrate
" by the hand of tyranny :....Teach Ireland wisdom. To our
" deliberative assemblies they convey awful warning to be spi-
" rited, unanimous, and firm; lest the present wretched condi-
" tion of other countries be soon the fate of our own!

" May the Supreme Ruler of the universe crown his other
" blessings, by being present with us, by promoting union
" and the love of our country among all ranks of men: and
" by finally directing our exertions to virtue, liberty and peace."

A specific plan of parliamentary reform being produced, and read by the committee of correspondence,

XVIII. " *Resolved* unanimously, That said plan be referred
" to the consideration of the national convention; and that the
" thanks of this meeting be presented to Lieutenant-Colonel
" Sharman, and the gentlemen of the committee of correspon-
" dence, for their great trouble in collecting information on a
" parliamentary reform, and for their abilities and zeal in di-
" gesting matter for the meeting of this day.

XIX. " *Resolved* unanimously, That the thanks of this meet-
" ing be presented to the Lord Bishop of Derry, for his at-
" tendance and assistance in the business of this day; for his
" warm attachment to the volunteer cause; and for proving
" himself the steady friend to the liberties of Ireland upon all
" occasions.

XX. " *Resolved* unanimously, That the sincere thanks of this
" meeting be presented to the inhabitants of Dungannon, for
" their very polite conduct; and to the Dungannon Battalion,
" for their vigilant conduct, when on guard this day.

XXI. " *Resolved* unanimously, That we lament that una-
" voidable business of consequence prevented our late chair-
" man, Colonel William Irvine, from attending this meeting;
" and that the thanks of this meeting be transmitted by our se-
" cretary to Colonel William Irvine, for his polite letter of
" excuse, for his non-attendance this day.

" JAMES STEWART, Colonel of the Tyrone Regiment, } Chairman.
" JAMES DAWSON, Captain of the Orier Grenadiers, } Secretary.

Colonel James Stewart having left the chair, Colonel Robert Stewart, of the First Independent County of Down Regiment, was unanimously called thereto, and having taken the chair accordingly.

XXII. " *Resolved* unanimously, That the particular thanks
" of this meeting be presented to Colonel James Stewart, for
" his very great propriety of conduct in the chair.

" *Resolved* unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be
" presented to our secretary, Captain James Dawson, for his
" very particular attention and ability in the discharge of the
" duties of his laborious office of secretary to the volunteer
" association of this province.

" ROBERT STEWART, Colonel First Independent, County of Down Regiment, } Chairman.

On the 14th of October, 1783, the new Irish parliament met, when Mr. (now Lord) Pelham, the secretary to Lord Northington, proposed Mr. Perry, who was again elected speaker unanimously. The lord-lieutenant opened the session with the following speech;

" MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

" IT is with more than ordinary satisfac-
" tion, that, in obedience to his majesty's commands, I meet
" you in the full possession and enjoyment of those constitu-
" tional and commercial advantages, which have been so firmly
" established by your last parliament. The sacred regard, on the
" part of Great Britain, to the adjustment made with Ireland at
" that period, has been abundantly testified by the most une-
" quivocal proofs of sincerity and good faith.

" It will ever be my wish, as it is my duty, to promote the
" mutual confidence of both kingdoms, and the uniting them in
" sentiments as they are in interest, such an union must produce
" the most solid advantages to both, and will add vigour and
" strength to the empire.

" I sincerely congratulate you on the happy completion of
" his majesty's anxious endeavours to restore the blessings of

11 Com. Journ. p. 11.

" peace to his faithful people. The establishment of the public " tranquillity is peculiarly favourable at this period, and will " naturally give spirit and effect to your commercial pursuits. " Both kingdoms are now enabled to deliberate with undivided " attention on the surest means of increasing their prosperity, " and reaping the certain fruits of reciprocal affection.

" I have the highest satisfaction in acquainting you of the " increase of his majesty's domestic happiness, by the birth of " another princess.

" GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

" I have ordered the proper officers " to lay the national accounts before you. From thence you " will be enabled to judge of the circumstances of the kingdom; " and I rely upon your wisdom and loyalty to make such provi- " sion as shall be fitting for the honourable support of his ma- " jesty's government.

" MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

" THE miseries of an approaching fa- " mine have been averted by the blessing of Divine Providence " upon the measures, which the privy council advised; the " good effects of which were soon visible, in the immediate " reduction of the price of grain, and the influx of a valuable " and necessary supply to the market. Any temporary infringe- " ment of the laws to effect such salutary ends, will, I doubt not, " receive parliamentary sanction.

" Among the many important objects which demand your " attention, I recommend to your consideration laws for regu- " lating the judicature of the court of admiralty, and for mak- " ing a new establishment of the post office.

" The linen manufacture being the staple of your country, " it is needless for me to recommend perseverance in the im- " provement of that most important article.

" The fishery on your coasts will claim your attention as a " promising source of wealth to this kingdom, and the encour- " agements granted to it, will, no doubt, be regulated by you " in the manner most likely to produce the best effect, and least " subject to fraud and imposition.

" The Protestant charter schools, an institution founded in " wisdom and humanity, are also most eminently entitled to your " care.

" I recommend likewise to your attention the proposals " adopted by government for providing an asylum for the dis- " tressed Genevans. It well becomes the generosity of the " people of Ireland, to extend their protection to ingenious and " industrious men, who may prove a valuable acquisition to this " country, which they have preferred to their own. But in

" forming this establishment, you will doubtless consider it as " a part of your duty to avoid unnecessary expence, and ulti- " mately to secure the utmost advantages to your country.

" I anticipate the greatest national benefits from the wisdom " and temper of parliament, when I consider that the general " election has afforded you an opportunity of observing the " internal circumstances of the country, and of judging by what " regulations you may best increase its industry, encourage its " manufactures, and extend its commerce.

" In the furtherance of objects so very desirable to your- " selves, I assure you of every good disposition on my part; " sensible that in no manner I can better fulfil the wishes and " commands of our gracious sovereign, than by contributing to " the welfare and happiness of his loyal subjects. With an " honest ambition of meriting your good opinion, and with the " warmest hope of obtaining it, I have ventured upon my present " arduous situation; and with sentiments pure and disinterested " towards you, I claim your advice, and firmly rely upon your " support."

Lord Sudley moved the address of thanks to the crown, and was seconded by Mr. Totnum Loftus; to which no opposition was given. His lordship moved also on the first day of the session, an address of thanks to the different corps of volunteers in Ireland for their effectual support to the civil magistrates in suppressing all tumults and riots, and preserving peace and good order throughout the kingdom. And it was resolved *nem. con.* that the thanks of that house should be given to the volunteers, for the spirited endeavours to provide for the protection of their country, and for their ready and frequent assistance of the civil magistrate in enforcing the due execution of the laws. And the sheriffs of the different counties were ordered to communicate this resolution to the different corps within their respective shrievalties.

This appears to have been a guarded motion on the part of government, calculated to prevent any other motion, likely to have been dictated by the intemperance of some volunteer member, that might have attributed very different effects to the armed associations, as very different effects were unquestionably produced by them, than the mere suppression of riots: for we read of few that existed from their arming up to that period (except in the south, where they were suppressed by the army.)

On the second day of the session, Mr. Gardiner moved a vote of thanks to the late governor Lord Temple. He said, that this nobleman had received addresses of thanks from every county in that kingdom, for his conduct as chief governor, as

each of his public measures carried with it so much wisdom and integrity; and in his private character he had concurred in every thing tending to the interest of Ireland; and had laid down such plans, as would have been a national benefit, had he continued in the government of that nation: that he had been addressed from persons of all ranks whatever; and that nothing but the sanction of this house was necessary to render the thanks of the people of that country universal.

Mr. Cuffe seconded the motion, having been witness to the many anxious days and nights he had spent in preparing plans to promote the welfare of that country, which, had he staid long enough in Ireland to have put in execution, would have been highly approved of.

*Mr. Adderly opposed the motion, and assigned his reasons for dissenting from the vote of thanks. He would be glad to know what good he had done for Ireland: he insisted he had done nothing meritorious. The addresses presented to him were procured by himself.

Sir Henry Cavendish said, he could very well suppose that some gentlemen had opportunities of knowing the integrity and wisdom of Earl Temple; but in his opinion, it was fit the house should have authentic evidence of it before they passed a vote of thanks to Lord Temple, who never met parliament. In his opinion, this question should be postponed for a few days; they would then see whether he had the economical hand, which had been mentioned. Public fame had not spoken of Lord Temple, as he has been spoken of in that house; public fame represented him as a jobber.

Mr. St. George also opposed the resolution proposed observing, that there were some characters of such a nature, that the less he said about them the better; and he looked upon Lord Temple, as a chief governor, in that light: that with respect to the department, to which he belonged, his lordship left the

* Three gentlemen only out of the whole House of Commons, stood forth in the invidious light of opposing this vote of thanks. Mr. Adderly assigned as his reason for it, the lord-lieutenant's cruelty in prosecuting him as a defaulter to government, notwithstanding his clerk at the barrack board had owned the embezzlement, and he had promised to make good the deficiency in some few months. The attorney-general, and some others, treated both Mr. Adderly and Sir Henry Cavendish, as debtors to the king. The latter denied it: and Mr. St. George boasted that Sir Henry Harstonge for Cork, Mr. John Beresford for Waterford, Sir Samuel Bradstreet for the City of Dublin, answered for the addresses to Lord Temple being spontaneous and unsolicited. Mr. Adderly, in explanation, confined himself to the addresses of the Roman Catholics: and he said in debate, that he verily believed he was no Protestant, because his carriage had been seen near the door of a Catholic chapel. (2 Parl. Debates, p. 12.) The honourable member was probably more sore at the lieutenant's communications with the crown solicitor, than with a priest in the confessional.

establishment of the barracks greater than he found it, and under his own new ideas of reform had laid the foundation of a considerable increase of expence to the kingdom under that head: that he admitted his lordship deserved praise for his great assiduity in business; and he believed he could not be charged with want of integrity to the public; but that he doubted his wisdom, for he certainly wanted judgment; that in his opinion, there had not been any lord lieutenant there during the present century, more unfit to govern that kingdom as a representative of majesty, than Lord Temple; for he was of an arbitrary disposition; and if he had remained there long enough to hold a session of parliament, he was confident it would neither have contributed to his honour, or to the prosperity or quiet of the people.

* On the 28th of October, Sir Henry Cavendish moved, that the condition of that country demanded, that every practical retrenchment consistent with the safety thereof, and with the honourable support of his majesty's government, should be made in its expences. This motion brought on a division, which ascertained the force of the opposition, which had been raised against the administration of Lord Northington. The truth of the proposition was admitted on all sides of the house: the regularity of bringing it forward before the national accounts had been examined, was denied by Mr. Mason, and all on the treasury bench, who had been at all conversant with the practices of that house and the public offices: the expediency of it was violently opposed by Mr. Grattan, and such of the patriotic whigs as sided with the present administration. Mr. Flood, on the other side, warmly supported his friend's motion; though he recommended an amendment in it, by introducing the words, *and that the military establishment in its present state affords room for effectual retrenchment.* If ministers meant œconomy, they would agree with that amendment; if not, (alluding to the lord-lieutenant's speech) they meant to amuse them only with idle words.

Sir Edward Newnham was remarkably violent in the debate; asserting, that the British ministry had taken the royal closet by assault, under the pretence of œconomy, and lessening the undue influence of the crown; they had deceived the people: for in Ireland, their substitutes proved the friends of prodigality, and enemies to œconomy: in power, their sentiments and actions were the very reverse of what they were when out of power. The hypocrisy was too daring. This debate became so personal and over heated between the two rival patriots, Messrs. Flood and Grattan, that they were both ordered into custody,

* 11 Journ. Commons, p. 35.

in order to prevent any mischievous consequences of their unhappy difference. Their personal invectives were illustrative of many traits of the Irish government.* The division was, for the motion 27, against it 84: a majority of 57 in favour of government.

On the 3d of November, 1783, Mr. Flood returned again to the necessity of retrenchment in the military establishment, as the only solid ground of œconomy. To reduce the civil list, he contended, would be frivolous, pitiful, and undeserving the name of œconomy, and therefore ought to bring contempt on such, as would venture to rest solely there. Not that he thought the civil list ought to escape the pruning hand of that house, for every little would help: but so materially did their then expenditures exceed their income, that the whole civil list being struck off, would by no means equal them; to begin with that therefore was ridiculous: that that was the proper time for entering on the discussion, no man could deny: if they waited till the committee of the supply sat, they would be told, it was too late. So rapid and constant too had their extravagance been, that no time should be lost in interposing on behalf of their distressed country. In the year 1755 they were not in debt: in the beginning of the late war, they were not in debt. At the conclusion of the war, they owed but 500,000*l.* yet in the time of peace, they quadrupled that debt, notwithstanding the people and manufactures were burthened with new and excessive taxation. Their revenue had increased, and their debts had kept pace with it: since the augmentation was voted, such had been regularly the course of things. Let the virtue then of 1783, correct the abuses of 1782. The causes had originated in the breach of faith of the minister of that day: a man as able as he was crafty: a man who wanting natural, had substituted pecuniary influence; who unconnected with Ireland, had great native connections to oppose: thus situated, he at first carried his ideas so far, that he applied for an augmentation of 20,000 men: but that was so truly laughable, that it was scouted. This unreasonable plan was reduced to 15,000 men; but foreseeing, that it would not be easy to carry even that point at one stroke, he artfully introduced a resolution, that 12,000 men were necessary for the defence of the country, knowing that we dared not meddle with the 3500, which we had always paid for England. Thus did they become dupes to his ambition, and were saddled with an army of officers, not privates; an army of expence, not of use; an army of the minister, not of the people.

* They are given as reported in the second volume of the Parliamentary (Irish) Debates, Append. No. LXX. They exhibit a curious spectacle of two such great orators descending into the most pitiable and invidious personalities.

Then the report of the committee in 1768, stating the burthensome military establishment as the cause of the great national inability and distress, having been read by the clerk, Mr. Flood moved, "That an humble address should be presented to his "majesty, stating the same, and that since an augmentation had "taken place, additional burdens had been laid on, by which "they had been prevented from making any effectual retrench-"ment, but had much increased the expence of the nation."

Mr. Denis Browne entirely coincided in the motion of the Right Honourable gentleman, and if ministers should oppose that great œconomical measure, it must appear to that house, that their intentions and declarations were widely different: and he had no doubt but many respectable gentlemen, whom he saw disposed to concur with the administration, would abandon it.

The attorney general spoke strongly against the motion, as did also Sir John (now Lord) Blaquiere, Mr. Ogle, Sir Hercules Langrishe, Mr. Conolly, the provost, and several others: amongst whom in particular the recorder referred to the volunteers, whom he now strongly recommended to return to their occupations. Was garrison duty and other military service to be for ever thrown upon the volunteers? Were agriculture, the shuttle, and the loom, for ever to remain neglected? No: let the volunteers have rest, and return to their occupations. They had used their arms in their country's service, and, he had no doubt, would keep them bright and ready to support the law and constitution of their country when attacked.* On the other hand, Mr. Corry, Mr. Browne of Trinity College, Mr. Parsons, Mr. Gardiner, and others spoke strongly for the motion: they called upon ministers to act up to their boasted professions of œconomy: that peace was the only moment, when they could with propriety reduce the military establishment, and then they ought to do it, unless they intended that kingdom merely as a

* The Duke of Portland was by many accused of not wishing well to Ireland, and not acting fairly by her or Great Britain with reference to the 100,000*l.* granted for raising the 20,000 seamen for the British navy: he was charged with employing a great part of that money in raising fencible regiments, to bring into disrepute the volunteers; and on that account Mr. D. Browne moved the House of Commons on the 1st of November, that the proper officers should be ordered to lay before the house an account of the expenditure of that sum of money, with the agents receipts for the same. This was afterwards denied by Mr. Yelverton, attorney general, on the 29th of November, who said, that from the investigation of the accounts of the expenditure of the 100,000*l.* it turned out, that the insinuation of part of it being applied to raise fencible regiments was false. To which Mr. Flood replied, that he had good reason to believe, that men were enlisted for the navy, and were afterwards turned over to fencible regiments, and that they were suffered to retain their bounty money, which was the same thing as if the money had been given to them in the first instance. 2 Parl. Deb. p. 224.

barrack to Great Britain. Mr. Flood spoke a second time in the debate, which ended with Mr. Grattan's reply, who rose to speak once more on this subject, which had been so frequently before the house. The question is, said he, will you withdraw from the common cause, that quota of troops, which hitherto you have maintained? Are the circumstances of the country such as you think demand it, and if you are crazy enough to think so, will his majesty assent to that opinion? There never was a time, when he could make reduction with a worse grace, because this country is now as eminently happy in trade, as Britain is the reverse.

In 1769 England possessed, almost unrivalled, the trade of all the world. She possessed America, and owed one hundred and fifty millions less than she owes at present. Ireland had no trade at all, and her constitution was denied; yet at that day it was thought wise to augment the army; and shall we reduce it now, when we have obtained a free constitution, a free trade? When we have obtained a judge's bill, a limited mutiny bill, an *Habeas Corpus* bill? When every thing that we have demanded, has been conceded? Shall we in that moment withdraw our quota of troops? Before she obtained these advantages we said to Britain, that provided she would acknowledge our constitutional and commercial rights, we would stand or fall with her. And when they have been acknowledged to the full satisfaction of every man, it is proposed to withdraw the support of our army. Suppose, instead of saying we will stand or fall with Great Britain, we had said, "and when those things shall be "done (when our rights shall be acknowledged and established), "we will then in return, withdraw from you the support of our "army;" and yet in effect, this is the proposal at present made. I do not entirely agree in all that has been said of gratitude; we owe no gratitude but for the plantation trade; but this we owe to England, and to our own honour, that we should not depart from an old covenant. The navy of England protects our trade, and we, as an equivalent, pay 70,000*l.* a year to maintain the troops destined to serve in the plantations. This is not a dear purchase for partaking that, which has cost England so many millions. Has success made us niggardly, and shall we become unkind to England, just at the moment she has shewn kindness to us? We have indeed held out the language of magnanimity to England, and shall we fail in the performance? No; there are many other places to make retrenchment, we grant a pension list of 80,000*l.* a year, yet complain of 70,000*l.* paid to an army; paid for the protection of the British navy. We may indeed make very great reductions in the army extraordinaries. We may make great reductions in the revenue department, and in others. Those reductions will, I trust, far exceed the pay of

our augmentation. These are retrenchments that ought to be made; but the number of our forces ought not to be diminished.

On the question being put, there appeared a majority of 74 against the question; ayes 58, noes 132.

On the 10th of November Sir Henry Cavendish again brought forward his motion, that the condition of that kingdom required every practicable retrenchment consistent with the interest and safety thereof, and with the honour and dignity of his majesty's government. Mr. Mason seconded the motion, and Mr. Attorney General gave it his hearty concurrence, now that the national accounts had been examined. And as the speaker was about to put the question, Mr. Flood said, he had an amendment to propose; the motion as it stood at present, was giving too great a latitude to administration; it was leaving them to pursue any measure they thought proper, they had only to say, that it was for the interest of the nation, or for the dignity of his majesty's government. He therefore moved for the following amendment, "and that the military establishment in particular "will admit of a considerable retrenchment, inasmuch as 12,000 "men are at present sufficient, not only to maintain the defence "of this kingdom, but also to afford Great Britain, for her ser- "vice abroad, as many men as we granted to her by the aug- "mentation; and inasmuch as many important savings may be "made in the expence of maintaining that number of 12,000 men;" he observed, that certainly ingratitude could not be objected to the motion, since they were not about to withdraw their aid from Great Britain, but to allow her as many men out of 12,000 men as they formerly did out of 15,000 men; and surely there was more generosity in giving three out of twelve, than three out of fifteen.

This amendment brought on a very long and warm debate, in which General Luttrell and Major Doyle and some other military gentlemen spoke strenuously in support of the army, which had been mentioned in a very invidious manner, and placed in an ungracious comparison with the volunteers. *On the division, 65 were for the amendment, and 143 against it. Then the original motion of Sir Henry Cavendish was put and unanimously carried. On the same day, when the attorney general put one of his official motions, namely, "that the supply "to be granted to his majesty to commence the 25th of De- "cember, 1783, continue for 15 months, that is, until the 25th "of March, 1785," Sir Edward Newnham said, it was the general sense of the nation, that the money bills should not exceed the term of six months, and he accordingly moved, that the word *six* should be substituted for fifteen. Mr. Hartley

* 11 Com. Journ. p. 94.

seconded the motion, as he had been instructed by his constituents to vote for no bill of supply for a longer term than six months, until the great national measures then pending were decided: on this division 32 were for and 92 against the amendment.

Mr. Grattan having opposed the retrenchment in the military establishment, and having uniformly avowed his principles of œconomy, on the next day moved for a committee to enquire into the expence of collecting the revenue; and said he was convinced it was an object of retrenchment, as though there were an increase in the revenue last year of 150,000*l.* it would have been much more, if the collection had not amounted to 16½ per cent. and he was certain, that it could be collected at an expence of ten per cent.

Mr. Beresford assured the house, that the more minutely the accounts of the revenue department were inspected, the greater would be his satisfaction, and that of the gentlemen, with whom he had the honour to sit at the revenue board; however, the amount of the collection, though much greater than he wished, was not so great as the Right Hon. gentleman had stated, for in it he had included the incidental expences of the custom-house, and great works then carrying on; were these deducted, the expence of collection would not amount to 14 per cent. though formerly it had been 18: besides, in comparing that country with England, gentlemen had fallen into a mistake. A single great distiller in England, paid more duty than a whole county there, though he required but one officer to watch him, and the country perhaps forty. He said, there were twenty-six ports in Ireland, of which nineteen did not produce a revenue equal to the expence of guarding them; and the whole balance in the public favour, arose from seven ports, Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Belfast, Limerick, Derry, and Newry, though the necessity of watching the inferior ports must be obvious to every man. It was said, that in England the revenue was collected at seven per cent. but of those seven ports, that had been mentioned, the revenue was collected at five and nine-tenths per cent. The manner of estimating the expence of collecting in England, and comparing with Ireland, was unfair; England was a market for the whole world, goods imported there paid heavy duties, for the purpose of re-exportation: when those duties were drawn back, that increased her fictitious revenue, though it did not add one farthing to the real one; and that reduces the relative proportion of expence in the collecting.

The revenue board of Ireland, which was originally constituted for revenue business only, had the business and expences of the whole state heaped upon it. The expence of passing bills, and sundry circumstances of the law business, had raised

that particular charge from 1800*l.* per annum to 4800*l.* The revenue cruizers, which government employed for convoying troops, had in the last year stood in 32,000*l.* which was charged as a revenue expence. Nay, the very expresses, which government sent to different places on government affairs, were paid by the revenue board. Those things together made a prodigious sum, and it was all charged to the prodigality of the commissioners of revenue, who were blamed for expences, in which they had no manner of concern. The revenue incidents had many improper charges upon them; and salaries, which if they ought to appear any where, ought to appear upon the establishment.

Mr. Grattan said, he thought the Right Hon. gentleman had very candidly explained to the house the condition of that department. As to the incidents, which increased the expence of collecting, not by industry but by idleness, they should be curtailed at present, and guarded from abuse in future, for if people who had salaries on that list, were placed on the pension list, parliament would see them, and strike them off. But as at present circumstanced, the revenue incidents might be called a concealed pension list.

Sir John Parnel admitted there were many abuses in the revenue department; that department was under a particular control, but he rejoiced that that control was under the control of parliament. He recommended to the country gentlemen to teach their tenants obedience to the revenue laws, as there was amongst all ranks of people a disposition to oppose them.

So unwearied was the present opposition in pressing military retrenchments upon the house, that they omitted no opportunity during the session of bringing it forward, but always with the like failure of success. Their party consisted of about one sixth of the house, and as usual, few or none were moved from their ranks by eloquence, argument or reason. When on the 13th of November Mr. Foster had reported the different resolutions from the committee of supply, which the house unanimously agreed to, Sir Edward Newnham again attempted to urge the granting of the supplies for six months, when Mr. Grattan observed, that the question had been already debated and decided, and nothing new was then offered; on which Sir Edward Newnham remarked, that there was a time, when the Right Hon. gentleman and he coincided in opinion, and he was sorry to find, that they then differed so widely. Mr. Grattan replied, that their differences were less, than apprehended: let but parliamentary reform be tacked to the money bill, and he would agree to it.

When the protecting duties were brought before the house, they were not supported by government in the way, which the

half-starved unemployed manufacturers expected: they had been taught to consider them essentially necessary for the support of trade: they flocked round the parliament house in anxious expectation of the protecting duties being established in their favour. Government took great offence at the concourse of people crowding the avenues to the house, and considered that assemblage brought thither by opposition to intimidate. It was however observed from the opposition bench, that the people came thither as supplicants, not as rioters, and they ought to meet the protection of every man in that house: but apprehensions were conceived, that the disposition to postpone the business foreboded no good: if it went over the recess, it would be heard of no more. When Mr. Gardiner, on account of whose illness the committee of ways and means had been kept open for the purpose of receiving his proposition for the protecting duties, appeared in the house on the 20th of November, he observed, that he was convinced, that the business must gain ground by delay, for every enquiry would add strength to the reasons for its expediency. He therefore requested his Right Hon. friend (Mr. Foster) would adjourn the committee until Monday. In what he proposed he was far from having any idea of prohibitory duties, he only wanted restrictive duties, and those only on such articles as could be manufactured in Ireland.

He took that occasion to advert to the conduct of people out of doors, who had filled the avenues of the house, as if to intimidate its members: he had sent to them, and declared what he then did, that if such improper conduct were persisted in, he had done with the business; and he had the pleasure to find, that the master manufacturers had entered into very strong resolutions for preventing a repetition of such unwarrantable behaviour.

Mr. Hartley* informed the house, that a great number of weavers had waited on him, and assured him the violence com-

* The popular spirit and wishes appear at this time to have been strongly with the opposition, as appears from the fate of a petition from the chambor of commerce respecting the importation of tobacco, presented by Mr. Hartley to the House of Commons on the 24th of November, 1783, when the government side of the house, and particularly Mr. Fitzgibbon, urged that the house could take no cognizance of the petition of a body of men, styling themselves, *A Council of a Chamber of Commerce*, a title utterly unknown to the house, either as a chartered or a corporate body. Most of the leaders of the opposition were for receiving the petition (2 P. D. p. 207, and 11 Com. Journ. p. 136.) At length Prime Serjeant Kelly rose and said, "I feel myself extremely hurt "by some gentlemen making any distinction between one side of the house "and the other; I say place ought to make no difference, and I trust there "are honourable men on both sides. I am also hurt at hearing a minister's "majority mentioned; no man who has not the merits of the question with "him can have a majority: I hope it will never be presumed, that a majority

plained of did not proceed from them, but gave him to understand, that they were set on by persons enemies to the measure in question.

The great outcry of the opposition against Lord Northington's administration was, for acts instead of professions of œconomy. Mr. Flood was their leader, and they were joined by many persons of great personal talent, influence, and property. They differed also from the generality of the ministerialists upon the subject of the volunteers: government considered the armed associations of the volunteers to have performed their mission, and that they then ought to disarm and disband. Opposition looked to the attainment of further rights or liberties, and considered the influence of the volunteers as necessary to procure the future, as they had been instrumental in acquiring the former.* The next popular question, which they urged

" can be obtained in any other way. For my part, though I hold an office " under government, I never will object to this petition for the style; there " is no fault in the style; here is a select body of men, called the chamber of " commerce; the use of names is to know, who the persons petitioning are, " in case of any impropriety we may call them before us. To this petition we " have the name of an honourable member of this house, he is answerable for " it; it is acknowledged to be a matter of importance, and shall we for mere " matter of form reject an important petition so well authenticated? No, " though I am on this side of the house, and will support government in every " honourable measure, and in none but honourable measures, I will receive " this petition; no power on earth shall prevent me." (Here a loud clapping of hands taking place, the gallery was ordered to be cleared. As soon as that order was complied with, and the house was cleared,)

Mr. Fitzgibbon warmly censured the indecent conduct of the gallery, and moved, that the house should enter into a resolution, " That a gross and indecent outrage, by clapping of hands, having been committed this night by the " strangers admitted to the gallery, resolved that the serjeant at arms do " from time to time take into his custody any stranger or strangers, that he " shall see or be informed of to be in the house, while any committee of the " whole house, or the committee of privileges is sitting, and that this order " should be strictly enforced." The motion was supported by a great number of the treasury side, and opposed by the other part of the house as strenuously.

Mr. Flood, who came in late, was an able advocate for the admission of constituents to hear their debates, and declared, that if gentlemen were not ashamed of their conduct, they had nothing to fear from its being known, and that it was unreasonable and unjust to preclude all from the galleries for the intemperate conduct of a few.

The motion was then carried,

Ayes	—	157
Noes	—	72

* The opposition stuck fast to the retrenchment of the military, disdaining the petty savings that were to be made in the civil establishment. Mr. Molyneux had indeed on the 22d of November (as he said himself upon his own free motion) moved for and carried a vote of the House of Commons for an additional salary of 4000*l.* per ann. to the lord lieutenant: there were 77 for and 54 against it. Mr. Grattan found himself called upon by the principles of œconomy, which he had ever maintained, to take some active step towards forwarding that necessary system, especially after he had opposed Mr. Flood and his friends frequent motions for military retrenchment. On the 26th of the

was a reform in the representation of the people. In consequence of the resolutions of the Dungannon meeting, on the 8th of September, 1783, delegates were appointed to form a grand national convention, which assembled at Dublin on the 10th of November, when the Earl of Charlemont was nominated their chairman. They proceeded to enquire into the most eligible system of parliamentary reform, and having entered into a variety of resolutions expressive of their sentiments on that subject, they requested, that Mr. Flood would introduce a bill for that purpose into the House of Commons. It has been said, that the government was at first seriously alarmed at this meeting of the national convention, and that a privy council was summoned to determine on the propriety of arresting both the chairman and secretary of the meeting; but the measure having been considered as hazardous, another expedient was adopted: It was artfully contrived to divide the opinion of the assembly respecting the extension of certain privileges to Roman Catholics; and the common interest and sentiment of the people in general being thus disunited, the efforts of the convention became less formidable, and all means were devised to oppose and decry them in parliament.

* On the 29th of November, 1783, Mr. Flood moved for leave to bring in a bill for the more equal representation of the people in parliament. This was immediately opposed by the attorney general. "I do not mean (said he) to go into the discussion "of the bill, but I would wish the honourable member would "now state the necessity there is for bringing it in at all, and "also, who those persons are, who are discontented with the "present constitution, and with whom it originates: for I will "say, if it originate with an armed body, it is inconsistent with "the freedom of debate for this house to receive it. We sit "not here to register the edicts of another assembly, or to re"ceive propositions at the point of the bayonet; I admire the "volunteers, so long as they confine themselves to their first "line of conduct; it was their glory to preserve the domestic "peace of their country, and to render it formidable to foreign "enemies: it was their glory to aid the civil magistrate, and "to support their parliament; but when they turn aside from "this honourable conduct; when they form themselves into a "debating society, and with that rude instrument the bayonet, "probe and explore a constitution, which requires the nicest "hand to touch, I own my respect and veneration for them is

month, when Mr. Grattan moved to take into consideration all practical retrenchments in the collecting of the revenue, he said he should strenuously have opposed Mr. Molyneux's motion had he been in the house. It is to be observed, that Lord Northington declined accepting of the addition.

* 2 Parl. Deb. p. 225.

" destroyed. If it shall be avowed, that this bill originated with " them, I will reject it at once, because I consider that it decides " the question, whether this house, or the convention, are the " representatives of the people, and whether parliament, or the " volunteers, be to be obeyed. I consider it as a question in- " volving the existence of the constitution; and it is in vain, " whatever may be avowed or pretended, to shut our ears and " eyes, to what every one has seen and heard, armed men walk- " ing bareheaded through the streets under a military escort, " courting the smiles and applauses of the multitude, and meet- " ing in the pantheon of divinities, the rotunda, for we are told " it is blasphemy to utter a word against them; forming com- " mittees and sub-committees; receiving reports and petitions, " and going through all the mockery of parliament. It is in " vain then to pretend, that this bill is not their mandate; and " can any man, who has the least regard for that constitution, " which our ancestors purchased with their blood, bear to see " government forced from its centre by these reformers? I " think the time is now arrived, things are come to such a crisis, " that even our self-preservation, as a parliament, depends on " the vote we shall now give. This is the spot to make our " stand, here we must draw our line; for we have retired step " by step, as they have advanced: we are now on a precipice; " and to recede one step more, plunges us into inevitable ruin.

" Sir, I lament, for the honour of my countrymen, that they " should have chosen this period for introducing innovation, or " exciting discontent. What is the occasion, that calls forth " their displeasure against the constitution, and what is our pre- " sent situation? Blessed with a free trade and a free constitu- " tion, our peers restored to their rights and to their lawful au- " thority, our judges rendered independent, the manacles fallen " from our commons, all foreign control abolished, we take our " rank among nations, as a free state; and is this a time to alter " that constitution, which has endured so many storms, and " risen superior to all oppressions? Will the armed associations, " wise as they may be, be able to form a better, though they re- " ject this? Before they have for a single session entered into " the enjoyment of it, like children, they throw away the bauble, " for which with all the eagerness of an infantine caprice, they " have struggled; or like spendthrifts, they would make away " with their inheritance, before they enter into possession of it. " But I will say to the volunteers, you shall not throw from you " the blessings you may possess under your happy constitution, " cultivate your own prosperity, and enjoy the fruits of your " virtue, beat your swords into ploughshares, return to your " different occupations, leave the business of legislation in those " hands, where the laws have placed it, and where you have

"had ample proof it will be used for the advantage of the "country. But, Sir, it is in vain on the part of the convention, "to disclaim their intent of overawing the parliament; nay, "I am told their session is not yet prorogued, and perhaps "they may meet on Monday to reverse the opinion, which "this house may give this night. Sir, I call upon the house "to exert their spirit, and vindicate their rights; I shall call "upon them in the words of a great man...' *Expergiscimini* ' *aliquando et capessite rem.*'

"I appeal to the candour of gentlemen: are they sure they "come into parliament to deliver their sentiments as freely as "they would do, if they were not members of the convention? "or will gentlemen who are not, vote as free? Is it decent, "while the convention are watching to control our actions, to "enter into any subject that they can propose? I have the high- "est respect for the volunteers as men, and for their former "actions; but if the question appear to the house, as it does "to me, the result of any resolution formed at that meeting, it "is our duty to reject it with indignation."

Mr. Flood said, he had not mentioned the bill as being the bill of any set of men, or any body of men whatsoever. He was as free to enter into the discussion of that bill as any gentleman in the house, and with as little prepossession in favour of what he should propose. He preferred it to the house, as the bill of his right honourable friend who seconded him. Would the house receive it from them? In the last parliament it was ordered, that leave be given to bring in a bill for the more equal representation of the people in parliament. This was in the Duke of Portland's administration; an administration which the right honourable gentleman professed to admire, and which he would not suspect of overturning the constitution. Armed with the authority of that precedent, he little thought any one would be so desperate as to give such a violent opposition to the simple introduction of a bill. He then rose for the first time, to speak upon the subject, and called upon every man, auditor, or spectator, in the house, or in the galleries, to remember this truth: that if the volunteers were introduced into this debate, it was not he who had done it.

The right honourable gentleman says, if the volunteers have approved, he will oppose it: but I say, I bring it in as a member of this house, supported with the powerful aid of the right honourable gentleman, who sits behind me, (Mr. Brownlow): we bring it in as members of parliament, never mentioning the volunteers. I ask you, will you receive it from us, from us your members, neither intending by any thing within doors, or without, to intimidate or overawe you? I ask, will you receive it as our bill; or will you conjure up a military phantom of

interposition to affright yourselves? I have not introduced the volunteers; but if the volunteers are aspersed, I will defend their conduct against all the world. By whom were the commerce and constitution of this country recovered? By the volunteers. Why did not the right honourable gentleman make a declamation against them, when they lined our streets; when parliament passed through ranks of those virtuous armed citizens, to demand the rights of an insulted nation? Are they different men at this day; or is the right honourable gentleman different? He was then one of their body; he is now their accuser. He who saw the streets lined, who rejoiced, who partook in their glory, is now their accuser. What has changed them since that time? Are they less wise, less brave, less ardent in their country's cause? Or has their admirable conduct made him their enemy? May they not say, we have not changed, but you have changed? He cannot now bear to hear of volunteers: but I will ask him, (and I will have a starling taught to halloo it in his ear,) Who got you the free trade; who got you the constitution? Who made you a nation? The volunteers. If they were the men you now describe them, why did you accept of their service? Why did you not then accuse them? If they were so dangerous, why did you pass through their ranks, with your speaker at your head, to demand a constitution? Why did you not then fear the ills you now apprehend? Have your lord-lieutenants refused the service of those men? Look back to their offers in Lord Carlisle's administration. Have not such of them as could obtain that honour, been proud to be escorted by them to sea! And has not parliament returned repeated thanks to this body of men, who are now so degenerated, that rectitude becomes depravity in them? Were not resolutions sought from them to give a sanction to the inadequate security of simple repeal? When betrayed into wrong, they were cherished; now, when right, they are opposed.

What do some of the greatest men in England say, (speaking of the volunteers) "That the history of mankind, the annals "of the world do not furnish such another glorious example of "patriotism and moderation?" And now will any man condemn them, if they wish to crown themselves with never fading glory, and finish their labours by rendering perfect that constitution, which their labours have acquired? Should you comply, it would for ever render unnecessary the interference of such bodies of men as they are. I am conscious, that I have not done justice to that much honoured, and much injured body of men; but be it remembered, that it was not I who introduced their name; it was not I who wished to inflame your passions, when I had not arguments to support me: it was not I who wished to debauch them on the side of fear: such a proceeding shews the rottenness

of the cause. If the volunteers and the parliament shall ever be committed, (which God Almighty forbid) no great thanks will be due to those men, who represent the volunteers as endeavouring to dragoon parliament. Men who endeavour to exasperate them, and if their moderation were not greater than the wisdom of their accusers, great and miserable would be the confusion indeed; but they have too much wisdom not to despise their accusers; though I will tell the man, who accuses them, that there was a time, when he was proud to join in their ranks, and share the glory of their conduct.

I am called on for an explanation of my plan of reform, in order that exceptions may be taken to it; but I am ready to explain it, and to refute all exceptions on the ground of reason and argument. As in this house votes go by tale, and not by weight; and as the vote of the meanest wretch that ever disgraced the walls of parliament, though representing the most venal borough, tells for as much as the most illustrious character, representing the first county in the kingdom; the people wish to correct the ill-effects of this, by opening the boroughs, and giving them an opportunity of being virtuous. This is the voice of the people, and it is opposed because it is the demand of the volunteers; but the volunteers and the people are the same; they have been made constitutional by every act, but that of being placed on your establishment, which they despise. Does any man say, that there is not a positive act of parliament, directing every Protestant to bear arms? And will you say, that because one man fulfils more of his duty, as a citizen, than another, that he should less enjoy a citizen's privilege? Or will any man say, that because the volunteers, in obedience to the laws, bear arms, therefore that obedience should strip them of their franchise.

But who will deny, that the representation of cities and boroughs demand reform? And are plans of reform to be rejected, because agreeable to the volunteers? If so, how came the Duke of Portland to send volunteer delegates to the throne with letters to deliver into the sacred hand of majesty? And if the Duke of Portland acted thus, will any man say, that the volunteers have since done any thing to transform them into the Gorgons and hydras they have been represented? No, they are not changed, they are seen through the medium of borough interest; it is this, that has given them this terrible aspect; it is the sordid interest of a prostituted government to say they have strength, though it be the strength of borough-mongers; but it is the strength of a virtuous government to be supported by the public good opinion; and it is no credit to any government to depend rather on a venal parliament, than on the honest voice of an ingenuous nation. The bill sets at defiance all objection; for

is there a man who will say, however political declamation may attempt to mislead, that the constitution wants no reform? Will any man say, that that constitution is perfect, when he knows that the honour of the peerage may be obtained by any ruffian, who possesses borough interest!

Mr. Flood then proceeded to trace the general outline of the plan of reform agreed to at the convention; and concluded with saying: I shall neither endeavour to intimidate nor overawe the house: but, on the contrary, I shall most humbly hope, that in the infancy of your liberty, whilst a body of freemen and citizens, who are determined to treat with respect that constitution, which they have recovered by fortitude, bear arms for their country's service, you will not go to fish for objections, until these people shall do something derogatory from that authority, which they have established; no body of men can make me affirm to be right what I know to be wrong; neither will I be so absurd as to deny that, which I know to be right, because other men think so too.

Scarcely a member, who had ever opened his mouth in the house, was silent on this important occasion: the debate lasted till past three o'clock on the Sunday morning. Several of the members, who admitted the necessity of the reform, voted against it under the circumstance of the sitting of a national convention of delegates, who had previously agitated the question, and were waiting the result of its discussion in parliament. This was the first blow given to the credit and power of the volunteers. Several also of the minority gave the express instructions of their constituents as their reason for voting for the bill. Towards the close of the debate, Mr. Grattan spoke for a short time, declaring himself decidedly the friend of a parliamentary reform. It has always been, said he, my favourite object, to increase by those means the power of the people. He was glad to investigate that subject, let it come from what quarter it might; it did not come before in a questionable shape; neither did he see any thing to justify an opposition to his favourite scheme. He loved to blend the idea of parliament and volunteers; they had hitherto concurred in establishing their constitution in the last parliament, and he hoped they would do it in the present. He recommended, therefore, an union between parliament and the illustrious body of volunteers, which union it should be the study of his life to preserve. The question having been loudly called for, when the Speaker was rising to put it, Mr. Flood said, "I have very often found, when a question cannot be controverted by fair argument, it is thrown out by a majority calling for the ques-

tion; but it is impossible for the mind of man to bend to mere matter, or to be satisfied with such conduct. I am asked, is not this bill the order of some other assembly? I never received any order. I have examined with men of all ranks upon this subject, and approve it; but what appearance of hostility or control is there in the present application? Have the volunteers lined the streets, or drawn up before your house? No; they have given their opinion with all humbleness and deference to yours, and beg you will take it up. How could they more prostrate themselves at the feet of parliament? This bill was moved a year ago, when there was no convention sitting; and will you now reject it, because men, who sometimes wear swords, and sometimes wear none, approve it? The volunteers of Ireland are a peculiar body of men, they are citizens as well as soldiers; nor does their skill and discipline, as soldiers, destroy their franchise as citizens."

Mr. Daly confessed he was ashamed, that the gentleman who had made this motion, should not only evade giving an answer to the enquiry, "whether it were the result of deliberations in "the conventions?" but almost to deny it.

Mr. Flood. I said, they were my own sentiments.

Mr. Daly. I did not say they were not his own sentiments; but they were more notoriously the sentiments of the convention, whatever influence he might have had in forming them: and he said, that he brought them thither by order of that body. He protested, that while an armed assembly was sitting in the capital, their debate was not free. We are told of the great moderation manifested by the delegates, considering how powerfully they are supported; but, (said Mr. Daly,) as I did not oppose, or scorn the volunteers, when weak, as I never went to a county meeting, and with a contumelious aspect, asked if the country were arrayed, and when answered, no, never turned my back upon them; neither will I now, when they are strong and mighty, turn my back to them; but I will meet them as a friend, and will say to them, you are advancing to anarchy and destruction; I beseech you retreat while you may with honour; for there is a turbulent demagogue amongst you, that urges you to your own disgrace.

It has been the misfortune of this country, that parliament has, in too many instances, for a while withstood the wishes of the people, but has yielded in the end; the consequence is, that the people are told by the demagogue, persevere, and you will at last carry your point. But this is the time to draw a line, and I do rely upon it. I pledge myself for the consequence, that if parliament act with firmness, the people will be content; in a short time they will despise the promoters of faction, and

all their boasted menaces will vanish in the air. But if parliament recede one step now, it will fall into a gulph of inevitable destruction.

Upon a division, there appeared

For receiving the bill -	49
Against it -	158

Then Mr. Attorney-General moved the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is now become necessary to declare, that this house will maintain its just rights and privileges against all encroachments whatsoever.

Ayes - -	150
Noes - -	68

And then Mr. Conolly made the following motion, which was carried unanimously.

Resolved, That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to declare the perfect satisfaction, which we feel in the many blessings we enjoy under his majesty's most auspicious government, and our present happy constitution; and that at this time we find it peculiarly incumbent upon us to express our determined resolution to support the same with our lives and fortunes.

Notwithstanding, Mr. Flood, the great leader of the opposition, immediately after this debate went over to England, several matters were brought before parliament by his adherents.

Mr. Molyneux introduced to the house once more the question of an absentee tax: he complained, that before the business wanted support, many were prominently forward in offering their assistance; now that it was before them, they excused themselves, saying, the time was improper. Thus, after a long debate, the motion was lost by a division of 184 against 22.

On the 9th of December, 1783, Mr. D. Browne prefaced a motion for an address to the crown, with a most distressful picture of the kingdom at that period. He represented those, who lived on the spoils, like wasps, sucking their blood, and smiling at their ruin; he represented the farmer, ruined by the calamitous times, the lower order of people starving, and obliged to sell their provision to satisfy the landlord, who himself could barely get the means of existing from his lands! The avenues to the capital beset with starving manufacturers, and at the very doors of that house, begging of the members to avert, by a small donation, the miseries of impending famine: their necessities made them bold; they even ventured into the Castle yard: their complaints were heard, though but seldom heard before, and proper steps were taken to relieve them; the privy council were summoned, the doors were barred, and the guards of the city were doubled; the garrison ordered to hold themselves in readiness to massacre people already conquered by

hunger! Such is the situation of your country. Yet this was the time when you were to keep up an useless and expensive army, and minister to the useless pageantry of a court.

The hour of ripe iniquity had arrived; the hour of retribution would speedily follow. He then moved the following resolutions:

"That an address be presented to his majesty, humbly to "lay themselves at his majesty's feet, to assure his majesty of "their inviolable attachment to his majesty's person and govern- "ment, and of the grateful sense they felt of his majesty's pa- "ternal goodness and attention to his subjects of Ireland; and "to declare their readiness and zeal to support, in the most "honourable manner, at all times, the necessary expences of "his majesty's government, and the dignity of his crown.

"That they thought it, however, incumbent on his faithful "commons, humbly to lay before his majesty, that for a series "of years past, the expences of his majesty's government had "constantly far exceeded the net produce of the revenue, where- "by the nation had incurred a great and accumulating debt; "and in order to discharge the interest thereof, his majesty's "faithful commons had been under a necessity of diverting a "considerable part of those revenues, which formerly served "towards defraying the current services of his majesty's go- "vernment.

"That in the year 1773, his majesty's faithful commons did "grant several new duties, and had since, from time to time, "increased them.

"That they were induced thereto, upon the faith of promises "made to his majesty's commons, by his majesty's minister, "that the expences of government should be retrenched, so "that the new grants of the people, and the promised retrench- "ment by the minister, should concur in a system of equali- "zation, and put an end to the ruinous practice of running in "debt.

"That his majesty's faithful commons had fully performed "their part of the engagement; but that their bounty had been "so far from being answered on the part of his ministers, that "in no period of time had the debt of the nation advanced with "so rapid a progress as since that period; insomuch, that his "majesty's commons then found themselves burthened with a "debt enormously greater than it was at that period: vastly "greater than the nation was ever before loaded with, and still "accumulating; besides being also loaded with those new "taxes, which were granted for the sole purpose of putting an "end to so ruinous a practice.

"That his majesty's present ministers, finding themselves "unable to support the charges of government without increas-

"ing the debt of the nation, although aided by all the new taxes, "and an increase of produce in the revenues; and although a "very great proportion of the army were not upon their esta- "blishment, did in that session apply for 300,000*l.* to supply "the deficiency of the revenues, so that his majesty's faithful "commons could not even then see any end to the ruinous ac- "cumulation of their debt.

"That such a practice, if suffered to continue, must exhaust "the resources, and check the trade of that country, and must "end in the impoverishment and ruin of the nation, and ulti- "mately disable his majesty's faithful commons from those ex- "ertions, which might become necessary thereafter, and which "they should ever be most willing and desirous to make in "support of his majesty's government.

"That they had long confided in the repeated assurances of "œconomy given them from time to time, by his majesty's mi- "nisters; but at length finding it in vain any longer to wait for "redress from that quarter, they thought it inconsistent with "their duty to his majesty, and those, whom they represented, "any longer to refrain from applying for redress at the foot of "the throne, and imploring his majesty's protection against his "ministers."

Mr. Parsons seconded the motion. It was violently opposed by the attorney-general. It was, said he, a question, upon which the sense of the house had been already taken three times that session; it looked extraordinary, to have it introduced at that time, after a committee had been appointed to take into consideration, the only plan practicable, which was a plan for the reduction of the civil establishment; and after the house had passed a resolution for all practicable retrenchments. He was as much an enemy as any man to the accumulation of debt, session after session; but the increase of the revenue afforded a prospect of their being soon able to put an end to it, by its reaching the amount of their expences. It consequently followed, that an address of that nature was never less necessary than at that time.

Mr. Corry replied to the attorney-general in a most animated speech. After having taken a view of the country from the arrival of the Duke of Portland into it, he lamented that those flattering prospects had proved all delusion, and there was the most decided reason, in reviewing the conduct that had been holden for withdrawing their confidence from the present administration, and agreeing in an address, which contained in itself an undeniable train of facts; and concluded with stating, that they could not confide in the promises of his majesty's ministers, and therefore implored his majesty's assistance against them, upon the subject of œconomy; the truth of that must ap-

pear, whether the eyes of the nation were turned to their military establishment, to their commercial system, or to their internal œconomy. At a late hour the question was disposed of, by the secretary's moving the order of the day, without a division.

In consequence of the commons having tacked some clauses to the money bills sent up to the lords, the House of Peers, on the 4th of December, 1783, came to two strong and pointed resolutions, which on the next day they ordered to be added to the standing orders of their house.

*I. *Resolved*, by the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, *nemine dissentiente*, that all grants for the encouragement of particular manufactures, arts, and inventions, or for the construction or carrying on of any public or other works, ought to be made in separate acts; and that the practice of annexing such grants to bills of aid or supply, for the support of his majesty's government, is unparliamentary, and tends to the destruction of the constitution.

II. "*Resolved*, by the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, *nemine dissentiente*, that this house will reject any bill of aid or supply, to which any clause or clauses, the matter of which is foreign to, and different from the matter of the said bill of aid or supply; or any clause or clauses for the granting of any sum or sums of money for the encouragement of particular manufactures, arts, or inventions, or for the construction or carrying on of any public or other works, shall be annexed."

Mr. Curran took up this matter as an insult and injury offered to the dignity and rights of the House of Commons; and gave notice, that on the 16th of that month he should bring it before them; and on that day, there being a very thin house, he entered upon the subject, by observing, that while he reflected, that the motion he was going to make was of the utmost importance to the honour, and even existence of that house; and that he had given full notice of his intention, he was much surprised at the little regard that seemed intended to be paid to it, as was manifested from the emptiness of those benches. It was a question of party; he was of no party; he despised the principle: he never did, nor never would attach himself to party: the question went to assert the privileges of the people of Ireland represented in the House of Commons, and every description of men in that house was equally concerned in supporting it. It was the sole and exclusive right of the commons of Ireland to originate and frame money bills in such manner, as they should think proper, and the resolution he intended to propose, was

* 5 Lords Journal, p. 409.

only to vindicate that privilege from the encroachments of a neighbouring assembly, which had lately, by certain resolutions, invaded that right, that palladium of the constitution, which he trusted every man in the house would think himself bounden to defend.

He was sorry to say, that the constitution of Ireland was so young, that he needed not go back to a very remote period, to prove that the exclusive right of originating and framing money bills had always resided in their house; but for thirty years back, it certainly had, and in England, from whence they derived their constitution, it always had been the practice. The peers and the crown possessed an undoubted right of rejecting such bills *in toto*, but, in the commons alone resided the power of originating or framing them; the very mode of giving the royal assent to such bills, demonstrated that the commons alone was the source from whence they flowed. *His majesty thanks his faithful commons, accepts their benevolence, and wills it to be so*, and this mode obtained both in Britain and Ireland. To whom should the people of Ireland look for the redress of grievances, for the encouragement of arts, for the promotion of commerce, but to their representatives in that house? What powerful engine had that house, by which it could obtain the redress of grievances, the encouragement of arts, for the promotion of commerce, but by including those objects in the bill of supply? And if the right be once given up, or wrested from the commons, they ceased to be the patrons and representatives of the people; another assembly would assume that power, and the people would learn to look for that encouragement and support from the aristocratic, which they received from the democratic branch of the state, and that house would become a very cypher, and its members instead of possessing the power of encouraging arts, rewarding merit, or in a word, of serving the country, would become the humble solicitors of another assembly.

From the reign of Henry III. the power of annexing the redress of grievances to money bills, had been the constitutional privilege of the commons of England; the practice of inserting such clauses as the commons deemed proper, had obtained in Ireland for more than thirty years, and to any person acquainted with their constitution, must at the slightest view appear to be their inherent right: he could not therefore suppose that house would be silent, when that privilege was invaded by another assembly; no man entertained an higher opinion of that assembly than he did, and he was persuaded, that so great was their lordships' wisdom, that when that matter should be duly considered by them, they would see the impropriety of the two resolutions, which appeared upon their Journals. It remained

for the commons, to vindicate their own privileges by a mild and temperate resolution, which he should propose to the house; for even admitting, that sometimes a House of Commons had erred in making improper grants, they should rather reform themselves, and determine not to err again, than submit to have a monitor over them.

Were he addressing a House of Commons, the most virtuous or the most corrupt, he should expect to be supported in the measure; he would say to a virtuous house, the privilege of originating and framing money bills is the palladium of your liberty, the great engine to restrain oppression, to redress grievances, or to encourage merit. He would say to a corrupt house, it is the palladium of your corruption, the security of the wages of your venality, the means, by which you may obtain the reward of your prostitution. But to the house before which he stood, the arguments of virtue and of honour would be sufficient. He then entered into a personal apology for the discontinuance of his intimacy with Mr. Flood, who if present he had no doubt would support the motion; he spoke very handsomely of Mr. Flood, notwithstanding the late difference on some political opinions. He then moved,

"That it is the sole and undoubted privilege of the commons "of Ireland to originate all bills of supply and grants of public "money, in such manner and with such clauses as they shall "think proper."

Mr. Parsons seconded the motion, which was only supported by 11 against 58.

Under the late rapid changes in the British cabinet, and the still fluctuating state of the administrations of both countries, it was no wonder, that the Irish House of Commons should not have settled into a regular system of opposition: the subdivisions of that general patriotism, in which Messrs. Flood and Grattan had formerly agreed, had been productive of the only opposition, which then existed: Mr. Flood having long acted in opposition to the Whig or Rockingham party, appeared less disposed to coalesce with them than Mr. Grattan who had ever adhered to their principles. Mr. Grattan gave them full credit for every measure and every profession: Mr. Flood diffided in their promises, and arraigned their conduct. It appears to have been the system of the Rockingham administration to leave almost unlimited discretion to the Irish government to settle their political ferment in their own way. The generality even of the more thinking people confidently looked up to the new ministry for some efficient steps towards the attainment of *protecting duties, a reduction in the army estab-

* *i. e.* For protecting their own manufactures, and enforcing the consumption of them at home by laying heavy duties on similar manufactures imported from other countries.

lishment, œconomy in the civil department, and a reform in the popular representation in parliament. The last of these objects in particular had not unreasonably raised the expectations of the friends of reform to the highest pitch of confidence: they expected that the weight of government would have been thrown into their scale, as the first minister in each country, Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Rutland, had so recently been amongst the most eager and loud in support of that measure in Great Britain.

On the 20th of December, 1782, his majesty's answer to the joint address of both houses, presented on the 1st instant, was communicated to both houses of parliament, and was to the following effect:

"His majesty returns his hearty thanks to the lords spiritual "and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, for "their dutiful and loyal address. His majesty receives with "the highest satisfaction, the sentiments expressed by his "parliament respecting his majesty's government; and his "majesty's faithful parliament may rest assured of his majesty's "determined resolution to concur with them at all times in the "maintenance and preservation of that free and excellent con-"stitution, on which the happiness and interests of his people "of Ireland so essentially depend."

*The extraordinary movements in the cabinet and the senate

* A more important moment to the fate of the British empire certainly never existed than that under our present consideration. For to the changes in the administration of that day are to be attributed the wonderful effects that have distinguished the eventful period of nearly twenty years, which will close the subject of these sheets. The advantages or disadvantages resulting from that extraordinary revolution in the British cabinet will be estimated by every man reflecting on the effects of it by the political bias, interest, or judgment of the individual. Political differences are at all times, and particularly in the present, of too sensitive a quality for the annalist to touch.

(A. R. 69.) On the 8th of December, 1783, Mr. Fox's India Bill had passed the House of Commons on a division of 208 to 202, and the next day was carried up to the House of Lords. Hitherto no symptoms had appeared, at least to the public eye, that indicated the approaching fate both of the bill and its authors. Great pains indeed were taken, and with considerable success, by an almost incredible circulation of pamphlets and political engravings, to inflame the nation against the measures and the persons of administration; and it was also remarked, that in the House of Commons, several of that description of members, well known by the name of king's friends, gave their votes on the side of opposition. But it was generally imagined, that the coalition ministry was then too strong to be shaken by the breath of popular clamour, and wholly improbable, that they should have adopted a measure of such infinite importance, either without knowing, or contrary to the wishes of the king. It went up to the lords on the first reading on the 11th of December. Lord Temple, Lord Thurlow, and the Duke of Richmond, expressed their abhorrence of the measure in the strongest and most unqualified terms. After a short debate, the second reading was fixed for Monday, December 15.

of Great Britain occasioned a long adjournment in the Irish parliament, in order to give time for the necessary arrangements

In the mean time various rumours began to circulate, relative to some extraordinary motions in the interior of the court. It was confidently affirmed, that on the 11th of December the king signified to Lord Temple in a closet audience, his disapprobation of the India Bill, and authorized him to declare the same to such persons as he might think fit; that a written note was put into his hands, in which his majesty declared, "That he should deem those "who should vote for it not only not his friends, but his enemies; and that "if he (Lord Temple) could put this in stronger words, he had full authority "to do so." And lastly, that in consequence of this authority, communications had been made to the same purport to several peers in the upper house; and particularly to those whose offices obliged them to attend the king's person.

The circumstances, which happened on the second reading of the bill, confirmed the probability of the truth of these reports. On the division upon a question of adjournment, the ministers were left in a minority of 79 to 87.

The same day the House of Commons, on the motion of Mr. Baker, took into consideration the reports above alluded to. He stated shortly, that the public notoriety, both of the fact itself and of the effects it had produced, called on the house, which was the natural guardian of the constitution, for their immediate interference. He divided the criminality of the subject matter of the report into two parts; first the giving secret advice to the crown; and, secondly, the use, that had been made of his majesty's name, for the purpose of influencing the vote of members of parliament in a matter depending before them. The first he contended was a direct and dangerous attack upon the constitution. The law declared, that the king could do no wrong; and therefore had wisely made his ministers amenable for all the measures of his government. This was of the very essence of the constitution, which could no longer subsist, if persons unknown, and upon whom, consequently no responsibility could attach, were allowed to give secret advice to the crown. With regard to the second, Mr. Baker proved, from the Journals, that to make any reference to the opinion of the king, on a bill depending in either house, had always been judged a high breach of the privileges of parliament; he therefore concluded with moving, "That it is now necessary to "declare, that to report any opinion, or pretended opinion, of his majesty, "upon any bill or other proceeding depending in either house of parliament, "with a view to influence the votes of the members, is a high crime and "misdemeanor, derogatory to the honour of the crown, a breach of the fundamental privileges of parliament, and subversive to the constitution."

The motion was seconded by Lord Maitland, and strongly opposed by Mr. W. Pitt, who urged the impropriety of proceeding on mere unauthenticated rumours; he concluded his speech with reproaching the ministers for their base attachment to their offices, though, upon their own state of the case, they had lost their power, and no longer possessed the confidence of their prince.

In answer to these observations, it was said to be a strong presumption of the truth of the reports, that though several members, nearly allied to the noble earl, whose name had been mentioned on this occasion, had spoken in the debate, none of them had ventured to assert they were false. After a long and warm debate the house divided, and there appeared for the motion 153, against it 80. It was then resolved, "that on Monday next the house would "resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration "the present state of the nation."

As a change of ministers appeared to be a measure determined upon by the king, and the dissolution of parliament an immediate and necessary consequence, the majority of the house thought no time was to be lost in endeavouring to render the attempt as difficult as possible. With this view, immediately after the above resolutions were agreed to, Mr. Erskine made the following motion, "That it is necessary to the most essential interests of this kingdom,

for the new ministry. But on the 22d of December,* 1782, the speaker, on presenting the money bills, expressed himself as follows:

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

"HISTORY cannot furnish many instances "of such remarkable events, as have happened in the course of "the last seven years; of these none are more worthy of obser- "vation, than the changes in the human mind, and the more so, "because they have been produced by causes, from which they "were the least to have been expected. New tenets more conso-

"and peculiarly incumbent on this house, to pursue with unremitting attention "the consideration of a suitable remedy for the abuses, which have prevailed "in the government of the British dominions in the East Indies; and that "this house will consider as an enemy to his country any person who shall "presume to advise his majesty to prevent, or in any manner interrupt the dis- "charge of this important duty."

The motion was opposed, as manifestly factious, and as interfering with the executive part of government, and trenching on the undoubted prerogative of the crown without any justifiable cause. The motion was however carried by the same majority with the former.

On Wednesday the 17th of December the India Bill was rejected by the lords, on a division of 95 to 76. It was remarked, that the Prince of Wales, who was in the minority in the former division, having learned in the interim, that the measure was offensive to the king, was absent on this occasion. At twelve o'clock on the following night a messenger delivered to the two secretaries of state his majesty's orders, "that they should deliver up the seals of "their offices, and send them by the under secretaries, Mr. Frazier and Mr. Ne- "pean, as a personal interview on the occasion would be disagreeable to him." The seals were immediately given by the king to Lord Temple, who sent letters of dismission the day following to the rest of the cabinet council: at the same time Mr. William Pitt was appointed First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Earl Gower, President of the Council. On the 22d, Lord Temple resigned the seals of his office, and they were delivered to Lord Sydney, as Secretary of State for the home department, and to the Marquis of Carmarthen for the foreign. Lord Thurlow was appointed High Chancellor of Great Britain, the Duke of Rutland Lord Privy Seal, Lord Viscount Howe First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Duke of Richmond Master General of the Ordnance; Mr. William Grenville and Lord Mulgrave succeeded Mr. Burke in the Pay-Office, and Mr. Henry Dundas was appointed to the office of Treasurer of the Navy.

On the 22d of December Mr. William Grenville begged leave to inform the house, that the noble earl to whom such frequent allusions had been lately made, had authorized him to declare, that he was ready to meet any charge that should be made against him; and that he had thought fit to resign the seals of his office, in order to avoid the smallest suspicion of seeking for protection or shelter in the power and influence of a minister. In answer to this extraordinary notification, Mr. Fox observed, that, with respect to the propriety of the noble earl's relinquishing an office, which he had held but for three days, he was doubtless himself the fittest judge; that as to the facts alluded to, facts of public notoriety, and which materially affected the honour of parliament, and the safety of the constitution, he trusted the house would see the necessity of taking them into their most serious consideration: but that the secret nature of those transactions almost precluded the possibility of bringing a personal charge against any one.

* 11 Journ. Com. p. 182.

" nant to the principles of humanity and justice, have been uni-
" versally adopted in civil and religious policy; these are the
" happy but unexpected fruits of the calamities of war. In
" other countries national benefits may have compensated for
" national misfortunes: but it has been the peculiar felicity of
" this kingdom to acquire the former, without feeling the seve-
" rities of the latter; to her steady virtue she owes these attain-
" ments, and by her virtue I am confident she will preserve
" them, and transmit to posterity unimpaired the British con-
" stitution, the very essence of which is liberty and order. Good
" government and liberty are inseparable; they are necessary
" to and mutually support each other, and neither can exist
" without the other. The commons since the commencement
" of this session have directed their attention to these important
" objects, which were so wisely recommended to them by your
" excellency, to improve and secure those advantages, which
" had been acquired in the last parliament; they have also made
" provision, without laying new burthens on the people, for the
" honourable support of his majesty's government, and for the
" discharge of the arrears upon the establishments; and they
" have the fullest confidence, that your excellency will represent
" them to his majesty as loyal, dutiful, and affectionate sub-
" jects."

The revenue still continued to be unequal to the expences, and 300,000*l.* were ordered to be borrowed towards supplying the deficiencies; also 50,000*l.* were to be advanced as a loan to the undertakers of the grand canal, upon security given; and 25,000*l.* as a loan to Captain Brooke, to support and employ the manufacturers by him established in the cotton line at Prosperous, in the county Kildare, upon his giving security for paying the interest half yearly into the treasury, and the principal at Lady-Day, 1794. These sums were to be raised upon debentures, or treasury bills, aided by one or more lotteries, at the discretion of the chief governor.

Immediately upon the change of ministry in England, Lord Northington sent in his resignation; it was accepted on the 7th of January, and yet his successor, the Duke of Rutland, was only appointed on the 24th of February, 1784. The House of Commons had adjourned to the 20th of January, on which day they met according to adjournment, and then adjourned to the 9th of February, which was the day, to which the House of Lords had adjourned from the 22d of December. During this species of interregnum, one lord lieutenant having resigned, and his successor not having been appointed, the House of Commons met on the 9th of February, when the attorney general moved the house to adjourn to the 18th, which was opposed by Sir Lucius O'Bryen, who saw no reason, why they should

adjourn on account of the squabble of some gentlemen in England for place, at a time when the distressful situation of that country called so urgently upon their attention. Mr. Browne (of the College) opposed the adjournment and said, that all, who respected his majesty should vote against an adjournment proposed by Lord Northington, who was actually in opposition to the king: the adjournment was carried upon a division of 108 against 42. When the house met on the 18th, a long conversation took place upon Mr. John Ponsonby's motion for 3000*l.* to be distributed in the discretion of the lord lieutenant amongst the poor of Dublin. This brought up several members to move for proportionate relief in favour of the distressed poor of their respective boroughs, which were all negatived, except the original motion. In the course of the conversation, Sir Henry Cavendish observed, that money should be granted to set people to work, not to promote idleness: for to such a degree was that now advanced, that there might be seen twenty or thirty sturdy beggars in a knot, and they were grown so outrageous, as to offer force in some measure. He should not be surprised, if in a short time they forced people's doors, and took their property, whether they would or no.* And when the provost expressed a wish, that some general mode of giving bread to the poor could be devised, Sir Edward Newnham suggested a bill for protecting duties, which the right honourable member's talents and influence could effectually secure. Then Ireland would flourish, and they would hear no more of starving manufacturers. Ready money was but a temporary relief: let the great banish foreign fopperies, and be content with home manufactures: protecting duties would be a permanent security against want in the lower order of the people: it behoved them to take those hard-working men under their peculiar protection.

The attorney general informed the house, that he had it in command from his excellency to signify to them his majesty's desire, that they should adjourn till Monday the 23d, and that an official account had arrived of the appointment of the Duke of Rutland to the government of that kingdom. Soon after which, Mr. William Brabazon Ponsonby said, that the lord lieutenant was distinguishable for many virtues, and that he was not ever outdone by any of his predecessors in office, either for integrity, humanity, or public spirit; and as his excellency was shortly to quit the government of the country, he felt it proper to move, though no more than the usual form, that an humble address be presented to the lord lieutenant, to assure his excellency, that the house learnt with the deepest regret his excellency's determination of relinquishing the government of the king-

* 2 Parl. Deb. p. 358.

dom; to assure him, that the uniform wisdom and virtue of his excellency's administration, manifested by his attention to the encouragement of agriculture, the protection and advantage of their commercial interests, and by his zeal and firmness in support of their happy constitution, intitled him to the most grateful thanks of the representatives of a free people; that they entreated his excellency to believe, that as they thankfully acknowledged his virtues, they should sincerely regret his no longer continuing to preside over them, and to request that his excellency would be pleased to add one further favour to those already received at his hands, by representing to his majesty their unshaken loyalty to his person and government, their inviolable attachment to their happy constitution, and their determined resolution to support the just rights and privileges of the commons of Ireland against all encroachments whatsoever.

Mr. Conolly seconded the motion, at the same time testifying, that Lord Northington had come over at a critical period, and yet manifested the most steady resolution in supporting the constitution and promoting the real interests of Ireland.

Sir Edward Newnham declared, he could not agree to such an address; it glanced in very disagreeable terms, on the honour and dignity of the volunteers, who saved their country in defiance of corruption. He could not thank a viceroy, under whose administration a parliamentary reform was (in the language of some members) scouted out of the house: he spoke plain English, and said, a reform of that house, for no house ever wanted it more. He would wait the issue of the present motion, to make one that would do honour to a parliament, of real independent members, which motion he had in his hand, and that was, to thank his majesty for dismissing his late ministry, a part of whom robbed the crown of half its dominions; and to thank his majesty for appointing a new ministry, in whom the people might confide, and whose principles were declared friendly to the much wanted parliamentary reformation.

Mr. O'Hara, after dwelling pretty much on the services the volunteers had rendered the country, and saying, that instead of the censure indirectly thrown on them by the last paragraph of the address, they deserved the utmost praises, that every friend to Ireland could bestow, moved an amendment, by expunging these words, "we will support the just rights of the commons "of Ireland against every encroachment whatsoever." These, he said, were insidious words, and seemed directed to the advocates of parliamentary reform.

Mr. Griffith seconded the amendment.

Mr. Grattan observed, that Lord Northington had not been above eight months in that kingdom, and if he had not greatly diminished the national expences, he had done more than most

of his predecessors, for he had not at all increased them. The army had been mentioned as an instance of profusion, but would any man lay the blame of a vote of parliament at the door of a lord lieutenant? As to any scheme of systematic reduction, it was impossible, from the shortness of Lord Northington's administration; but they should not forget, that no objection had been made from him, when the expence of collecting the revenue was proposed to be reduced; formerly it was objected to: but with this symptom in his favour, they could not condemn him for not having time to carry a scheme of retrenchment into execution.

As to commercial advantages, he would state a duty on foreign beer, which must operate powerfully in favour of their own breweries and of tillage. When that was announced to the house, he recollected the honourable baronet rising, and laying his hand upon his breast, to return thanks for so great a favour.

Another advantage was the duty laid upon calico, in favour of Irish manufacture. The duty on sugar, that had been conceded that session, was formerly thought an object of the first magnitude in that commerce.

As to constitution, an idea totally new and unsolicited was introduced into their admiralty bill, that is, to cut off any appeal to the British admiralty, by which all that foolish supposition of any power of external legislation for Ireland remaining in Great Britain was for ever done away.

Mr. George Ponsonby approved of the noble and disinterested manner, in which his excellency had refused the additional 4000*l.* a year. But as his excellency did not employ newspapers, their puffers did not blazon it forth, with half the assiduity they were known to use on much more trifling occasions. The question being then put, there appeared for the amendment 5, against it 109.

When the house met, according to their last adjournment, on the 26th of February, Mr. Gardiner moved a congratulatory address to the Duke of Rutland, which was unanimously agreed to; and on the 1st of March the same gentleman communicated his Grace's answer to the house. On the same day thirteen several petitions from counties and populous boroughs were presented to the House of Commons by their respective representatives, praying a reform in the state of the representation of the people in parliament.* Amongst other motions on this

* 2 Parl. Deb. p. 389, namely, from the county of Armagh by Mr. Brownlow, from the county of Meath by Sir Herc. L. Rowley, from the county of Londonderry by the Hon. Edward Cary, from the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin by Mr. Hartley, from the county of Carlow by Sir Richard Butler, from the county of Louth by Mr. Foster, from the county of Dublin by

day, which was properly the first meeting under the Duke of Rutland, Mr. Annesley Stewart moved, that the proper officer should lay before the house the grants of looms and wheels made that year by the trustees of the linen board, and an account of the particular persons, to whom they were ordered to be delivered. When General Cunningham said he was sure there was something rotten at the bottom in the management of that board: he had improved as much as any man in the kingdom, and helped manufactures, by establishing manufactories, and assisting poor manufacturers, yet could never obtain a loom, unless he would accept of it as a particular gift to himself, which he declined doing. The trustees of the linen board did not consider themselves, he said, as trustees, but proprietors, some of whom appropriated thirty looms to themselves.

Mr. Foster wished for the enquiry, as he was convinced nothing would come to light but what would be to the honour of the members of the linen board; and the motion was agreed to unanimously.

The nation now was in the height of a political fever: elated with what they had obtained; soured at their disappointment in being refused what they were taught to believe, was still wanting to complete their freedom; the public attempts both of parliament and government to discredit and dissolve the volunteers; the failure in the attempts of the opposition to procure a reduction of the military establishment at the return of peace, all tended to foment jealousies between the citizen and the soldier. A riot had lately happened at Island Bridge, where the outrages of the soldiery had exceeded the rules of military discipline or even common humanity. This exasperated the populace, and in vindictive retaliation, they had recourse to the barbarous practice of houghing the soldiers, whenever they found them straggling and off their guard.

* General Luttrell, (afterwards Lord Carhampton) therefore acquainted the house, that he had a motion to make, for the prevention of a robbery of the worst nature, the robbery of life and limb, by a cruelty practised there in the 18th century, that would have astonished the barbarians of the 14th; it was the inhuman practice of houghing men for no reason but their

Sir Edward Newnham, from the county of Cork by the provost, from the county of the town of Drogheda by Mr. William Ogle, from the county of Longford by Colonel Gore, from the county of Leitrim by Mr. Peter Latouche, from the county of Sligo by Mr. Owen Wynne, from the county of Sligo from Mr. O'Hara. And on the 5th of the month a similar petition was presented by Mr. Rowley from the county of Antrim, and another from the inhabitants of Belfast. A like petition was presented from the county of Down by Mr. Ward and a counter petition by Mr. Annesley. A like petition was presented by Mr. Leslie from the county of Monaghan.

* Parl. Debates, p. 419.

being soldiers, by the people of the trade and mystery of butchers, whose qualifications were a strong arm, a sharp knife, and a hard heart.

He said, that such acts were sufficient to exasperate men against the civil authority, if the officers of the army had not been watchful to prevent any evil consequences. In the instance of the Island-bridge riot, the civil power vindicated its authority; that immediately after that event, the whole garrison of Dublin had been drawn upon the parade, (he was himself on duty by order of General Baugh) the offended inhabitants were encouraged to appear on the parade, to pitch on such of the soldiers, whose persons they could identify, and the offenders were, in the presence of the high sheriffs, both for city and county, given up to the civil power, and committed to Newgate.

He was the last man in the house, who would get up to excuse the soldiery in that instance, and he mentioned the provocation in mitigation of those proceedings; for he thought a reverence for the laws of civil society, and a peaceable demeanour towards their fellow subjects, was the best part of military discipline.

He quoted the statute of the 5th of Edward VI. whereby persons, who were only suspected of being guilty of offences less horrid than the act of houghing, were liable to have their heads cut off by the parties aggrieved, and the vicinity mulcted into the bargain; but he observed, that the redress was as barbarous as the crime.

That individuals might be urged to retaliation, he asserted, and as a proof, he alluded to a commanding officer of a regiment of dragoons, who declared to them aloud in *terrorem*, that if a man of them were houghed in Dublin, and they did not the next morning bring him a butcher's head, he would flog them all; but this was as an additional argument to prove, that the gratitude for protection ought to supersede the idea of revenge.

He then moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to give better protection to soldiers, and others, against the barbarous practice of houghing. Which was ordered.

On the 13th of March, Mr. Flood who had lately been over to England, mentioned to the house, that when he last did himself the honour of moving that house for leave to bring in a bill for a more equal representation of the people in parliament, it was the pleasure of the house to negative the proposition by anticipation, and to declare they would not suffer the bill even to be brought in. The subject was sent back to the people, where it had been discussed with excess of application. The approbation it met could be only equalled by the ardour, with which it was adopted. The more examination it underwent, the more

it appeared founded in right; and the unanimous and persevering spirit, with which it came back to that house, proved it too firmly riveted in the hearts of the people, to be easily erased by an abrupt and unusual mode of refusal. It contained not his sentiments alone, but the sentiments of the nation, declared both publicly and privately in every capacity. He was therefore anxious to return to that kingdom, that he might be in his place, in order to stand forward in promoting the measure. He admitted, it would be thought by certain gentlemen injurious to their private interest, if the constitution were restored to its original security; but they must also admit, that it was contrary to every principle of right and justice, that individuals should be permitted to send into that house, two, four, or six members of parliament, to make a traffic of venal boroughs, as if they were household utensils. It seemed a point agreed upon in England, that a parliamentary reform was necessary; he should mention, he said, the opinion given by Lord Chatham, upon whose posthumous fame the present administration so firmly stood defended by the nation, though that great and illustrious man had been neglected for ten years by the public, and so large a portion of his valuable life suffered to be lost to the community. What were his sentiments on that important matter? His words most strongly enforced its necessity: in his answer to the address of the city of London, in which he said, that a reform in parliament was absolutely necessary, in order to infuse fresh vigour into the constitution, and that rotten boroughs ought to be strucken off. A decision in England had established that doctrine.

Lord John Cavendish, the late Chancellor of the exchequer, supported it; and the borough of Shoreham's measure was intended to be made general.

Much argument had been drawn against the measure from the people's overawing that house; but he asked gentlemen, if they had not known many benefits to have resulted from the people's interference with their representatives? Let them go back to Lord Carlisle's and some other administrations before him; was not parliament, in direct opposition to the sentiments of the people; and had not they reason to change their opinions in subsequent administrations, when the sentiments of the people without doors overturned those of people within. They recovered your authority, continued he; do you restore them their priviliges.

They were a body of men, that ought always to be mentioned with respect in that house, while it continued to enjoy the consequence it had acquired from their exertions. That he would endeavour to give a concise account of what the nation expected. That the people should have a real, and not a nominal re-

presentation. That the unjust privileges of boroughs should be abolished. That the election of their representatives should be in the body of the people. And that corruption should be checked in the elected as well as the elector.

It was to be expected, from the natural impetuosity of the Irish, that the volunteers should violently engage in every pursuit, that tended to keep up their consequence, and extend the cause of liberty, which they had long identified with the necessity of arming. The generality of them unquestionably were sanguine for a reform of parliament. They were spirited up by Mr. Flood, and his friends, loudly and strongly to urge their claims of reform: and were on the other hand buoyed up with the conviction, that parliament dared not to refuse or resist them. The great contest, was on the second reading of Mr. Flood's bill on the 20th of March, 1784. Mr. Monk Mason began the debate, and in a set and able speech, drew together all the general and particular objections at any time made against attempts at reforming the popular representation in parliament.*

Sir Boyle Roche said, the design of the bill was to transfer the franchise of election from the few to the many; or, in other words, to deprive the present possessors of the patronage of boroughs, and give it to another set of men: while they were endeavouring to gratify one set of men, they should not act as tyrants to another. This bill would be a proscriptive act against the Roman Catholics, who would be all turned out of their farms to make room for forty shilling freeholders. The Roman Catholics were a brave and loyal people; their loyalty had been proved in the fire of adversity; they required only that portion of liberty, which the legislature should deem consistent with the happiness of their fellow subjects. But if the constitution were to be broken up, and a new one to be formed, they had as much right to an equality of representation as any other set of men. He would, therefore, make an amendment, "That Protestants be expunged from the bill, and the words "persons of any religious denomination, inserted in their "stead."

The Speaker informed them, that the amendment, till the question before the house, "whether the bill should be committed," was decided, was premature.

This objection to the bill was also urged by Major (now General) Doyle, who said, "But, Sir, the greatest objection to "this, is the grievous oppression, that will be thrown upon

* In order that the reader may have before his eyes at one view the grounds of opposing this attempt at reform, Mr. Mason's speech is given at full length in the Appendix, No. LXXI.

" three-fourths of as loyal subjects as his majesty can boast of, " I mean the Roman Catholics of Ireland; an enlightened par- " liament had done away the illiberal prejudices of former ages; " and should they, in the very act of renovation, re-rivet those " chains, from which that parliament freed them? That would " operate cruelly against the Roman Catholic tenant; for no " sooner would his lease expire, than he, his wife, and helpless " children, would be set adrift to make way for the Protestant " freeholders, to augment the influence of the petty bashaw " of the barony: the proposed extension of the right of suffrage, " excluding the Roman Catholic, was adding insult to injury; " they brought the cup of liberty to his parched lips, but, like " Tantalus, precluded him from the taste."

Mr. Grattan so far differed in his patriotic efforts to serve his country from Mr. Flood, that until they had procured a constitution, he was indefatigable and foremost in every exertion, that could tend to promote the cause of civil freedom: he had laboured incessantly till the year 1782; and when Great Britain had, with superior wisdom and liberality, called upon Ireland to state her own terms, and had most magnanimously granted them without stint or cavil, for a time he appeared to rest upon his oars: he never receded from the principles he avowed: though his enemies objected to him, that the relaxation of his fervour was an effect of the donation of 50,000*l*. There never was any personal cordiality between Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood; the purity of Mr. Flood's patriotism appears to have been much questioned, from the recency of its birth, the doubtfulness of its parentage, and his intemperance in the indulgence of the novelty. On this important debate, Mr. Grattan was the only member of the house who did not exceed his usual powers. He temperately observed, that the question before the house was, whether the bill should be committed? And that question should be decided by the principle of the bill, and not by any defect in its clauses. He believed that bill never would be carried into effect; but a bill might be formed by correcting all its defects, still preserving its principles. The committee was the place to make alteration or improvement.

That the bill was an innovation on the constitution, he denied; the fundamental principles of the constitution were abused by the corruption of boroughs, and if they were so, reformation had become necessary. That bill went to first principles; it was an innovation upon abuse; but a renovation of the constitution. What was the octennial bill; what were the election laws, but innovations upon abuses, and renovations of first principles? Their forefathers were not so apprehensive of innovation: the great charter was an innovation upon tyranny: the bill of rights was also such an innovation; but they were both restorations of the people's rights.

It was said, that the bill would increase both the oligarchical and democratical factions of the state; that was impossible; the power of the commons and of the people, were the same; and he was a bad man, who would wish to separate them. It was not three hundred gentlemen sitting in parliament, that were the commons of Ireland, but those gentlemen and their constituents together: it was that alliance, that gave strength and longevity to the constitution, which long ago would have fallen under tyranny, if not supported by the people; that was the cause why the constitution of England had not fallen, as that of France had done, for want of such an invigorating principle.

Another argument was, "that we ought not to disfranchise those persons, who at present enjoy the right of voting in boroughs; but could that be called a franchise, which was used as a private property, either to be sold or given away? Besides, they imposed no hardships on those people, but what the law had already imposed; for the law of the land disallowed the selling seats in parliament.

He had declared his approbation of the principle of the bill, and would vote to have it committed; so far would he go, and no farther: he would not commit the parliament, nor give their consent to any act or resolution, or expression injurious to the commons, because that would be to discredit their authority, and impeach the law-makers; and what had they been contending for, but the supremacy of their parliament? He acknowledged their constitution had some defects, but such as it was, it was the best existing; and though it might be a proper subject for reform, it ought not to be the subject of calumny. Mr. Pitt had set a proper example: animated with his father's patriotic spirit, he wished to invigorate the constitution of his country, to supply it with strength, and remedy its infirmities; but he felt a dutiful respect, which restrained him from any violent or rash proceeding. He knew, that if by any excess of the reformer, a reform were once lost, every hope must perish with it.

Gentlemen had intimated, that discontents might prevail among the volunteers and the people, if that measure should be rejected; he doubted not there might be some little ebullition; but nothing less than a miracle could convince him, that they would ever violate the public peace and good order; they were restrained by the constitution they possessed, and by the fame, which they had acquired. When he declared that opinion of the volunteers, he knew he spoke before men, who in conjunction with them, had done more than the barons at Runnymede, or the convention parliament; men who had acquired more by wisdom and discretion, than others with the sword. He did

not like the distinction, which said, the people, and not parliament, acquired the great objects, for which that country lately contended: the distinction was not just or true; they were acquired by an happy concurrence and union of both.

Who acquired the free trade? The House of Commons.

Who acquired the repeal of the 6th of George the Ist? The House of Commons.

Who restored the appellant jurisdiction? The House of Commons.

Who framed an Irish mutiny bill? The House of Commons.

In a word, who obtained all, that could be demanded or desired? The House of Commons, backed, not bullied, by the volunteers; supported, but not intimidated. The volunteers never did, nor never would attempt to overawe that parliament, under which they formed: that parliament, which they had pledged their lives and fortunes to support.

As the principle of the bill went to a reform, he would vote for having it go into a committee; the defective clauses might there be altered, as was done in the case of the bill for relieving their Catholic fellow-subjects, which he had the happiness to support. The right honourable gentleman who introduced that bill, being convinced of its imperfection, consented to a total alteration of its form, retaining its principle and spirit; the same thing might be done with this bill; and he sincerely wished it the same effect.

About four o'clock on Sunday morning, the question, whether the bill should be committed, was put, and on a division, the numbers were....

Ayes	-	-	85
Noes	-	-	159

Thus, for the present, was put an end to the grand question of reform in parliament. The majority of 74 was too decisive not to deter the partisans of reform from attempting any thing further upon the subject. Two other objects of great national importance were brought before parliament that session; the regulation of the revenue, by Mr. Grattan, and the improvement of commerce, by Mr. Gardiner: the first on the 31st of March,* the last on the 2d of April.†

The backwardness of the parliament in seconding the wishes of several of the armed associations, and their assumption of a

* The speeches of Mr. Grattan and of Mr. Beresford, lay open the whole system of revenue in Ireland at that time, and are to be seen in the Appendix, No. LXXII.

† Mr. Gardiner's speech is given in the Appendix, No. LXXIII. as a most valuable piece of historical information on the commerce of Ireland.

right to give instructions to, and watch the motions of their constituents in parliament, had so sharpened the rancour and animosity of the people, that they flew out into the most audacious outrages. On the 5th of April, a complaint was made to the house of a breach of privilege, by several persons riotously breaking into the house; two of the persons guilty of the offence, having been seized by the serjeant at arms, were ordered to be prosecuted, and immediately Mr. Foster moved a committee to enquire into the conduct of the magistrates of the city of Dublin, respecting an outrageous mob, which had broken into the house that day, and behaved riotously and abusively to several of the members, in which it was unanimously resolved, that an address should be presented to the lord-lieutenant, that he would be pleased to issue a proclamation, offering such reward as he should think proper, for the discovery of such persons, as had been concerned in tumultuously breaking into the house, or who had incited or encouraged others thereto; and on the same day a complaint was made of several paragraphs in a printed newspaper, intituled, "*The Volunteer's Journal, or Irish Herald*," published that morning; which being read, it was unanimously resolved, that the said paper was a daring, false, scandalous, and seditious libel on the proceedings of that house, tending to promote discontents among his majesty's subjects, to create groundless jealousies between that kingdom and Great Britain, to alienate the affections of the people from his majesty's government, and to excite an opposition to the laws of the land: and it was ordered, that the printer and publisher of the paper should forthwith attend the house.

On the same day Mr. Foster moved, that the printer and publisher of *The Evening Chronicle*, should also be brought to the bar of the house, the same seditious and libellous paragraphs having also appeared in that paper: and almost immediately after, he reported from the committee appointed to enquire into the conduct of the magistrates on that occasion. The house came to the following resolutions, viz.

"*Resolved*, That it appears to this committee, that the Right "Hon. Thomas Green, the lord mayor, received notice on Mon- "day last, at nine o'clock, from Mr. Secretary Orde, that he "had information of an intended tumult in the city on that day; "and that the lord mayor had seen, on Sunday evening last, one "of the seditious hand-bills, which were dispersed throughout "the city on that day.

"*Resolved*, That it appears to this committee, that notwith- "standing such information, the said lord mayor did not take "any step to prevent the tumultuous rising of the people, which "happened in this city on Monday last.

" *Resolved*, That it appears to this committee, that the said " lord mayor has not acted with that caution and prudence which " becomes the magistrate of this city."

Mr. Griffith said, he thought the lord mayor had acted with a becoming regard for the principles of the constitution. He had refrained from calling on a military force, which the constitution abhors, until compelled by the last extremity. In doing this, he was warranted by the prudent and constitutional advice of Mr. Speaker.

The Prime Serjeant said, that the lord mayor had entered upon his office at a time, when the city was in the most perfect state of tranquillity, and when its police was much more completely regulated, than ever it had been at any former period. In that state, his predecessor's great ability and unwearied application to the duties of his high office, had left the city; but hardly had Mr. Green entered upon his year of mayoralty, when he, who had been an active officer in the county of Wicklow, suffered every thing to run into disorder; the streets became impassable, riots became frequent, and every duty neglected. The man who could so far forget himself, as not to prevent such tumults as had arisen, he said, must be considered as little better than an accomplice, and therefore, though with infinite reluctance he should consent to any thing disgraceful to a magistrate, he thought Mr. Greene ought to be censured.

The Recorder and Alderman Warren supported the lord mayor, as did Mr. Hartley.

Mr. Hayes, of the county of Wicklow, said, that he had for many years known the lord mayor in that county, where he was esteemed a worthy public spirited man, and an active upright magistrate.

Upon a division there appeared, for censuring the lord mayor 35, and 17 against it.

Among other matters then pending, Sir John Blaquiere's paving bill had created discontent amongst a large part of the citizens of Dublin, and many of them had petitioned against it.* On the 7th of the month, Mr. Alderman Warren said, that such was the tenor of that bill, as induced the inhabitants to think it inexpedient, agreeable to the petitions presented on the preceding day; that to prevent the grievances arising therefrom, counsel ought to be heard, who were ready to attend at the bar.

Sir Boyle Roche dissented, not only in approving of the principles of the bill, but also thought it repugnant to the dig-

* 3 Parl. Debates. Although the petition were presented, yet was it not accepted by the house, which rejection irritated the populace very much: even the presentation of it is not noticed in the Journals.

nity of that house, to pay attention to the solicitations of an unruly people. He wanted to know if it were not an insult to the house, to have petitions offered up by ringleaders of mobs. He then entered into a detail of his being surrounded by a riotous mob near the Tholsel, and challenged by them to know, if he were not an abettor of Sir John Blaquiere's bill; but as a guiltless man, that could never be intimidated, he declared he was; in consequence of which, he found himself ingulphed in a vortex, whence he could not extricate himself; and on demanding who they were, he received for answer, that they were the aggregate body. Thus he perceived, that if Napper Tandy thought proper to go into the remotest recesses of that city, and excite the inhabitants to acts of desperation, these meetings were to be legalized by the specious appellation of *aggregate bodies*.

The Recorder, in the strongest terms, reprobated the whole bill, as a system of unexampled tyranny and oppression. It placed, he said, in the hands of a set of low persons, (for commissioners acting for 150*l.* a year could be no other) a power to fine and torment with all the insolence of authority, every citizen of Dublin. It gave them power to raise taxes, and to borrow money; to summon whomsoever they thought proper before their tribunal: and upon neglect or disobedience, to impose a fine of 40*l.* By this inquisitorial act, the father would be compelled to give evidence against his son, and the son against his father before that honourable board.

The principle of the bill, he said, was utterly repugnant to the law and constitution; and although the mover of the bill expressed his readiness to admit of any reasonable amendment to it, that could be suggested, he objected to the whole principle, as utterly incapable of being modelled to the public benefit.

In this licentious disposition of the public mind, Mr. Foster had been particularly marked as an object of obloquy* in the

* This appears to have been the case from what Mr. Gardiner remarked in the debate. "The continuation of abuse, which is thrown upon one of the most virtuous characters in this house; a man, to whom the trade and agriculture of Ireland is more indebted, than to any other person living, demonstrates the necessity of the bill. No man can serve this country as things are now conducted, without becoming at one time or other the object of calumny. I have experienced this myself, though now I happen to be a favourite, possibly with as little reason, as my right honourable friend is the mark for obloquy.

"The licentiousness of the press is so great, that no man can rest one hour secure, that his character will not become the prey of some hireling defamer. A bill, therefore, to secure character from malignant attacks, is absolutely necessary. Nothing can be more moderate than the principle of that which is now before us. It allows every man to publish whatever he thinks proper,

newspapers: he therefore brought in a bill for restraining the liberty of the press, which was the only remaining subject of importance, that was agitated in parliament during the session. It was then opposed by some of the opposition.

On the 2d reading of the bill, Sir Edward Crofton said, he was astonished that a bill of such a dangerous tendency to the constitution, and so violent an attack on the liberty of the subject, should be agitated in such thin houses. He considered the press as the strongest bulwark of the constitution; and as he valued that constitution, would resist any measure of a tendency to lessen its securities. He then moved, that the second reading be postponed to the 1st of August.

Mr. Foster said, that it was highly unjust to suppose any injury intended to the liberty of the press by the bill in question; the manifest design of that bill was to preserve the liberty of the press, by curbing its licentiousness, which of late had grown to such a degree of enormity, as to become a national reproach. The bill was not intended as a restraint upon any man, to prevent his publishing his sentiments or opinions. If the bill should pass, every man would hereafter be at full liberty to publish whatever he should think proper, with this difference only, that if a jury of his countrymen should deem such publication a false, scandalous, or malicious libel, he would be answerable. After a very warm debate, the house divided, 22 for the adjournment, and 77 against it. On a subsequent day Mr. Brownlow supported the bill; and Mr. Grattan said, the necessity of the first clause of the bill, that for making known the real name of the printer or proprietor of every newspaper, was apparent, and if carried with unanimity, would produce the most salutary consequence. There was one paper, said he, that teemed with exhortations and incitements to assassination, which daily published such atrocious matter, as would not be suffered in any other country existing. Parliament was called upon to check such proceedings, and to guard the liberty of the press from the injury it might receive, through the scandalous and licentious conduct of the newspapers. He had no idea of wounding the liberty of the press; but if it were suffered to go on in the way it then did, one of two things would ensue; it would either excite the unthinking to acts of desperation, or it would itself fall into utter contempt, after having disgraced the nation. To prevent either of which consequences, he thought parliament called upon to interfere consonant to the spirit of the constitution, not by imposing any new penalty, nor by compelling printers to have

only making him responsible for what he does publish. This is simply the principle of the bill; if there be any defect in its clauses, that may be remedied by going into a committee." 3 Parl. Debates, p. 162.

their publications licensed, but merely to oblige them to put their names to their newspapers.

The House of Commons had ordered their Serjeant at Arms to take the publishers and printers of the offensive newspapers out of the custody of the civil power, and commit them over to military escorts, under which they were more cruelly and severely treated, than they could have been by the civil power. Against these illegal stretches of power, some of the warmest patriots vehemently exclaimed. Although the bulk of the house were against them, the agitation of the question upon the unwarrantable exercise of a rigour so manifestly beyond the law, produced in that ferment* of the public mind the very worst of consequences.

* General Luttrell, who was at no time a popular favourite, may by some be suspected of having exaggerated the truth, when on the 12th of April, he said in the house, no country was ever disgraced in the manner Ireland had lately been; nothing less than essays in praise of murder, investigating the different means, by which it might be perpetrated, and giving preference to the poignard as the most certain and least dangerous to the assassin. There was no place in the world where excitements to murder would be permitted; and if the mobs there committed murders, they must be attributed to the news-printers, who, not content with assassinating characters, had proceeded to the shedding of blood. The bill before them, would, he hoped, remedy that enormity, and also another, which they had lately imported from London, that is, the raising contributions by defaming, or threatening to defame innocent persons. He hoped a newspaper would no longer be able to say, give me so much money, or your character shall be destroyed by calumny. This is like the means used to raise contributions by a set of infamous miscreants in England, against whose practices the legislature of that country was compelled to exert itself; they used to threaten persons, that if not paid for silence, they would accuse them of crimes, which to mention, shocks our nature: how much better, he asked, have been the practices of some news-printers here?

Mr. Gardiner, however, who was at that time the prime favourite of the people, as he was the avowed advocate of the distressed manufacturers, thus confirmed the General's statement:..... "I have been in some degree, the innocent cause of the disturbances that have prevailed of late; but I trust the house will do me the justice to recollect, that I did declare in November last, upon the very first appearance of them, that if the people would not desist from all violence, and demean themselves in a peaceable manner, I would abandon the cause, which I had undertaken. And could I have foreseen the tumults that have happened, I certainly would have been as good as my word; nor will I in future ever undertake the smallest thing for the relief of the manufacturers, if the people continue to act so improperly as of late they have done; and I hope the gentlemen who divided with me upon the question of protecting duties, will make the same determination.

"As to the bill now before us, the first clause is on all hands admitted; and the necessity of the last, (by which the hawker of any unstamped, inflammatory, or libellous paper, may be compelled to prove from whom he received it,) is obvious. It was by the inflammatory hand-bill lately dispersed, that all this tumult has been excited, as I am well assured by the working people themselves, who declared, that they had no idea of stirring till they saw it.

"I must say once more, that had I foreseen what was to happen, I never would have undertaken the cause of the manufacturers; and I feel myself extremely hurt at the improper conduct of the working people: I lament it

Towards the close of the session Lord Hilwarlin's motion in the House of Commons for a special address to the lord lieutenant, declaratory of their approbation of his Grace's just and wise administration, produced some very angry debates for several days. The treasury bench resounded with the highest eulogies of the peculiar and signal advantages of the Duke of Rutland's administration. His most impressive panegyrist was Mr. Foster who in answer to the three chief arguments from the opposition benches, namely that the people was discontented, that the session had been disgraceful, and that the House of Commons was unpopular, thus expressed himself. "They say, the "people have cause to be discontented. I deny it, unless they "mean that cause, which no human power could prevent, the "inclemency of the late season. The utmost efforts indeed "have been made to alleviate it, by the corn bill and other mea-"sures: I know the news-papers have taken pains to inflame "the public mind, and to irritate the passions of the people, "by false and seditious writings; and those, who credit the "falsehoods of newspapers may be discontented, but I will not "believe, that there are many such; the more reasonable and "discerning persons cannot be misled, they must see, that their "representatives have been watchful of their interests, and that "that session of parliament had been distinguished by many "wise and beneficial acts. They say, that it has been a dis-"graceful session. He had sat many sessions, and he never knew "one wherein so many good acts had been passed, or more pub-"lic benefits procured. They said, that house was unpopular: "unpopular it might be with the promoters of discontent and "sedition, but it was popular with the wise and discerning: it "would be a fatal day to Ireland, when the people should quar-"rel with their parliament. The privileges of that house were "the privileges of the people: its strength was their's, and if "they failed to support its strength and its privileges they were "undone."

The cry on the other hand from the opposition benches was for what bounties received from the Duke of Rutland were the people of Ireland to offer up their thanksgiving? Was it for the rejection of their favourite bill to reform the representation in that house, and to renovate the constitution? Was it for the precipitate dismissal of the equalization bill, without deigning it any offer of redress, any slight promise from the minister to sooth the disappointed? Was it for that lenient and equitable act the post-office bill, the adoption of which from a former administration

"on their own account, because parliament never will be driven into mea-"sures; and though otherwise what I promised might be taken up and car-"ried into effect, perhaps in a less degree, yet while riot and disturbance con-"tinue, nothing can be done."

only aggravated the injury? Was it for the contemptuous rejection of every resolution proposed there, to enforce the residence of certain absentee great officers of the state, who drew immense salaries from that kingdom, and squandered them in another, inattentive to, and negligent of the duties annexed to these offices? Was it for filling the streets of the capital of that free country with an armed host, not amenable to the control, and derogatory to the privileges of its peaceful citizens? Or was it for the transforming the House of Commons into a court of star chamber, and converting the Castle from an Irish court to a French bastile, or a Grenada inquisition? The thanks the people owed for such benevolences were in fact rendered by the torrent of disapprobation and discontent out of doors, which rolled from shore to shore of that kingdom, loudly proclaiming their disapprobation of the administration of his Grace of Rutland *in toto*.

The original address, which was highly flattering to the lord lieutenant, was carried by a very decided majority.* After-

* The following was the address presented to the lord lieutenant (11 Journ. Com. p. 282.)

To his Grace Charles Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.

The humble address of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in parliament assembled.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

"WE his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the "commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, see with particular satisfac- "tion the arrival of that period, which calls upon us to review the various "measures of our session, and to testify to your Grace thereupon the warm "sense of our obligation and duty.

"We have at once to congratulate ourselves, and to acknowledge the good- "ness of our sovereign, in the appointment of a chief governor, who by atten- "tion to regulate his conduct by our wishes, hath fully confirmed the justice "of that early confidence, which we zealously professed in the liberality of "his disposition, and the spirit of his hereditary virtues; a just estimation "of such qualities must ever render him the favourite of a spirited and gene- "rous nation.

"We are persuaded, that his majesty hath observed with pleasure our at- "tention to those objects, which were recommended to our deliberation at "the opening of the session, and has graciously accepted the assurance of "satisfaction, which we have repeatedly expressed in the blessings of our "happy constitution.

"And when we reflect upon the measures we have taken to ensure a con- "stant supply of corn under every possible circumstance; upon the prospect "of benefit in the management of the revenue; upon our attention to make "the additional security of private property a cause of increase to the na- "tional credit; upon our provision for the improvement of the metropolis; "and our encouragement of useful establishments, and of various branches of "trade and manufacture, we doubt not of receiving the true reward of our "services, in the approbation of our sovereign, and in the gratitude of our fel- "low-subjects.

wards Mr. Griffith moved an address to his majesty, which spoke more dubiously of the lord lieutenant's exertions to second the calls of the country for the improvement of manufactures and other commercial advantages, which was so moderate and so transcendently true, that Mr. Foster, fearing to permit it to go to a vote, artfully compromised the matter, and brought over Mr. Griffith to the treasury bench, where with the alteration of some few words, which Mr. Griffith did not consider very material, such an address was settled as should meet with no opposition. Mr. Griffith in concluding a very warm and impressive speech, before he moved his original address, added these emphatical words. He hoped, "that no man would "be bold enough to move the previous question upon it, the "previous question, that political bowstring, with which the "mutes of the Castle strangle every honest subject, which they "dare not openly arraign." The address amended and settled by Mr. Foster, which was voted unanimously, was, "That his "faithful commons humbly begged leave to approach his ma-"jesty's throne with hearts full of gratitude for the many bles-"sings they enjoyed under his wise and benignant government: "and at the same time to express to his majesty the deep concern "they felt for those distresses, which affected many of the "lower ranks of manufacturers in that kingdom. That his faith-"ful commons begged leave humbly to represent to his majesty, "that his majesty's subjects in Ireland had always been a loyal "people, and had, on every occasion, manifested the warmest "attachment to his majesty's royal person and family. That as

"We reflect with true pride and satisfaction upon the solid advantages, "which have been obtained for this country within a very short period. We "are aware of the situation of the empire, and the peculiar circumstances, "which have prevented the adjustment of some points, which concern our "trade and manufactures, and we rely upon the readiness of your Grace's "liberal and benevolent assistance for the furtherance of such practical mea-"sures as deliberate wisdom and generous policy may adapt to our real "necessities and general interests.

"As guardians of the rights and safety of our fellow subjects, as well as "assertors of the national honour, we have felt ourselves called upon to ex-"press our abhorrence of tumult and of seditious publications; zealous to "uphold the true spirit of the constitution, we have made it the object of our "unanimous resolution to defend its genuine liberty against the attacks of "licentiousness.

"We have not suffered to escape our grateful observation the early anxiety, "which your Grace manifested to remove every apprehension of party preju-"dices or partial charges in the councils or measures of government. We "feel and acknowledge the benefits arising from such a principle; we have "studied to shew a sincere disposition to confirm them, by a liberal imita-"tion; and we shall be zealous to concur in diffusing throughout every part of "the kingdom the successful influence of so happy an example. Convinced "as we are of the importance to this kingdom of a steady and permanent "administration, it is our ardent wish, that his majesty may long continue "your Grace in the government of Ireland."

" they were deeply impressed with his majesty's paternal care " and affection, they entertained the warmest hopes that the " interval between the close of the present session and the " beginning of the next would afford sufficient opportunity for " forming a wise and well digested plan for liberal arrangement " of commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland " to be then brought forward. That his faithful commons " humbly begged leave to assure his majesty, that such a plan, " formed upon the broad basis of reciprocal advantages, would " be the most effectual means of strengthening the empire at " large, and cherishing the common interest and brotherly " affection of both kingdoms."

The parliament was prorogued on the 14th of May, 1784, and the lord lieutenant concluded the session with a *speech appropriate to the important and critical situation of the kingdom. That was the first time the Duke of Rutland had personally addressed the parliament. The difficulties of the session were greater from without, than from within the walls of the senate. It appears from the efforts of some of the members upon the armed associations when the session was over, that attempts were made to carry the questions lost in parliament by a majority out of it. After the prorogation the discontent and violence of the

*My Lords and Gentlemen,

" IN addressing you for the first time in parliament, at the " close of the session, I embrace with pleasure the occasion, which is afforded " me of returning you my affectionate acknowledgment for the cordiality of " my reception, and the early assurances of your confidence. And I am at " the same time highly gratified in being authorized to communicate to you " the sentiments of perfect satisfaction with which his majesty approves of " your exertions for the public welfare.

" Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I am happy in obeying his majesty's commands, to thank you for the " cheerfulness with which you have made provision for the exigencies and " honour of his government. Let me assure you, on my part, that the readi- " ness with which you have granted supplies stimulates my utmost atten- " tion and care, that they shall be managed with œconomy, and applied with " prudence.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" You will have much satisfaction in reflecting, that the various objects " which, in consequence of the acknowledged independence of the legislature, " were recommended for your deliberations, at the opening of this session, " have been diligently pursued and accomplished.

" You have wisely given your sanction to the extraordinary expedients, " which it has been necessary to employ in order to preserve the kingdom " from famine; and I feel great satisfaction in the prospect, that they will be " prevented for the future, by the new and judicious arrangement of your corn " laws, and the improved extension of your agriculture.

" I see with pleasure the exertions of an humane and liberal principle, " which has prompted you to give encouragement to the national industry, by " favourable regulations and well directed bounties. I have warmly at heart

people rather increased than diminished. The populace frequently assembled, and committed unjustifiable outrages; they attacked the houses and persons of shopkeepers, who were suspected of not favouring the non-importation agreement, and in some instances they proceeded after the American fashion to the desperate measure of "tarring and feathering." Some of the most daring received punishment: and the mob once proceeded to such extremities, that one of the high sheriffs, Mr. Kirkpatrick, in endeavouring to suppress them, received a severe wound in the head, and matters would have proceeded to more serious consequences, had not a party of the military, headed by another magistrate, fortunately came to the sheriff's assistance.

As the principal objection to the introduction of Mr. Flood's bill for a parliamentary reform was, that it originated with an armed body, it was now thought expedient to attempt the measure in some way less exceptionable. The sheriffs and chief magistrates were therefore called upon to convene the inhabitants of their respective counties, fully to discuss that measure; and such a meeting having been convened at Dublin on the 7th of June, 1784, at which the high sheriffs presided, the following resolutions were agreed to, viz.

"the advancement of your trade, and the success of all your manufactures, "and I shall not fail either to consider, or to represent those instances where- "of the peculiar circumstances of the empire have hitherto prevented a "full investigation, and which shall be found to require a further adjust- "ment.

"The useful regulations proposed to be introduced into the collection and "management of the revenue; the security of private property, and exten- "sion of national credit, by depositing in the bank of Ireland, the money of "suitors in the courts of chancery and exchequer; the plans for improving "the metropolis, calculated not more for ornament and splendour, than for "health and convenience; your unanimous determination to defend the free- "dom of the constitution against the attacks of licentiousness; and your "attention to the support of charitable institutions, are all unequivocal testi- "monies of your wisdom, humanity, and justice.

"I have not failed to convey to our sovereign the satisfaction you have so "decidedly expressed in the blessings of that happy constitution, which you "enjoy under his majesty's auspicious government. Sensible as you are of "those eminent advantages, it can hardly be necessary for me to desire, that "you should be attentive to impress them on the minds of others, over whom "your superiority of rank and information must and ought to give you a just "and benevolent influence.

"I have a sure confidence, that during your residence in your respective "counties, you will seek to direct and encourage the industry of your neigh- "bourhood, in the pursuits best adapted to their situations, and by which "the community at large may be most effectually benefited. You will point "out to them the real resources of a free and fertile country, under the bles- "sings of peace, and the mild protection of the laws; and you will not suffer "misapprehensions to perplex, or false informations to misguide them.

"It is my happiness and pride to reflect, that our united attention has been, "and is directed to the same objects, of maintaining and advancing the rights, "the dignity, and the prosperity of Ireland, and the general interests of the "empire."

" *Resolved* unanimously, That the present imperfect represen-
" tation, and the long duration of parliaments, are unconstitu-
" tional, and intolerable grievances.

" *Resolved* unanimously, That the voice of the commons of
" Ireland is no less necessary for every legislative purpose, than
" that of either the sovereign or the lords; and therefore the
" people claim it as their just, inherent, unalienable privilege, to
" correct abuses in the representation, whenever such abuses
" shall have so increased as to deprive them of their constitu-
" tional share in their own government.

" *Resolved* unanimously, That the people of Ireland have,
" and always had a clear, unalienable, and indefeasible right to
" a frequency of elections, as well as to an adequate and equal
" representation, founded upon stronger grounds than that
" of any act or acts of parliament; and that the attainment
" of those constitutional important objects, is the most effectual
" expedient for restoring and securing the independence of par-
" liament.

" *Resolved* unanimously, That the present inadequate repre-
" sentation, and the long duration of parliaments, destroy that
" balance, which by our constitution should subsist between the
" three estates of the legislature, render the members of the
" House of Commons independent of the people, procure de-
" termined majorities in favour of every administration, and
" threaten either an absolute monarchy, or that still more odious
" government, a tyrannical aristocracy.

" *Resolved* unanimously, That the majority of the House of
" Commons is not chosen by the people, but returned by the
" mandates of peers of the realm and others, either for indigent
" boroughs, where scarce any inhabitants reside, or for con-
" siderable cities and towns, where the elective power is vested
" in a few.

" *Resolved* unanimously, That the venality and corruption of
" the present House of Commons evinced by the many arbitra-
" ry acts passed in the last session, and the contempt and indig-
" nity, with which they treated the applications and petitions of
" the constituent body, oblige us now to request the people at
" large to unite with us in the attainment of a more adequate
" representation, and in petitions to the throne for a dissolution
" of the present parliament.

" *Resolved* unanimously, That the strength of a nation con-
" sists in the union of its inhabitants.

" *Resolved* (with one dissenting voice), That a participation
" in general rights must for ever engage mankind to operate
" most effectually for each other.

" *Resolved* therefore (with one dissenting voice), That to ex-
" tend the rights of suffrage to our Roman Catholic brethren,
" still preserving in its fullest extent the present Protestant go-
" vernment of this country, would be a measure fraught with
" the happiest consequences, and would be highly conducive to
" civil liberty.

" *Resolved* unanimously, That a committee of twenty-one
" gentlemen be now appointed to prepare an address to the peo-
" ple, requesting their co-operation with us; and also, a petition
" to his majesty, stating our grievances, and praying a dissolu-
" tion of the present corrupt parliament, in whom we cannot
" place any trust or confidence, and that they report the same
" to this body on Monday the 21st of June instant."

The committee having at a future meeting made their report, the following address to the people of Ireland was agreed to and published by that meeting.

" FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

" Permit us, the inhabitants of the city of Dublin, with all
" the affection due to fellow subjects, and that anxiety which
" every citizen must feel for his native country, to address you on
" the most important subject, that ever engrossed the attention
" of a free people.

" Long and painfully have we endured, in common with you
" all, the miseries arising from the abuse of power, and the well
" known defects in the present state of representation in the
" Commons House of parliament; defects tending to the total
" annihilation of our boasted form of government, and produc-
" tive of the highest oppression to the inhabitants of this loyal
" and independent nation.

" It is with reluctance we find ourselves compelled to enter
" into a detail of grievances, which being felt by all, cannot be
" unknown to any. But whilst we consider it prudent to justify
" our proceedings to the world, we must intreat your indul-
" gence, if we state particulars, which might otherwise be thought
" unnecessary.

" Perfectly sensible must you be of that aristocratic influence,
" which has rendered the representation of the people merely
" nominal, and destroyed that equal balance in the three estates
" of the legislature, on which alone depends the existence of
" our glorious constitution. You have beheld the charters
" granted to divers boroughs in this kingdom, entitling the bo-
" dies thereby incorporated to a return of representatives,
" abused and perverted to the most destructive purposes, inso-
" much that the intention of the crown in establishing these bo-
" rough towns, has been frustrated by the artful practices of
" designing men; and persons returned to parliament from de-

" populated places, where scarce any inhabitants exist, or for " considerable cities and towns, where the elective franchise is " confined to a few. Nor is it less notorious, that the pro- " prietors of the soil, where such depopulated boroughs once " stood, have dared to usurp a power of selling seats to mem- " bers in the present House of Commons, and by such unwar- " rantable and corrupt means have those purchasers become il- " legal representatives of the people.

" Convinced by dear-bought experience of the many evils " from hence arising, we have joined in every measure to ob- " tain redress, which has hitherto been pointed out to us by the " complaining voice of an injured and insulted kingdom; but " unhappily, we have as yet found every attempt ineffectual " to restore the constitution to its pure and primitive princi- " ples.

" In vain did the noble assertors of liberty, composing the " volunteer army of Ireland (arrayed and embodied at their own " expence, the unexampled protectors of their country against " foreign foes and domestic usurpation), adjust by their dele- " gates, agreeable to the desire of this nation, a more equal re- " presentation, solemnly and deliberately agreed upon. In vain " did the united voice of the electors of this kingdom, through " every free country, city, and borough, declare itself in favour " of such plan of reform, and instruct their several representa- " tives to support the same. In vain was an attempt made by " the real friends of their country to introduce such plan into " parliament, and obtain it the sanction of a law. The baneful " influence of corruption and venality prevented any success; " and with equal folly and audacity, were the justifiable demands " of the people treated with ignominy and contempt.

" Had the persons thus obtruded into the parliament, of this " kingdom considered it with a due degree of justice and mo- " deration, possibly the legality of their title to a share in its le- " gislature might have remained unexamined, or at least uncon- " troverted. But when usurpation is followed by injury and in- " sult, that nation must be composed of slaves indeed, which " can tamely submit, without any exertion in its defence.

" But the policy of our oppressors lost sight of this principle, " and not content with the exercise of an authority unconstitu- " tionally derived, they have extended it to the entire destruc- " tion of our most valuable rights, and our civil and commer- " cial interests.

" Hence it is, that during the last session of parliament the " most wanton and reiterated acts of oppresion have been mul- " tiplied; personal liberty has been rendered insecure; pro- " tecting duties (adopted by every wise nation) refused; our " chartered rights infringed; the subject unconstitutionally and

" illegally imprisoned; the trial by jury in many instances sus-
" pended; the freedom of the press (that grand palladium of all
" our liberties) violated; an infamous power given to expose
" and restrain private correspondence; a large standing army
" kept up in the time of profound peace; that badge of slavery
" the stamp act, so disgracefully altered, as to make it a still
" greater grievance, and taxation unnecessarily augmented, to
" the general ruin of the nation. Such are the proceedings of a
" parliament, in which the members of the House of Commons
" do not really represent the people, but have become the repre-
" sentation of an overgrown and overbearing aristocracy, raised
" upon the ruins of our rights and privileges; whereby the ori-
" ginal purpose of the democratic branch of the legislature is
" defeated, the constitution effectually destroyed, and instead of
" being a shield against unnecessary taxation, the commons are
" rendered the hired instrument to pillage an already impover-
" ished and distressed people.

" Thus, fellow subjects and countrymen, is all confidence in
" parliament, and the dignity thereof, destroyed, the trust of re-
" presentation betrayed, the instructions of the constituent body
" of the people disobeyed, commercial interests neglected, and
" emigration consequently promoted, to the great discourage-
" ment of population and the diminution of the national wealth;
" and thus doth experience evince, that a House of Commons
" under the undue influence of either of the two other branches
" of the legislature, is ever ready to betray the most sacred
" rights of the people; and we find that parliaments chosen as
" they now are, and continuing for eight years as they now do,
" will ever be composed for the most part of persons under the
" guidance of particular noblemen and others, solely aiming at
" and perpetually contending for the power and emoluments of
" office.

" Enjoying the advantages lately held out to us by our sister
" kingdom, who with equal justice and magnanimity, unequivo-
" cally acknowledged and restored to us our right of exclusive
" legislative, and to maintain a strict amity with whom, is not
" less our inclination than our interest, we have to regret, that
" internal situation of our own country, that corruption and ve-
" nality, which pervade our senate, and those defects already
" pointed out in our legislature, which prevent our pursuing
" means, that under the free enjoyment of our constitution, and
" with the prudent direction of virtuous rulers, might render us
" a prosperous, happy, and united kingdom.

" Failing in every other mode of redress, we have been now
" induced to approach the throne, by an humble petition, pray-
" ing the dissolution of the present parliament, and seeking
" that relief from our most gracious sovereign, which has been

" indignantly and intemperately refused by those, who assume " to be the delegated servants of the people. Nor do we doubt " of success, if, meeting with the approbation of our fellow sub- " jects (which can alone render effectual this salutary and neces- " sary measure), we shall be supported by their warm and zeal- " ous co-operation in bringing those national grievances to the " ear of majesty.

" Convinced of the necessity, we cannot however presume to " point out any specific mode for a parliamentary reform in the " representation of the people: that, in which all are equally con- " cerned, must receive from all their approbation and support. " We call upon you therefore, and thus conjure you, that in this " important work you join with us as fellow subjects, country- " men, and friends, as men embarked in the general cause, to " remove a general calamity; and for this we propose, that five " persons be elected from each county, city, and great town in " this kingdom, to meet in national congress at some convenient " place in this city, on Monday, the 25th day of October " next, there to deliberate, digest and determine on such mea- " sures, as may seem to them most conducive to re-establish " the constitution on a pure and permanent basis, and secure " to the inhabitants of this kingdom, peace, liberty, and safety.

" And whilst we thus contend, as far as in us lies, for our " constitutional rights and privileges, we recommend to your " consideration the state of our suffering fellow subjects, the " Roman Catholics of this kingdom, whose emancipation from " the restraints, under which they still labour, we consider not " only as equitable, but essentially conducive to the general " union and prosperity of the kingdom.

" Trusting with the most perfect confidence in your concur- " rence and support, we entertain the strongest hopes of freeing " our country from that yoke of bondage, which domestic ene- " mies have thus imposed on it. The majesty of the people " will then reassume its proper influence in the guidance of the " state, and divine providence, knowing the justice of our cause, " will graciously assist us in obtaining those rights, to which we " are entitled by the laws of God and nature.

" ALEX. KIRK PATRICK, jun. } Sheriffs."
" BENJAMIN SMITH, }

And the following is a copy of the petition or remonstrance to his majesty, which was also agreed to by the aggregate meeting:

" To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

" The humble Petition of the Freemen, Freeholders, and In-
" habitants of the City of Dublin.

" MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

" PERMIT us, your loyal and dutiful sub-
" jects, with every sentiment of duty and attachment to your
" majesty's person, family, and government, to approach the
" throne with the greatest respect and humility, to lay a national
" grievance of the highest importance to your crown and dignity,
" and to the liberties and properties of your people of Ireland,
" at your majesty's feet.

" The grievance your distressed subjects thus humbly pre-
" sume to lay before your majesty, is the present illegal and
" inadequate representation of the people of this kingdom in
" parliament; illegal, because the returns of members for bo-
" roughs are not agreeable to the charters granted for that
" purpose by the crown; and inadequate, because there are as
" many members returned for each of those boroughs, by a
" few voters, as are returned for any county or city in this king-
" dom.

" Born in a country where your petitioners, from their ear-
" liest infancy, were taught to believe the laws for their govern-
" ment passed through a House of Commons elected by the
" people, they conceived their liberties founded on the most
" firm basis; but finding laws passed, inimical as well to your
" majesty's crown as their rights (which are inseparable), they
" were led into a minute enquiry of the cause, and discovering
" the same to proceed from the present insufficient mode of
" representation, and the long duration of parliament, which
" render even the few members, who are constitutionally elected,
" nearly independent of their constituents, they now most hum-
" bly beg leave to inform your majesty, that men thus elected
" cease to have any weight with your people.

" It is to the grand cause of aristocratic influence (jealous, as
" all inordinate power must be, of whatever may tend to shake
" its establishment), and to the misrepresentations which have
" been transmitted to your majesty of your faithful subjects
" of Ireland, that we attribute many arbitrary and alarming pro-
" ceedings in the last session of our parliament.

" A bill for the more equal representation of the people
" (the desire of millions of your faithful subjects), has been
" refused even a discussion in our parliament.

" Protection has been denied to our infant trade and manu-
" factures, which England thinks necessary to the maturity and
" vigour of hers.

" A violent attack has been made on the liberty of the press ; " that supplement to the laws, and palladium of liberty, a terror " only to tyrants, and apostates.

" Alarming restrictions on the commercial and friendly com- " munications of your majesty's subjects, have been imposed by " the Post Office Act.

" A general system of prodigality seems to have been adopted " for the purpose of burdening our trade, and damping all spirit " of industry: and emigrations consequently encouraged, are " now encreasing to an alarming degree.

" A manifest infringement has been made on the ancient and " sacred charter of the capital of this realm ; and instead of the " constitutional trial by jury, a novel tribunal instituted, from " whose sentence there lies no appeal.

" It is with infinite concern we are obliged to add, that your " majesty's ministers in this kingdom have assisted in all the " measures, of which we thus humbly complain ; a circumstance " the more extraordinary, as your majesty has lately thought it " necessary to appeal to the British electors at large, against " the power of an aristocracy, and as your majesty's first minis- " ter in England has virtuously declared himself friendly to the " principal measure, which has been here rejected (we mean a " more equal representation of the people) convinced, that an " overbearing aristocracy is not less hostile to the liberties of " the subject, than to the prerogative of the crown.

" We farther intreat your majesty's permission to condemn " that remnant of the penal code of laws, which still oppresses " our Roman Catholic fellow subjects ; laws which tend to " prohibit education and liberality, restrain certain privileges, " and to proscribe industry, love of liberty, and patriotism.

" Deeply affected by these national calamities, we, your ma- " jesty's faithful and loyal subjects, the citizens of Dublin, do " therefore most humbly beg leave to supplicate your majesty, " that you will be graciously pleased to exercise your royal " inclination to adopt with decision and effect, whatever your " majesty shall collect to be the sense of the people.

" That your majesty may enjoy every felicity through a long " and glorious reign over loyal and happy subjects, and that your " descendants may inherit your several dominions till time " shall be no more, is and always will be our sincere and fervent " prayer.

" Signed by order,

" ALEX. KIRK PATRICK,

" BENJAMIN SMITH."

This petition was presented to the lord lieutenant by the "high sheriffs, with an address to his excellency requesting it "might be transmitted; to which they received the following "answer:

"GENTLEMEN,

"AT the same time that I comply with "your request, in transmitting to his majesty a paper signed "by you, entitled A Petition of the Freemen, Freeholders and "Inhabitants of the City of Dublin, I shall not fail to convey "my entire disapprobation of it, as casting unjust reflections "upon the laws and parliament of Ireland, and tending to weaken "the authority of both."

These proceedings of the city of Dublin were seconded by other parts of the kingdom; but the whole was frustrated by the interposition of government, and prosecutions by information, &c. were commenced against different persons, by whom such aggregate meetings had been assembled. The high sheriff of the county of Dublin (then Henry Stevens Reilly, Esq.) was sentenced to fine and imprisonment by the Court of King's Bench; however, after a few days' confinement, he was liberated, and the fine reduced on acknowledging his error, and making a public apology in that court.

It may be seen, that the repeated defeats of the advocates for reform in parliament had not abated their ardour in the pursuit of their favourite object. In despair of any deliberate co-operation from parliament, they had confidently turned their applications to the quarter, from whence experience had taught them to look for effectual redress. As government had not hitherto ventured to question the legality of the volunteer associations, the more thinking part of them were astonished and discontented at the strong disapprobation of their conduct conveyed in the lord lieutenant's answer. Although the resolutions and addresses of the aggregate meeting were strongly, and by some thought intemperately expressed, they were notwithstanding the result of much consideration and temperate deliberation.* Such however was the credulous enthusiasm of the

* Whilst the business of equal representation was in agitation at a meeting of the convention in Dublin, a pretended letter was produced from Lord Kenmare, purporting to convey the general sentiments of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, in which they were made to express their perfect satisfaction with what had been already done for them, and that they desired no more than peaceably to enjoy the privileges they had obtained. But though this letter were publicly disavowed, both by the respectable person, from whom it was said to have come, and by a general assembly of the committee of the Irish Catholics, who acknowledged themselves to have too great a resemblance to the rest of their species to be desirous of opposing any thing that tended to

majority of them in the cause of reform, that even after the dispiriting and angry answer of the lord lieutenant, they could not be persuaded, that either his grace or his former zealous colleague, Mr. Pitt, had receded from, dropped or renounced the reforming principle they had lately avowed with so much ardour. Accordingly, on the 8th of July, a petition to the king was conveyed to Mr. Pitt, by the inhabitants of Belfast, nearly of the same tenor with that of the citizens of Dublin. In the month of September, Mr. Pitt informed them, in his answer, "That "he had undoubtedly been, and still continued, a zealous friend "to a reform in parliament, but that he must beg leave to say, "that he had been so on grounds very different from those "adopted in their petition. That what was there proposed, "he considered as tending to produce still greater evils than "any of those, which the friends of reform were desirous to "remedy."

The cause of reform received about this time a more fatal blow from the disunion, which broke out amongst the volunteers themselves, on the subject of admitting the Roman Catholics to the rights of election. In an address presented by the Ulster corps to their general, the Earl of Charlemont, after some strong expressions of their detestation of aristocratic tyranny, they hinted at the necessity of calling in the aid of the Catholics, as the most just as well as effectual means of opposing it with success. In answer to this address, the Earl of Charlemont, lamented that, for the first time, he felt himself obliged to differ from them in sentiment. He was free from every illiberal prejudice against the Catholics, and full of goodwill towards that very respectable body, but he could not refrain from the most ardent entreaties, that they would desist from a pursuit, that would fatally clog and impede the prosecution of their favourite purpose.

As this nobleman was highly and deservedly respected, his opinion was eagerly embraced, both by the timid, whose apprehensions were alarmed at the bold extent of the project, and by a great number whose prejudices against the Catholics appear to have been suspended from conveniency or fashion though never conquered by principle. In the month of October, the thanks of the corporation of the city of Dublin were voted him for his conduct on that occasion.

The meeting of a national congress was a measure of too alarming a nature, not to attract the most serious attention of

their relief, and that they should receive with gratitude any indulgence the legislature should be willing to grant them, yet, in the plan of reform digested at that meeting, they were left precisely in the same situation as before.

government; and it appears to have been their resolution to take the most vigorous steps for preventing it if possible. A few days previous to that which was fixed for the election of delegates for the city of Dublin, the attorney general addressed a letter to the sheriffs, expressing his very great surprise at having read a summons signed by them calling a meeting for the purpose in question. He observed, that by this proceeding, they had been guilty of a most outrageous breach of their duty; and that if they proceeded, they would be responsible to the laws of their country, and he should hold himself bounden to prosecute them in the Court of King's Bench, for a conduct, which he considered so highly criminal, that he could not overlook it. These threats succeeded so far as to intimidate the sheriffs from attending the meeting in their official capacity; but the meeting was nevertheless holden, delegates were chosen; and in revenge for the attorney's letter, several strong resolutions were agreed to, relative to the right of assembling themselves for the redress of grievances. Government having once set their faces against the election and assembling of delegates, from denouncing threats, they proceeded to punishments.

Mr. Riley, high sheriff for the county of Dublin, in consequence of his having called together, and presided at an assembly of freeholders, who met on the 19th of August, 1784, for the purpose of choosing and instructing their delegates, was the first object of ministerial prosecution. The attorney general proceeded against him by attachment from the court of King's Bench. The assembly, and the resolutions they came to on that occasion, signed by Mr. Riley, in his character of sheriff for the county, were both declared to be illegal, and Mr. Riley was sentenced by the court to pay a fine of five marks, (3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) and to be imprisoned one week.

This mode of legal process, except for the purpose of bringing persons before the court, to receive the sentence of such court for contempt of, and disobedience to its orders and directions, has so seldom been resorted to, that even the legality of the process itself, on any other ground, had remained a matter of general doubt and uncertainty.

In the present case it met with much less opposition than might have been expected. Clamours without doors, and debates within, on the subject, there certainly were, but both too feeble and ill-concerted to promise any success. The new division of the volunteers into parties, took off the general attention to this attack upon the use of juries, which, in any other moment, would not have been so tamely tolerated. Of such import is it, when overstrong measures are to be attempted, to prepare the public for the reception of them by internal disunion or alarm. Government did not confine their prosecutions to

Mr. Riley. Having once adopted a mode of proceeding, which so effectually answered the end, for which they designed it, informations were moved for, and attachments granted against the different magistrates, who called the meetings, and signed the respective resolutions of the freeholders in the counties of Roscommon and Leitrim. At the same time, the press too came under the lash of the attorney-general: and the printers and publishers of such newspapers, as had inserted the obnoxious resolutions, suffered with the magistrates, who had signed them.

Notwithstanding these violent measures which administration were pursuing, the national congress met, pursuant to its appointment, on the 25th day of October. But as it was far from being complete in point of number, and several of its most respectable members chose to absent themselves, they adjourned, after having passed a number of resolutions to the same purport with those, that had been agreed to at the previous meeting; and exhorted in the most earnest manner the communities, which had not sent representatives, if they respected their own consistency, if they wished for the success of a parliamentary reform, and as they tendered the perpetual liberty and prosperity of their country, not to let pass that opportunity of effecting the great and necessary confirmation of the constitution."

The link of unanimity having heen once severed, the fall of the armed associations into difference and contention was much more rapid, than had been their progress to union. The divisions of the volunteers were encouraged by government; and for that purpose discord and turbulence were rather countenanced than checked in many counties, particularly upon the delicate and important expedient of admitting the Catholics to the elective franchise, a question, which it was artfully attempted to connect with the now declining cause of parliamentary reform. Through a long series of years government had never wanted force to quell internal commotions; and it seemed to be now dreaded lest an union of Irishmen should extinguish the old means of creating dissension. The desire of disuniting the volunteers begat inattention to the grievances of the discontented and distressed peasantry of the south: that wretched and lawless rabble once more assumed the style of *White Boys:* and for some time committed their depredations with impunity, particularly against Kilkenny; until a stop was put to them by the loyal and vigorous efforts of the Rev. Dr. Troy,* then the Roman

* His Pastoral letter, or Circular Exhortation, may be seen in the Appendix, No. LXXIV. on which occasion the following letter was written to him by command of his excellency.

Dublin Castle, 20th Nov. 1784.

"Sir,

"I read with pleasure your forcible and well-timed Exhortation to "the Roman Catholics of the diocese of Ossory, upon the re-appearance in

Catholic bishop of Ossory, and the clergy of his diocese; for which successful exertions he received the most satisfactory acknowledgments from government.

As the unanimity of the volunteers diminished, their spirit and exertions abated: something, however, was to be attempted before the meeting of the parliament. On the second of January, 1785, the second meeting of the delegates was had at Dublin, at which were present the representatives of twenty-seven counties, and of most of the cities and considerable towns of the kingdom, amounting in the whole to more than 200 persons. Their proceedings appear to have been of the same nature as those before adopted, with this only difference, that in the proposed application to the House of Commons, it was agreed to confine themselves to the most general terms, and to leave the mode of redress as free and open as possible to the consideration of parliament.

The British Parliament sat to the 25th of August, 1784, and met again on the 25th of January, 1785: and from his majesty's speech it appears, that "their first concern was the settlement "of all differences with Ireland. Amongst the objects which "now require consideration, I must particularly recommend to "your earnest attention the adjustments of such points in the "commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland as "are not yet finally arranged: the system which will unite both "kingdoms the most closely on principles of reciprocal advan-"tage, will, I am persuaded, best ensure the general prosperity "of my dominion."

The parliament of Ireland met on the 20th of January, 1785, when the lord lieutenant thus addressed them:

My Lords and Gentlemen,,

"I HAVE his majesty's commands to meet "you in parliament, and to desire your advice and co-operation "upon those affairs of importance, which in the present cir-"cumstances of the kingdom require your most serious atten-"tion.

"in the county of Kilkenny of those execrable rioters formerly called White "Boys. I thought it a justice due to you to lay it before the lord lieutenant; "and I have his commands to assure you of the great satisfaction he feels in "the part you have taken for the preservation of peace, and preventing the "unhappy consequences, which must follow from those wicked and deluded "people persisting in such outrageous violation of the law. I trust your en-"deavours will have that success which they merit, and which claim the "esteem of all good men.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"Thomas Orde."

"Whilst I lamented the lawless outrages and unconstitution-
"al proceedings which had taken place since your last prorogа-
"tion, I had the satisfaction to perceive that these excesses
"were confined to a few places, and even there condemned.
"And I have now the pleasure to observe, that by the salutary
"interposition of the laws, the general tranquillity is re-estab-
"lished.

"I am to recommend in the king's name to your earnest in-
"vestigation those objects of trade and commerce between this
"kingdom and Great Britain, which have not yet received their
"complete adjustment. In framing a plan with a view to a final
"settlement, you will be sensible that the interest of Great Bri-
"tain and Ireland ought to be for ever united and inseparable.
"And his majesty relies on your liberality and wisdom for
"adopting such an equitable system for the joint benefit of both
"countries, and the support of the common interest, as will se-
"cure mutual satisfaction and permanency."

After the address had been moved and seconded, Lord Edward Fitzgerald said, he would not have had any objection to the address, if it had proceeded in the usual mode, as mere complimentary matter of form; but when it declared an approbation of the firm and moderate measures of his Grace's government, measures in which he could not coincide, he felt himself under the necessity of opposing that part of the address. He therefore moved, that the words "experienced virtue and firmness" should be expunged, and the words, "and whose private vir-
"tues entitle him to the esteem and regard of this house," should be inserted in their room.

Sir Edward Crofton seconded the amendment.

The great objection which the friends of reform had to the words *firmness and moderation*, arose out of the alleged illegality of the attachments issued in the course of the recess out of the King's Bench. It was asserted on one side, though denied on the other, that the mode of attachment had been adopted because a jury could not be trusted on the occasion. The late prosecutions and attachments were traced up to the ministry, and vehemently inveighed against by the opposition: they were strenuously defended as legal, moderate, and efficient, by the treasury bench.

On the ensuing day a very warm debate arose out of an amendment proposed by Mr. Flood to the address to his majesty: but he was not supported even by several of the staunchest advocates for reform. Much was said both on the illegality of attachments and parliamentary reform, though neither subject were before the house. The attorney general, (Mr. Fitzgibbon) boldly defended the legality and the necessity of attachments. Mr. Grattan most severely reprobated the convention

of delegates, and lamented the change attempted to be introduced into the volunteer corps. The old original volunteers had become respectable, because they represented the property of the nation; but lately attempts had been made to arm the poverty of the country. He condemned the meeting of the delegates, and all other excesses, because they prejudiced the reform in parliament, and at the same time they insulted its authority.*

His majesty's answer to the addresses, which was communicated to the commons on the 4th of February, 1785, spoke a very determined language against the attempts of the delegates† to dictate to, and overawe the parliament.

The session of 1785, in both kingdoms, was unusual for its duration and the close attention, which the arduous subjects of deliberation forced the members to give to their legislative duties. The commercial arrangements between Great Britain and Ireland, exercised the attention of both parliaments upwards of seven months. In the Irish House of Commons, the advocates for reform were not dispirited by the late answer of his majesty, nor by the many vigorous measures adopted by government, from pursuing their favourite object. Upon this ground, Sir Edward Crofton, on the 4th of February,‡ presented a bill to preserve the freedom of parliament, by ascertaining the qualifications of members to serve in the House of

* Parl. Debates, p. 42.

† This is the answer of his majesty.

"GEORGE R.

"His majesty has received with great satisfaction, the "dutiful and loyal address of the House of Commons, and the sentiments "therein expressed, of their zealous and affectionate attachment to his person "and government, as well as their just sense of the experienced moderation "and firmness of their present chief governor.

"His majesty has the fullest reliance, that his faithful commons will make "provisions for such supplies as may be suitable to the exigencies of the state, "the interests of his people, and the honourable support of his government.

"His majesty has observed with great concern the popular disturbances, "that have lately prevailed, from the intemperance and indiscretion of mis-"guided men; and confides in the constant and strenuous endeavours of his "faithful commons of Ireland to prevent their pernicious effects; and their "resolution, to reject and suppress every assumed authority, which may at-"tempt to dictate to the legislature, affords his majesty the highest satisfac-"tion. His majesty is fully persuaded, that a proper degree of attention will "be shewn in the consideration of such internal regulations as may be neces-"sary for securing the peace and happiness of his subjects in Ireland, as well "as for the settlement of all commercial objects between his kingdoms, upon "equitable and lasting principles, for the mutual advantage of the different "parts of the empire: and they may depend upon his most ready concurrence "in the support of such measures as, upon a mature consideration, may "appear to draw closer those ties of interest and affection between the two "countries, which are so essential to their general happiness and prosperity.

G. R."

‡ 4 Parl. Debates, p. 79.

Commons. The tenor of the bill was to make 500*l.* per annum fee simple estate the qualification for a knight of the shire; and 300*l.* per annum of like estate that for a citizen or burgess. This would have established too much independence in the house not to be opposed by the Castle interest.* The ardent declarations of Mr. Pitt in the British House of Commons on the first day of the session, upon parliamentary reform, on which, he said, he laboured incessantly, and was the object nearest to his heart, buoyed up their confidence, that in Ireland his friend and colleague in that cause, and now the organ of the British minister in Ireland, would not oppose its progress in that kingdom, where it was more wanted, more generally and urgently called for by the people, and could be more easily effected than in Great Britain, whose prime minister had so confidently boasted of his wishes to bring it to bear.* At a

* Lord Surrey (now Duke of Norfolk) in observing upon the king's speech, mentioned the attachments, that had lately been issued against sheriffs in Ireland, for having convened what he could not but consider as a meeting perfectly legal, and perfectly constitutional; he trusted therefore something was intended to be done on the subject. To assemble, for the purpose of considering of a parliamentary reform, appeared to him to be the last matter that should be proceeded against; more especially in such an extraordinary way as by attachment. To this, Mr. Pitt said, (17 English Parl. Debates, p. 8) he was not sorry for what the noble lord had said upon that subject: on the contrary, he was extremely glad that a parliamentary reform had been mentioned. Perhaps he did not differ from the noble lord, in thinking that the most practicable mode of accomplishing the object of amending the representation of the people, would have been to bring it explicitly forward in his majesty's speech. Great and wise men had entertained various conceptions of that important matter. He was willing to give it all the fair play, to which the ardent desire of the people, its own momentous consequence, and his sincere inclination entitled it. On this business he laboured incessantly. It was that which, of all others, was the nearest his heart: and at that very early period of the session, to have stated it specifically, was impossible. Much was still to do. His ideas were not matured. It comprehended a great variety of considerations: it related to the essentials or vitals of the constitution; it therefore required the most delicate and unremitted attention; it was a path which he was determined to tread; but he knew with what tenderness and circumspection it became him to proceed. He hoped, however, in a few days, to be able to name a day, on which he should have the honour of submitting his proposition to the house. It was his aim to propose a specific plan of reform, which, in his judgment, for of that only he spoke, and for that only he pledged himself, as every man would undoubtedly judge in so great and critical a case, according to the best of his own judgement, which he presumed would be an improvement of the constitution, as if it would confer permanency and effect on those principles which constituted its distinguishing excellence. To this measure he pledged himself, but did not feel any obligation to define it at present; nor was he willing to bring it forward too early, lest he might not leave himself sufficient time for digesting what he should think it incumbent on him to lay before the house. But he was anxious to improve his plan with whatever was requisite to render it effectual, and to bring it on with every solemnity which could contribute to its influence and respectability. He should, therefore, choose, that a motion for a call of the house shoud precede it, in order that the friends and opposers of the motion might have a fair invitation either to support or contest it.

time in which most important and final arrangements had been pending for the commercial intercourse between the sister-kingdoms, and when it was notorious that a special treaty of commerce had been long in agitation between Great Britain and France; and the treaty for regulating the commerce between her and the United States of both America and Holland, were still in an incomplete state, it appeared necessary, that Ireland should, particularly as she was now an independent kingdom, know how far her commercial interests were affected by those pending treaties with foreign nations: accordingly, Mr. Corry, on the 8th of February, moved the house, that an humble address should be presented to the lord lieutenant, that he would be pleased to lay before his majesty the humble address of that house, that his majesty would graciously condescend to order to be laid before that house copies of the preliminary and provisional articles of peace and commerce, and also the definitive treaties of peace and commerce with foreign states, at and since the conclusion of the last war. This reasonable motion having been instantly opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Foster) and the secretary of state (Mr. Orde), the house from that time became diffident in the sincerity of government to adapt the pending arrangements to the rights, interests, and dignity of that kingdom.*

Previous to the meeting of parliament on the 20th of January, the British cabinet, in concert with commissioners appointed on the part of Ireland, had formed a plan for regulating and finally adjusting the commercial intercourse between the two countries: and on the 7th of February Mr. Orde laid it before the House of Commons, in the form of ten separate resolutions or propositions, which he observed were founded on the words of the unanimous address of that house at the close of the last session recommending a plan for a liberal arrangement of commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, formed upon the broad basis of reciprocal advantage, as the most effectual means of strengthening the empire at large, and cherishing the common interest and brotherly affection of both kingdoms. The consideration of them was recommended to the house in the king's name, and Mr. Secretary went through them separately with some comment on each: little opposition or even observation

* Although the great object of the remaining part of the session were the arrangement of the commercial intercourse between the two countries, yet some other measures occasionally occurred in parliament. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated the national debt then to amount to 2,150,301*l.* 11*s.* 5 1-4*d.* The usual number of 15,000 military was voted, though strongly opposed: and Mr. Gardiner's motion for 20,000*l.* for arraying the militia, passed by a majority of 139 against 63; though it were strenuously opposed by the remaining friends of the volunteers.

was made by the house upon them in this stage: Mr. Forbes required time to consider and digest them, and warned the house against precipitancy in adopting them. Mr. Brownlow flew out indignantly at the idea of their becoming a tributary nation: he rejected the gift, and hurled it back with scorn; he never would consent to be a slave, or pay tribute. Such propositions had been formerly made to America, and they had seen the effects. Mr. Flood cautioned the members against going into a debate upon the propositions, as there was then no question before the house. On the 11th and 12th of February the house was in committee upon the resolutions.* They were strongly

* 4 Journ. Lords, p. 550. The following was the form of the original propositions.

"1st. *Resolved*, That it is highly important to the general interest of the "British empire, that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland be encour- "aged and extended as much as possible; and for that purpose, that the "intercourse and commerce be finally settled and regulated on permanent "and equitable principles for the mutual benefit of both countries.

"2d. *Resolved*, That towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settle- "ment, it is fit and proper, that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of "Great Britain or Ireland, should be imported into each kingdom from the "other, reciprocally, under the same regulation, and at the said duties, if "subject to duties, to which they are liable when imported directly from the "place of their growth, product or manufacture; and that all duties originally "paid on importation into either country respectively, shall be fully drawn "back on exportation to the other.

"3d. *Resolved*, That for the same purpose, it is proper, that no prohibition "should exist in either country, against the importation, use, or sale of any "article, the growth, product, or manufacture of the other; and that the "duty on the importation of every such article, if subject to duty, in either "country, should be precisely the same in the one country as in the other, "except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence "of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption.

"4th. *Resolved*, That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, "product, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation "into the other, it would be expedient, that they should be reduced in the "kingdom where they are the highest, to the amount payable in the other, "and that all such articles should be exportable from the kingdom, into which "they shall be imported, as free from duty as the similar commodities or home "manufactures of the same kingdom.

"5th. *Resolved*, That for the same purpose, it is also proper, that in all "cases where either kingdom shall charge articles of its own consumption, "with an internal duty on the manufacture, or a duty on the material, the "same manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a "further duty on importation, to the same amount as the internal duty on the "manufacture, or to an amount adequate to countervail the duty on the mate- "rial, and shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as "may leave the same subject to no heavier burden, than the home made ma- "nufacture; such farther duty to continue so long only as the internal con- "sumption shall be charged with the duty or duties, to balance which it shall "be imposed, or until the manufacture, coming from the other kingdom, shall "be subjected there to an equal burden, not drawn back or compensated on "exportation.

"6th. *Resolved*, That in order to give permanency to the settlement now "intended to be established, it is necessary, that no prohibition, or new or

opposed by some, but not by all of the opposition. Of all the gentlemen, who ultimately opposed them, Mr. Grattan appears to have entertained the most favourable opinion of them in the first instance. "I am anxious," said he, to say a few words, both "on the new resolutions and the plan. The resolutions I think "absolutely indispensable. They have a threefold principle. "The first is, after the expences of the nation are paid, to "contribute to the general expence of the empire. The second "is, that by making the surplus not applicable to the general "expence till all expences are paid, it interests both the British "and the Irish ministers in Irish œconomy. The third is, to "subject that surplus to the control of the Irish parliament. If "the other resolutions had not past, these ought still to be supported. They put an end to debt; they decide the great

"additional duties, should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on the "importation of any article of the growth, product, or manufacture of the "other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance duties "on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution.

"7th. *Resolved*, That for the same purpose, it is necessary farther, that no "prohibition, or new or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed in "either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, "or manufacture from thence to the other, except such as either kingdom "may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and "biscuits; and also except where there now exists any prohibition which is "not reciprocal, or any duty which is not equal in both kingdoms, in every "which case the prohibition may be made reciprocal, or the duties raised so "as to make them equal.

"8th. *Resolved*, That for the same purpose, it is necessary, that no bounties "whatsoever should be paid, or payable, in either kingdom, on the exportation "of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, "and biscuits, and such as are in the nature of drawbacks or compensations "for duties paid, and that no duty should be granted in this kingdom on the "exportation of any article imported from the British plantations, or any "manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty "is payable in Britain, on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is "merely in the nature of a drawback or compensation of, or for duties paid "over and above any duties paid thereon in Britain.

"9th. *Resolved*, That it is expedient, for the general benefit of the British "empire, that the importation of articles from foreign states should be regulated from time to time, in each kingdom, on such terms as may afford an "effectual preference to the importation of similar articles of the growth, "product, or manufacture of the other.

"10th. *Resolved*, That it is essential to the commercial interests of this "country to prevent, as much as possible, an accumulation of national debt, "and therefore it is highly expedient, that the annual revenues of this kingdom should be made equal to its annual expences.

"11th. *Resolved*, That for the better protection of trade, whatever sum the "gross hereditary revenue of this kingdom (after deducting all drawbacks, "repayments, or bounties, granted in the nature of drawbacks,) shall produce, over and above the sum of 656,000*l.* in each year of peace, wherein "the annual revenues shall be equal to the annual expences, and in each year "of war, without regard to such equality, should be appropriated towards the "support of the naval force of the empire, in such manner as the parliament "of this kingdom shall direct."

"question of 1753; they establish Irish œconomy; they make "the British ministry a guarantee to the integrity of this house, "and the œconomy of Irish administration. The plan is open, "fair, and just, and such as the British minister can justify "to both nations. He gave to England what she had a right "to expect, and perhaps they could not give her more."

When all the resolutions had been agreed to, the chancellor of the exchequer moved for an address to his majesty, expressive of their gratitude to his majesty for the gracious recommendation of the plan to the consideration of the house, and of their sanguine hopes of the happy effects thereof. On the same day (12 Feb. 1785) the resolutions and the address were sent to the lords, and unanimously agreed to. On the 22d of the month, the eleven resolutions agreed to by the Houses of Lords and Commons of Ireland were read in a committee of the British House of Commons, when Mr. Pitt opened the business by calling upon the committee to debarass their minds of all bias and prepossession, which so much pains had been taken to create and diffuse throughout every part of the kingdom. In treating that important question, he would beg leave to recal their attention to what had been, and what was the relative situation of the two countries. They would recollect that, from the Revolution to a period within the memory of every man, who heard him, indeed until these very few years, the system had been that of debarring Ireland from the enjoyment and use of her own resources; to make the kingdom completely subservient to the interests and opulence of this country, without suffering her to share in the bounties of nature, in the industry of her citizens, or making them contribute to the general interests and strength of the empire. This system of cruel and abominable restraint had however been exploded. It was at once harsh and unjust, and it was as impolitic as it was oppressive; for however necessary it might be to the partial benefit of districts in Britain, it promoted not the real prosperity and strength of the empire. That which had been the system, counteracted the kindness of Providence, and suspended the industry and enterprise of man. Ireland was put under such restraint, that she was shut out from every species of commerce. She was restrained from sending the produce of her own soil to foreign markets, and all correspondence with the colonies of Britain was prohibited to her, so that she could not derive their commodities but through the medium of Britain. This was the system, which had prevailed, and this was the state of thraldom, in which that country had been kept ever since the Revolution. Some relaxation of the system, indeed, took place at an early period of the present century. Somewhat more of the restrictive laws were abated in the reign of George II. but it

was not until a time nearer to our own day, and indeed within the last seven years, that the system had been completely reversed.*

It was not to be expected but that when Ireland, by the more enlarged sentiments of the present age, had acquired an independent legislature, she would instantly export her produce and manufactures to all the markets of the world. She did so, and this was not all. England, without any compact or bargain, generously admitted her to a share in her colonies. She gave her liberty to import directly, and to re-export to all the world, except to Britain, the produce of her colonies. Thus much was done some years ago; but to this moment no change had taken place in the intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland themselves. Some trivial points indeed had been changed; but no considerable change had taken place in our manufactures exported to Ireland, or in theirs imported to England. That, therefore, which had been done, was still viewed by the people of Ireland as insufficient: and clamours were excited, and suggestions published in Dublin and elsewhere, of putting duties on our produce and manufactures, under the name of protecting duties.

Having thus far relaxed from the system, which had been maintained since the Revolution; having abandoned the commercial subserviency, in which we had so long persevered, and having so wisely and justly put them into a state, in which they might cultivate and profit from the gifts of nature; having secured to them the advantages of their arts and industry, it was to be observed, that we had abolished one system, and had established another; but we had left the intercourse between the two countries exactly where it was. There were, he said but two possible systems for countries situated in relation to one another like Britain and Ireland. The one, of having the smaller completely subservient, and subordinate to the greater, to make the one, as it were, an instrument of advantage, and to make all her efforts operate in favour, and conduce merely to the interest of the other. This system we had tried in respect to Ireland. The other was, a participation and community of benefits, and a system of equality and fairness, which, without tending to aggrandize the one or depress the other, should seek the aggregate interests of the empire. Such a situation of commercial equality, in which there was to be a community of benefits, demanded also a community of burdens; and it was

* These melancholy truths, so strongly stated by Mr. Pitt, of the degraded and distressed situation of Ireland, under the ancient system of its government, are so many consolatory reasons for the Irish finding in an incorporate union the impossibility of their repetition.

this situation, in which he was anxious to place the two countries. It was on that general basis, that he was solicitous of moving the proposition, which he held in his hand, to complete a system, which had been left unfinished and defective.

Mr. Pitt, after having fully passed in review the different benefits lately granted to Ireland by the British parliament, observed, that the concessions now proposed to be made to that kingdom, in order to put the two countries on a fair and equal footing, he should reduce to two heads:

First, The importation of the produce of our colonies in the West Indies and America through Ireland into Great Britain.

Second, A mutual exchange between the two countries of their respective productions and manufactures, upon equal terms.

With regard to the first, he allowed it had the appearance of militating against the navigation laws, for which England had ever had the greatest partiality. But as she had already allowed Ireland to trade immediately and directly with the colonies, he could not see how the importing of the produce of those colonies circuitously through Ireland into Great Britain could injure the colonial trade of this country, which was a direct one, and therefore to be made at a less expence and risk, than that which was circuitous.

In return for these concessions on the part of Great Britain, he proposed, that Ireland should agree to the payment of a certain stipulated sum yearly out of the surplus of her hereditary revenue, towards defraying the general expences of the empire. He then concluded a very elaborate speech with moving the following general resolution: "That it was highly important "to the general interests of the empire, that the commercial "intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland should be finally adjusted and that Ireland should be admitted to a permanent and irrevocable participation of the commercial advantages of this country, when her parliament should permanently and irrevocably secure an aid out of the surplus of the "hereditary revenue of that kingdom, towards defraying the "expence of protecting the general commerce of the empire in "time of peace."

Although the committee were not called upon that night to give any opinion upon the resolution, Lord North, Mr. Fox, and several of their friends spoke upon the subject, lest their silence might be interpreted into consent or approbation..... Whereas they much doubted, whether any system of intercourse were at that time necessary to be arranged between Great Britain and Ireland: and if so, whether the system, of which the

right honourable gentleman had given the outline, were such as policy, expediency, and good sense required to be adopted.

Mr. Fox entered more into the detail of the necessary effects of the resolutions, and concluded therefrom, that the whole tendency of the propositions appeared to him to go the length of appointing Ireland the sole guardian of the laws of navigation, and grand arbitress of all the commercial interests of the empire; a trust he felt no sort of inclination to part from out of our own hands, not even to delegate to Ireland, of whose generosity, loyalty, and gratitude, no man entertained a higher opinion.

A fortnight elapsed before the subject again made its appearance; during which time a report, prepared by a committee of the board of trade and plantations, was laid by the minister upon the table of the House of Commons, to assist its deliberations. This report was stated to be founded upon the declarations and opinions of some of the principal manufacturers and merchants in the kingdom, who had been examined by the above-mentioned committee, and its particular object was to prove the expediency of that part of the system, which related to the reduction of the duties payable upon the importation of Irish produce and manufactures into Great Britain, to what the same sort of articles were charged with in this country.

In the mean time the merchants and manufacturers, who had been examined before the committee, joined by great numbers of others from every part of the nation, met together for the purpose of taking the Irish propositions into their consideration. During the course of their proceedings it appeared, that the opinions of the former were in direct contradiction to the inferences, which had been drawn from their examination in the report laid before parliament. Whether this were occasioned by any change, which upon a fuller consideration had taken place in the minds of the merchants and manufacturers themselves, or whether the committee of the board of trade and plantations had strained and perverted their declarations, it is not easy to determine. However, the consequence was, that it threw a considerable degree of discredit upon the report itself, and seemed to point out the necessity there was for the House of Commons to examine the different commercial and manufacturing bodies concerned, at their own bar. This mode of proceeding gave the first check to the system in its progress through the house, whilst without doors it became more unpopular, in proportion as it became more thoroughly investigated; yet it must be allowed, that its unpopularity generally arose from different grounds.

During the months of March and April, and even until the middle of the month of May, the house was occupied in receiv-

ing petitions, and hearing evidence of manufacturers and merchants of every description. The first of these petitions was from Liverpool: it was presented on the 3d of March by Mr. Gascoigne, and drew a considerable long speech from Mr. Pitt, to refute the conclusions drawn by the petitioners from their own premises. On the 16th of March Mr. Stanley presented a petition from Lancashire, signed by eighty thousand persons: sixty-four petitions in the whole* were presented against the propositions, from which the opposition strongly urged, that the sense of the country was against them. On no subject had Mr. Pitt ever spoken with more warmth and zeal. On the 12th of May, 1785, Mr. Pitt brought forward, in consequence or under pretext of the new lights thrown upon the subject from the examinations, petitions, and reports, a new series of propositions or resolutions,† twenty in number, some of the ad-

* Mr. Jenkinson in argument in favour of the measure observed, that the number of petitions was no matter of triumph, for that in Lord North's administration fifty-one petitions had been presented in favour of Ireland.

† The following was the form of the new resolutions or propositions, viz.

I. That it is highly important to the interests of both countries, that the commerce between Great Britain and Ireland should be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

II. That a full participation of commercial advantages should be permanently secured to Ireland, whenever a provision, equally permanent and secure, shall be made by the parliament of that kingdom towards defraying, in proportion to its growing prosperity, the necessary expences in time of peace, of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.

III. That towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, "except those of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of any of the "countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Straits of Magellan," should be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties, (if subject to duties) to which they "would be" liable when imported directly from the country or place from whence the same may "have been imported into Great Britain or Ireland re-"spectively, as the case may be;" and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively, except on arrack and foreign brandy, and on rum, and all other sorts of strong waters not imported from the British colonies in the West Indies, shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other. "But, nevertheless, that the duties shall continue to be protected and guard-"ed, as at present, by withholding the drawback, until a certificate from the "proper officers of the revenue in the kingdom, to which the export may be "made, shall be returned and compared with the entry outwards"

IV. That it is highly important to the general interests of the British empire, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation should be the same in Great Britain and Ireland; and, therefore, that it is essential towards carrying into effect the present settlement, that all laws which have been made, or shall be made in Great Britain, for securing exclusive privileges to the ships and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British colonies and plantations, and for regulating and restraining the trade of the British colonies and plantations, such laws imposing the same restraints, and "conferring the same be-"nefits on the subjects of both kingdoms, should" be in force in Ireland, "by "laws to be passed by the parliament of that kingdom for the same time, "and" in the same manner as in Great Britain.

ditional being supplemental, others explanatory, and several entirely new. The chief objects of additional propositions

V. That it is farther essential to this settlement, that all goods and commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of British or foreign colonies in America, or the West Indies, and the British or foreign settlements on the coast of Africa, imported into Ireland, should on importation be subject to the same duties "and regulations" as the like goods are, or from time to time shall be subject to, upon importation into Great Britain; "or if prohi- "bited from being imported into Great Britain, shall in like manner be prohi- "bited from being imported into Ireland."

VI. That in order to prevent illicit practices, injurious to the revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, it is expedient, that all goods, whether of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, or of any foreign country, which shall hereafter be imported into Great Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain, should be put, by laws to be passed in the parliament of the two kingdoms, under the same regulations with respect to bonds, cockets, and other instruments, to which the like goods, are now subject in passing from one port of Great Britain to another.

VII. That for the like purpose, it is also expedient, that when any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British West India islands, "or any other of the British colonies or plantations," shall be shipped from Ireland for Great Britain, they should be accompanied with such original certificates of the revenue offices of the said colonies as shall be required by the law on importation into Great Britain; and that when the whole quality included in one certificate shall not be shipped at any one time, the original certificate, properly indorsed as to quantity, should be sent with the first parcel; to identify the remainder, if shipped at any future period, new certificates should be granted by the principal officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a register of the original documents, specifying the quantities before shipped from thence, by what vessels, and to what ports.

VIII. That it is essential for carrying into effect the present settlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the British colonies in the West Indies, or in America, "or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa," should from time to time be made liable to such duties and drawbacks, and put under such regulations as may be necessary, in order that the same may not be exported with less incumbrance of duties or impositions than the like goods shall be burthened with when exported from Great Britain.

IX. That it is essential to the general commercial interests of the empire, "that so long as the parliament of this kingdom shall think it advisable that "the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope shall be car- "ried on solely by an exclusive company, having liberty to import into the "port of London only, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of "any countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope should be importable into Ire- "land from any foreign country, or from any settlement in the East Indies be- "longing to any such foreign country; and that no goods of the growth, pro- "duce, or manufacture of the said countries should be allowed to be imported "into Ireland but through Great Britain; and it shall be lawful to export "such goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the countries "beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan from Great "Britain to Ireland, with the same duties retained thereon as are now retained "on their being exported to that kingdom; but that an account shall be kept "of the duties retained, and the net drawback on the said goods imported to "Ireland; and that the amount thereof shall be remitted by the receiver ge- "neral of his majesty's customs in Great Britain to the proper officer of the "revenue in Ireland, to be placed to the account of his majesty's revenue "there, subject to the disposal of the parliament of that kingdom; and that "whenever the commerce to the said countries shall cease to be carried on by "an exclusive company in the goods of the produce of countries beyond the

were to provide, 1st. That whatever navigation laws the British parliament should thereafter find it necessary to enact for

" Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, the goods should be im-
" portable into Ireland from countries from which they may be importable to
" Great Britain, and no other; and that no vessel should be cleared out from
" Ireland for any part of the countries from the Cape of Good Hope to the
" Straits of Magellan, but such as shall be freighted in Ireland by the said
" exclusive company, and shall have sailed from the port of London; and that
" the ships going from Great Britain to any of the said countries beyond the
" Cape of Good Hope should not be restrained from touching at any of the
" ports in Ireland, and taking on board there any of the goods of the growth,
" produce, or manufacture of Great Britain."

X. That no prohibition should exist in either country, against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, or manufacture of the other; except such as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits; " and except such qualified prohibitions, " at present contained in any act of the British or Irish parliament as do not " absolutely prevent the importation of goods or manufactures, or materials " of manufactures, but only regulate the weight, the size, the packages, or " other particular circumstances, or prescribe the built or country, and di-
" mensions of the ships importing the same; and also, except on ammunition,
" arms, gunpowder, and other utensils of war, importable only by virtue of
" his majesty's licence;" and that the duty on the importation of every such article (if subject to duty in either country) should be precisely the same in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption, " or in consequence of internal bounties in the country " where such article is grown, produced, or manufactured, and except such " duties as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon " corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits."

XI. That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it is expedient that they should be reduced, in the kingdom where they are the highest, to an " amount not exceeding" the amount " payable in the " other;" so that the same shall not be less than ten and a half per cent. upon " any article which was charged with a duty, on importation into Ireland, of " ten and a half per cent. or upwards, previous to the 17th day of May, 1782;" and that all such articles should be exportable from this kingdom, into which they shall be imported, as free from duty as the similar commodities or home manufactures of the same kingdom.

XII. That it is also proper, that in all cases where the articles of the consumption of either kingdom shall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, the said manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a farther duty on importation, adequate to countervail the internal duty on the manufacture " as far as relates to the duties now charged " thereon;" such farther duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it shall be imposed; and that where there is a duty on the importation of the raw material of any manufacture in one kingdom, greater than the like duty on raw materials in the other, such manufacture may, on its importation " into the other " kingdom," be charged with such a countervailing duty as may be sufficient to subject the same, so imported, to " burdens adequate to those which" the manufacture composed of the like raw material is subject to, in consequence of duties on the importation of such material in the kingdom into which such manufacture is so imported; and the said manufacture, so imported, shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burden than the home made manufacture.

the preservation of her marine, the same should be passed by the legislature of Ireland. 2dly. Against the importing into Ireland, and from thence into Great Britain, of any other West

XIII. That, in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established, it is necessary, that no new or additional duties should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance the duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution, or in consequence of bounties remaining on such articles when exported to the other kingdom.

XIV. That for the same purpose, it is necessary, farther, that no prohibition, or new additional duties, shall be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, produce, or manufacture "from the one kingdom" to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits.

XV. That for the same purpose, it is necessary, that no bounties whatsoever should be paid or payable in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits, "and except also the bounties at present given by Great Britain," on beer, and spirits distilled from corn; and such as are in the nature of brawbacks or compensation for duties paid, and that no bounty should be "payable" on the exportation of any article to any British colonies or plantations, "or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa," or on the exportation of any article imported from the British plantations, "or from the British settlements "on the coast of Africa, or British settlements in the East Indies;" or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great Britain, on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback or compensation of or for duties paid, over and above any duties paid thereon in Britain; and where "any internal "bounty shall be given in either kingdom, on any goods manufactured therein, "and shall remain on such goods when exported, a countervailing duty "adequate thereto may be laid upon the importation of the said goods into "the other kingdom."

XVI. That it is expedient for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign "countries" should be regulated from time to time in each kingdom on such terms as may, "effectually favour" the importation of similar articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other, "except in the case of materials of manufactures, which "are or hereafter may be allowed to be imported from foreign countries, duty "free; and that in all cases where any articles are or may be subject to higher "duties on importation into this kingdom from the countries belonging to any "of the States of North America, than the like goods are or may be subject "to when imported, as the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British "colonies and plantations, or as the produce of the fisheries carried on by "British subjects, such articles shall be subject to the same duties on importation into Ireland, from the countries belonging to any of the States of "North America, as the same are or many be subject to an importation from "the said countries into this kingdom."

"That it is expedient, that measures should be taken to prevent disputes touching the exercise of the right of the inhabitants of each kingdom to fish "on the coast of any part of the British dominions."

XVII. That it is expedient, that "such privileges of printing and vending "books as are or may be legally possessed within Great Britain under the "grant of the crown or otherwise, and" the copy-rights of the authors and booksellers of Great Britain, should continue to be protected in the manner they are at present, by the laws of Great Britain; and that it is just that measures should be taken by the parliament of Ireland for giving the like protection to the copy-rights of the authors and booksellers of that kingdom.

India merchandises than such as were the produce of our own colonies; and 3dly. That Ireland should debar itself from any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, so long as it should be thought necessary to continue the charter of the English East India Company.

In the course of the debates upon the propositions as they stood with these amendments and additions, that which met with the most vigorous opposition (independent of such general reasoning as went against the system altogether) was the fourth, in which Great Britain, it was contended, assumed both a present and a future power to bind Ireland by such acts, as she should pass relative to the trade and commerce of both kingdoms. This was stated to be a resumption of the right of legislating for Ireland, which this country had renounced.

On one hand it was argued, against the propositions, that the house ought to congratulate with itself upon its happy escape from the system proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer but two months since; all opposition to which was then treated as the effect of faction and disappointment. If the original resolutions had passed, they would have lost for ever the monopoly of the East India trade; they must have hazarded all the revenue arising from spirituous liquors; they would have sacrificed the whole of the navigation laws of this country. Had these resolutions passed into a law, they would have risked the loss of the colonial market for the manufactures of Great Britain, and incurred the most extensive danger to the colonies themselves; they would have left it in the power of Ireland to have drawn a revenue from our consumption. The just alarm of the minister on the subject of the navigation laws, sufficiently appeared from the extraordinary nature of the remedy he had thought it expedient to adopt, which was no other than to assert that, notwithstanding the independence of Ireland, she must still in commercial laws and external legislation be governed by Britain. That the wild scheme of extravagant speculation

"XVIII. That it is expedient, that regulations should be adopted with respect "to patents to be hereafter granted for the encouragement of new inventions, "so that the rights, privileges, and restrictions thereon granted and contained, "shall be of equal duration and force throughout Great Britain and Ireland."

XIX. That the appropriation of whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of the kingdom of Ireland (the due collection thereof being secured by permanent provisions) shall produce, after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the sum of six hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds in each year, towards the support of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in such manner as the parliament. Ireland shall direct, by an act to be passed for that purpose, will be a satisfactory provision, proportioned to the growing prosperity of that kingdom, towards defraying, in time of peace, the necessary expences of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.

comprised in the resolutions, did not originate with the Irish nation. That a stranger had been sent thither to offer a nostrum of his own invention for the relief of a disordered state. For the irritation and ill humour existing in that country, ministers were responsible. The violences which they committed in Ireland merited the most decisive and general reprobation. Their attacks on the liberty of the press; their endeavours to prevent legal meetings, for the purpose of deliberating on the best means of reforming the national representation; their proceedings against men by summary attachment, were measures which might well be supposed to inflame the minds of the people of Ireland. That now imprudent insult was to be compensated by imprudent concession. But let the house beware of a design so insidious and so ruinous as that of a commutation of English commerce for Irish slavery. The propositions, as they were even now modified, were far too complicated and extensive to be voted by the majority of the members of that house, on any other ground than that of confidence in the minister: and surely the right honourable gentleman had sufficiently demonstrated, that implicit confidence in him was as dangerous as it was absurd; that infallibility was no more his prerogative, than that of others.

On the other hand it was argued in favour of the system, that it was a measure of absolute necessity, in order to put an end to the discontents, which prevailed to so alarming a degree in the sister kingdom. That if the present propositions were not passed into a law, all that had already been done in favour of Ireland would prove nugatory, as it was clearly inadequate to the expectations of that country.

That with respect to the fourth proposition, it was a condition, which the safety of our own navigation laws made it necessary to annex to the boon granted to Ireland. That it was unfair to infer from thence, that the British legislature had any views of trenching on the independence of Ireland, since it left to that kingdom the option of taking, or refusing the advantages holden out to her, subject to such a condition. That the condition itself was such as had frequently been adopted in the negotiations of independent states; as in the late treaty betwixt this kingdom and France, when the latter bound herself to publish certain edicts, as soon as other acts stipulated on our part, were made known to that country.

With respect to the disadvantages, which it had been supposed our manufacturers would have to encounter from the comparative small price of labour in Ireland, it was said, such a supposition arose from a misconception of facts. That the wages of artizans and manufacturers, although not of common labourers, were higher there than in this country, and therefore

there was little likelihood of their being able to undersel us on that ground. Nor could our commerce be in any danger from the reasons, which had been alleged, since the provisions and restrictions contained in the propositions, were sufficient as well to prevent any clandestine importation of foreign goods into Ireland, as to insure the duties payable on all such as might be legally imported.

The great contest upon these propositions, was on the 12th of May, when the house, at eight o'clock in the morning, divided, 125 for the question of adjournment, and 249 against it.* Notwithstanding this triumph of the minister, Mr. Pelham

* It is impossible, and perhaps unnecessary, for any historical purpose, to follow the different speakers through the long, animated, and often instructive debates and conversations upon these propositions. In one of them (on the 19th of May, 18 Parl. Debates, p. 333) Mr. Burke, after a most grateful apostrophe to this country for the signal favours and honours heaped upon him, gave this just and beautiful picture of the relative superiority of this over his own country...." To consult the interests of England and Ireland, to unite " and consolidate them into one, was a task he would undertake, as that by " which he could best discharge the duties he owed to both. To Ireland, " independence of legislature had been given; she was now a co-ordinate, " though less powerful state; but pre-eminence and dignity were due to " England; it was she alone that must bear the weight and burden of the " empire; she alone must pour out the ocean of wealth necessary for the " defence of it: Ireland, and other parts, might empty their little urns to " swell the tide: they might wield their little puny tridents; but the great " trident that was to move the world, must be grasped by England alone, and " dearly it cost her to hold it. Independence of legislature had been granted " to Ireland; but no other independence could Great Britain give her, without " reversing the order and decree of nature: Ireland could not be separated " from England; she could not exist without her; she must ever remain " under the protection of England, her guardian angel."

On the same occasion Mr. Fox gave the following historical account of these propositions, (18 Parl. Debates, p. 296)...." In the administration of " which I made a part, their legislature was declared to be independent; " and in addresses from both houses of parliament, they professed themselves so " entirely content, as not to consider it possible that any subsequent question " of political division could arise between the two kingdoms. Yet, in the very " next session, they gave indications of new dissatisfaction, and farther con- " cessions were made. How are we then to argue from these facts? One " would imagine, that the most effectual and satisfactory method of quieting " the apprehensions, or relieving the exigencies of a distressed country, would " be that of appealing to their own testimony for a knowledge of their cir- " cumstances; to collect information from themselves; to desire them to " state, in their own persons, the measure of their calamities, and the best " expedients for the relief of them. This was precisely the way pursued " heretofore. The concessions were granted on the declarations of the best " informed men in the land; men, the best qualified to know the state, the " wants, and the expectations of the kingdom; Mr. Hussey Burgh and Mr. " Grattan; names which no man could mention but with the sincerest and " most cordial respect, were the authorities on which England proceeded, and " on which she relied. But this, it seems, however specious and natural, " was not the proper method of ascertaining the wants, or wishes of another " kingdom. The true and only means of finally concluding all disputes with " Ireland, is to send a stranger there, and order him to address himself to

again divided the house, but with the like effect, on an amendment, seconded by Lord Surrey, for inserting after the words *commercial advantages* in the second resolution, the words, "*as* "*far as may be consistent with the essential interest of the ma-* "*nufacturers, revenue, commerce, and navigation of Great Bri-* "*tain.*"

The propositions, after having been agitated upwards of three months, with unusual warmth on both sides, and after having received a variety of amendments and alterations, finally passed the House of Commons by a large majority, on the 30th of May, on which day they were carried up to the lords. Here again they became the subject of much laborious investigation, and were strongly contested, and received some amendments, though none of a material nature. Lord Stormont, (afterwards Earl of Mansfield), and Lord Loughborough, (now Earl of Roselyn), were the most forward on the part of opposition. Lord Camden spoke very strongly in favour of the measure, as appearing to him, after the most comprehensive view of the matter, salutary and political, and which would be productive of many valuable benefits to the empire at large. His lordship spoke strongly in support of the protecting superiority of Great Britain, which must ever necessarily attend her situation in relation to Ireland. In the course of the business, Lord Shelburne, who had been recently created Marquis of Lansdown, though ultimately for the proposition, said, he would not permit any party bias or political connection to mislead his judgment: he entered into a masterly view of the whole subject, in his usual manner of treating every great political question. He differed from those, who had preceded him in their opposition to the

" their senate in such language as this :....' Hear me, ye men of ignorance ' and credulity ! you know nothing of what you want, what you wish, or what ' would be good for you : trust yourselves to me, I am perfect master of all ' your infirmities ; here is the specific that will cure you, the infallible nostrum ' for all ailments.' It seems that this is the only conciliatory expedient for " administering to the relif of a disordered state, not to suffer the inhabitants " to speak, but to send a man amongst them ignorant at once of their exigen- " cies, their grievances, and their policy, to propose wild schemes of extrava- " gant speculation, and prescribe for the disorder without the painful tedi- " ousness of trying to understand it.' In compliance with this new idea, Mr. " Orde, an English gentleman, the secretary to an English nobleman, the lord " lieutenant for the time, rises up and proposes a set of resolutions, which he " pledges himself to carry into complete execution. These resolutions are " brought to England, and after two months discussion, are completely and " fundamentally altered. Upon these resolutions the right honourable gen- " tleman thinks himself warranted to say that the system will be final. The " right hónourable gentleman said, he must have a fund of credulity who be- " lieved all the evidence which the manufacturers had given at the bar. In " like manner, I say, that he must have a fund of credulity indeed, who can " believe on such premises, that the Irish will be content with this system, " or that the general interests of both countries can be promoted by its esta- " blishment."

measure: for if one-tenth of their allegations were founded in truth, Great Britain should not only shrink from the arrangement, but Ireland should tremble at the acceptance. It had been brought to a mathematical certainty, that whatever benefits Ireland received from this country, so deeply was she drawn into the vortex of our good or evil, the share she took in our subsequent misfortunes, was more than sufficient to counterbalance the precedent advantages: and he witnessed the miseries she was still suffering from the calamities of the American war.

With respect to the arrangement before the house, he said he should not enter into any discussion of the interests of Ireland, as that care more properly belonged to her own parliament. He would give every indulgence to ministers, who, if they were not infatuated, would give that attention to it, which a business of so much importance demanded. No man respected the manufacturers more than he did; they were sensible, enlightened, clear headed, and provident. No men were better informed on all the subjects, with which their trade was connected, than that body; and ministers must always find it their interest to consult with them, and to take their advice. But the manufacturers were men with prejudices, subject to err, particularly where they were blinded by personal interest.

The Chamber of Manufacturers he considered as an institution, which might be productive of much good, and give a partial assistance to ministers: though he confessed he was an enemy to people assembling, and giving to themselves what names they pleased; publishing manifestoes, edicts, and he knew not what to call their papers. Some noble lords seemed to apprehend, that Ireland having an unlimited trade, would soon be able to beat England out of the foreign markets; but a country without a capital could not be a rival, and capital was required to carry on both the carrying trade and the depôt trade. It had been said, a stipulation to receive Irish linens duty free for ever, and continue the duties on foreign linens, might be attended with bad consequences in a future negotiation with some foreign powers; but he would never believe, that any foreign power would act so improperly, or so indecently, as to take offence at privileges bestowed on fellow-subjects of one common sovereign. He laughed to scorn all such impotent menaces of apprehensions: there was not a power in Europe whom a look from this country would not deter, or suddenly bring back from any resolution that they might hastily give into from pique. The material distinction between this country and the powers on the continent, was: they all must sacrifice their commercial to their political interests; whereas, such were the peculiar circumstances, and such the good for-

tune of England, that she could at all times make her political yield to her commercial interests. The objection that was made to the system on account of its finality, was with him its praise: the fundamental principles he hoped would be established on the most permanent footing; but these did not comprehend the detail of the system. Let the two nations understand one another in the first place; let them fairly meet on fundamental principles; and having acquired mutual confidence in each other by the faithful settlement of the foundation, all the subsequent considerations might be easily and gradually discussed and determined: then these countervailing duties, which all sides acknowledged to be of difficult adjustment, but which nobody would assert to be impracticable, might be regularly settled at the discretion of the two parliaments; and they might always be adjusted to the circumstances of the times, and be changed as occasions and necessities might require.

When noble lords objected to the system's being final, because it might prevent an union between the two kingdoms, did they for a moment consider the practicability of an union? There were several circumstances, that distinguished the cases of union with Ireland from that of Scotland. He mentioned some few, but there were many obstacles, which lay in the way of an union. Before an union was talked of, ministers should know the temper of the people of Ireland. High minded and jealous of their liberties, ministers, must first learn whether the Irish nation would consent to give up their distinct empire, their parliament, and all the honours, which belonged to their own royalty and state. Apprehensions had been conceived, that the three thousand men, that Ireland lent annually to England, and paid out of her own exchequer, might be recalled and disbanded; it should rather be reflected with satisfaction, that instead of three thousand, Ireland might now whenever the exigencies of England should require it, send out her whole military establishment, being herself secure from hostile invasion, through the numbers, discipline, and spirit of her volunteer army: Ireland was in little danger of becoming an object of a descent in any future war; for she had convinced all Europe, that she was able, with her volunteer forces only, to repel the attack of the most powerful nation in Europe. No people in the world had a more animated generosity, or effusion of heart, than Ireland; this had ever been their national character and their pride; nothing would be lost by trusting to it; and if Ireland had ever done wrong, it had been for the want of a good leading, or by the misleading of England. Here alone had been the grievance, and not with the generous Irish.

To let things remain as they were, would, of all expedients, be the most dangerous. We had raised the hopes of the Irish

nation; they were on the rack of expectation; and they had minds too sanguine to remain long on the stretch, and relax ungratified into patience and submission. Something must be done respecting the general question of an adjustment, and the corner stone of connexion be laid in that moment. That in the interval of a summer vacation, many events and storms might happen to wash it away, if it were not solidly and deeply laid; and that if there were not now a beginning, it might be doubtful, when we might ever again have a chance to see the beginning take place. While peace lasted, we should avail ourselves of the opportunity, and form a plan while in a state of quiet, which might grow habitual before we came again into a state of trouble and distress.

On the 18th of July, Earl Fitzwilliam observed, that he had heard it argued, that the adjustment then going forward, was necessary, on the authority of a resolution, that had passed that house in the year 1782, which laid it down, that a permanent ground of connection ought to be established between Great Britain and Ireland: that resolution, he contended, did not extend to, or comprehend any idea whatsoever of a commercial nature, but was solely confined to political objects, and that opinion he would by no means relinquish, unless the minister, who had brought it forward, were ready to stand up and declare, that his object in proposing it, was one that related to commerce. That necessity had also been attempted to be proved, from the riots and discontents among the manufacturers of Dublin; but that he by no means admitted as a sufficient reason for the concessions granted by the present arrangement, looking upon it as he did, to proceed from that licentiousness, with which Captain Brooke had described those persons to be infected. The demands, which that mob had made, were for protecting duties, which their parliament had very wisely, and he was sorry to say, with more fortitude than had been shewn by the minister of England, refused to gratify them with, knowing that such a measure was by no means necessary. Since then these clamours of a mob had been received as dictates by a British minister; why did he exceed them in his acquiescence? and why did he, in compliance with a demand of protecting duties, introduce a system, that overturned the whole policy of the navigation and trade of Great Britain? for he would again repeat what he had said before, that the universality of the plan then proposed, was a proof of the indiscriminating weakness of those, from whom it originated; who, in despair of discovering the proper objects, which the arrangement ought to embrace, had widely and wantonly extended it to all. But other reasons besides the want of protecting duties,

might be assigned for the prevalent discontents in Ireland, (reasons by no means connected with commerce, but wholly relating to constitutional considerations,) which were the violent and oppressive measures pursued in that country by attachment, to restrain public meetings of the people for the purpose of deliberating on great national questions, a thing which they were indisputably entitled to do, especially at the very time that a circular letter was sent about this kingdom under the sanction of the minister, and signed by a gentleman of some consideration, (the Rev. Mr. Wyvill) inviting the people to conventions and associations of a similar nature, and for the same purposes as those, which were the objects of such intemperate persecution in Ireland.

Lord Townshend, whose government of Ireland for nearly five years, supereminently qualified him to speak favourably of that country, on this occasion supported ultimately the propositions, though he interlarded his speech with some home truths, eminently illustrative of the critical situation of that country, under the then existing circumstances. When he returned from his majesty's government in that kingdom in 1772, he had the honour to tell their lordships in that house, that if they did not bring that unfortunate contest with America to a short issue, there was another part of the empire, which had long laboured under our burdens and wars, which would expect from our justice at least, as much indulgence as others might acquire by their revolt. He remembered he was deemed what was called a croaker, nay worse, a croaker of treason; but the views, interests and passions of mankind, were generally the same; and when neither senators nor ministers would make them a part of their calculations, but endeavour to quadrate what they wanted by what they wished, they would ever find themselves the dupes of their own calculation. He wished that many of their lordships had deigned to have visited the remote provinces of our sister kingdom; there they would have seen a hardy, innocent, oppressed race of men, in a rich soil, surrounded by numberless flocks and herds, yet unclothed, unfed, and mostly unhoused, owing to our restrictions upon their imports and exports, yet contributing their persons and their labours to the support of the empire: would their lordships wish to continue so large a part of their fellow-subjects in that state of subordination and misery? The fact was, that our manufacturers had informed Ireland of more than she knew before; that if we did not grant them a fair participation of our commerce, they would have it without it. If any one were wild enough to think we could coerce them, he neither knew the geographical situation of Ireland, nor the character of its inhabitants. His lordship wished to say no more on this subject, than that an opulent

and luxurious country, like an individual of the same character, might lose much by such a conflict; a poor country, like a poor individual, especially if robust and desperate, would suffer less, perhaps could scarcely be worse than they were. It had been urged by many, what necessity was there for such a measure at that time? The parliament of Ireland said, they had expressed twice the warmest satisfaction and perfect contentment at his majesty's gracious indulgences to that kingdom; that the volunteers were dwindling, and that the force of government was never stronger there, or had ever been more exerted to the suppression of rebellion and tumults than at that period. He must, he declared, ever honour the national spirit of the volunteers of that kingdom, in spite of all the discountenance, discouragements, and expedients, with which government attempted to depress them. They had given an illustrious example of what a brave and animated people could effect in their own defence. Yet he did not carry his admiration so far as to approve their assembling under the nose of parliament, to prescribe, reform, and dictate to their representatives; there was much palliation to be pleaded in behalf of our impassioned neighbours, especially when they recollected, what a quantity of political combustibles had been exported into that kingdom from this, and even the most chimerical propositions recommended, however unfitting her peculiar situation; on the contrary, had the same constitutional regulations been imparted to her at that period, which we had adopted and enjoyed in this kingdom, those formidable volunteers had perhaps never existed; but it seemed we were as jealous of our constitutional superiority as our commercial, and consequently had surrendered with reluctance what we should have granted with cordiality. The alterations which had been made in the first propositions to Ireland, were certainly very considerable, and plainly proved the defects of the original plan; imperfect and perilous it certainly was, and had it passed, might have produced greater evils than, he was persuaded, it was calculated to prevent. Much reproach had been laid at the minister's door for the alterations he had made or admitted; in this his lordship rather thought him commendable in reforming his own errors, or of those who might have misled him, and for adopting better materials from his adversaries. What would not have been urged, and with justice, had he acted otherwise? Had he persisted in errors, and persevered in measures repugnant to his professed views and the interest of both countries, because they were his own....Had he maintained his own infallibility in spite of his conviction, and sacrificed the peace and welfare of both kingdoms to his own personal importance. He said, he scarcely knew how to avoid mentioning, nor how to describe to its full extent, her situation for trade, the

advantages of her southern ports, her command of St. George's Channel, the supplies of her sailors, and provisions in time of war, her consumption of our manufactures and imports in time of peace, the manhood, intrepidity, and perseverance of her inhabitants, aids which a voluptuous empire always required, and could not exist without. There were those he knew, who counted much upon her proximity and her divisions. She was too near, not to be most dear to us, and their lordships might believe, not so mutable upon national points as ourselves. He spoke not to intimidate, but to inform. All he hoped most ardently was, that we might give enough to engage the affections and cordiality of our sister kingdom; not to attempt a bargain parsimonious and equivocal. He knew the generous and manly sentiments of that country were such, as would engage them to make a common cause, and admit of no future distinctions. If he had expressed any degree of preference for Ireland, he begged their lordships would impute it to the veneration he bore it, and the obligation he owed for their partiality to his failings; he was naturally, he hoped, the advocate of the oppressed and meritorious; he knew the Irish to be generous and untemporizing friends, and who disdained to be behind hand in reciprocity. On the 19th of July, 1785, after a long debate a division took* place in the House of Lords, when there were 84 for the resolutions, and 30 against them.

On the same day the resolutions were sent from the Lords to the Commons, where, after a very warm debate, the amendments made by the Lords were agreed to: afterwards Mr. Pitt brought in a bill† to the House of Commons founded upon them, which was read a first time on the second of August: and was followed up by an address to his majesty, voted by both houses of parliament, wherein they acquainted him with what they had done, and that it remained for the parliament of Ireland to judge and decide thereupon. On the 12th of August Mr. Secretary Orde moved the house for leave to bring in a bill, which was a mere transcript of that moved by the English minister. The debates on this occasion, and more especially on the side of opposition, were long and animated. Whatever had the least appearance

* The following protest was entered on the Journals "Dissentient, because we conceive the plan contained in the report, as well from the manner, in which it has been introduced and conducted, as from the matter which it contains, to be likely to create and promote jealousy and dissatisfaction throughout the kingdom.

DERBY	WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM
PLYMOUTH	NORTHINGTON
SCARBOROUGH	KEPPEL."

† In order to give the reader full information upon this important part of the modern history of Ireland, the debate on Mr. Pitt's bill is given in the Appendix, No. LXXV. together with the address to the king, and his majesty's answer.

of infringing on the legislative independency of Ireland, was marked and stigmatized in terms of the utmost indignation and contempt. The perpetual disposition of her hereditary revenue by the last proposition, the surrender of her commercial legislation by the fourth, the restraint imposed on her from trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and the Straits of Magellan by the ninth, were put in every point of view, in which reason and eloquence could render them impressive and convincing. On this side of the question, Mr. Grattan* and Mr. Flood were not only supported by the regular body of opposition, which amounted to more than threescore, but were also joined by all from the treasury bench, who set up any pretension to independence.

In favour of the bill it was urged by Mr. Fitzgibbon, Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Foster, that the fourth proposition, which had excited so much jealousy and alarm, could not on any fair construction be said to take from Ireland her right of commercial legislation, any more than the acts passed in 1779 and 1782 had done before; in those Ireland had stipulated to trade with the British colonies and settlements in such manner as Great Britain herself traded, to impose the like duties, and to adopt the same restrictions and regulations. That in the bill before them, it was proposed to trade with Great Britain on the same principle; the liberty of either complying with the conditions, or renouncing the agreement *in toto*, whenever the conditions should become obnoxious and unsatisfactory, would be left by the present bill full as much in the power of the Irish parliament, as it was by either of the foregoing acts. The difference only was, that by the former acts Ireland had subscribed to the commercial laws, which had been adopted by Great Britain for 290 years back; by the present, to such as that country should bind itself to in future; but that it would be still in the power of the Irish parliament to renounce these laws, and the whole agreement together, whenever she thought proper. On the other hand, the commercial advantages offered to Ireland by the bill were stated to be very important; the linen trade was thereby secured to her for ever, the colony trade through Ireland to Great Britain was given her, the British markets were thrown open to Irish manufactures, and again, as these manufactures, were allowed to be re-exported from Great Britain, with a drawback of all duties, the Irish would, in effect, export on the foundation of British capital, at the same time, that they were left to employ their own capital in the extension of their home manufactures.

* The speech of Mr. Grattan is given in the Appendix No. LXXVI. not only as comprehending all that could be said upon this subject, but as a specimen of the sublimest oratory.

After a vehement debate, which lasted 18 hours, the house divided at nine in the morning upon the motion of Mr. Orde for leave to bring in the bill, ayes 127, noes 108. Such a division in the first stage of the business was equivalent to a defeat; and on the Monday following (15th of August) Mr. Orde moved the first reading of the bill, and the printing it; declaring that he did not intend to make any further progress in the business during the present session. He had completed his duty respecting it. If it were revived, it must be by a motion from the public, who at the commencement of the ensuing session might take such further steps as they should think proper.

In order to preclude a motion of censure framed by Mr. Flood, the secretary then moved an adjournment; and Mr. Flood consenting, not without difficulty, to wave his motion, the adjournment was carried without a division. Public illuminations testified the joy excited by the sudden termination of this extraordinary business, which thus ended to the great disappointment of the ministry in both kingdoms.

On the 15th of August, when the bill was presented and ordered to be printed, Mr. Flood proposed the following resolution to the house:...." *Resolved*,* That we hold ourselves

* In the early part of this debate Mr. Curran gave the following picturesque view of the last important debate. (5 Par. Deb. p. 453) He expressed the effusions of his joy upon the victory his country had obtained. He said he would support the resolution proposed by the honourable member, because he thought it necessary to declare to the people, that their rights had not been solely supported by 110 independent gentlemen, but that if eight or ten of them had been absent, then those who had countenanced the measure, would have abandoned every idea of prosecuting it further. He rejoiced that the cloud, which had loured over them, had passed away, and he declared he had no intention to wound the feelings of the minister, by triumphing in his defeat; on the contrary, he might be said to rise with some degree of self-denial, when he gave to others an opportunity of exulting in the victory. The opposition in England had thrown many impediments in the way, but he would remember with gratitude, that the opposition there had supported the liberties of Ireland. When he saw them reprobating the attacks made upon the trial by jury; when he saw them supporting the legislative rights of Ireland, he could not refrain from giving them his applause. They well knew that an invasion of the liberty of Ireland would tend to an attack upon their own. The principle of liberty, thank heaven, still continued in those countries, that principle, which had stained the fields of Marathon, stood in the pass to Thermopylæ, and gave to America independence. Happy it was for Ireland, that she had recovered her rights by victory, not stained with blood, not a victory bathed in the tears of a mother, a sister or a wife, not a victory hanging over the grave of a Warren or a Montgomery, and uncertain whether to triumph in what she had gained, or to mourn over what she had lost. The bill was at an end, the cloud that had been collecting so long, and threatening to break in tempest and ruin on their heads, had passed harmless away. The siege that was drawn round the constitution was raised, and the enemy was gone *Iuvat ire et Dorica castra*, and they might now go abroad without fear, and trace the dangers they had escaped; here was drawn the line of circumvallation,

" bound not to enter into engagement to give up the sole and " exclusive right of the parliament of Ireland in all cases what- " ever, as well externally as commercially and internally." The secretary evaded it by a motion for adjournment to the 5th of September, in order to give time to print, read and digest the bill: Which was carried by a very great majority. Although Mr. Flood had consented to withdraw his resolution, the debate was kept up in a very turbulent manner for three or four hours longer. Mr. Flood said, he had never heard more mischievous and inflammatory language, or more folly than on that evening. He was called to order by Mr. Foster and Mr. Fitzgibbon, who were prominently conspicuous in favour of the propositions: between whom and the patriotic orator many severe personalities passed. When the house met, pursuant to the late adjournment on the 5th of February, Mr. Pery gave in his resignation of the chair, which he had filled for fourteen years. Mr. Foster was unanimously elected speaker in his lieu, and was on the same day presented at the bar of the Lords, and approved of by the lord lieutenant. After the return of the speaker and the Commons, to their own House, Mr. Daly observed, that the conduct of the late speaker had been highly honourable to himself, and advantageous to the nation, conferring dignity upon the house, and drawing reverence to its proceedings; it was, therefore, incumbent on the House to attend his retreat with every mark of respect, to demonstrate in what high estimation they held integrity, wisdom and moderation, and to prove that turbulence or meanness were not the only roads to preferment: he therefore moved, " That the thanks of this House should be " given to the Right Honourable Edmond Sexton Pery, for his " constant and unwearied attendance in the chair during the " course of above fourteen years in three successive parlia- " ments; for the unshaken integrity and steady impartiality " of his conduct there, and for the indefatigable pains and un- " common abilities, with which he has constantly exerted him- " self to promote the real interest of his country, and to main- " tain the honour and dignity of parliament, and to preserve " inviolable the rights and privileges of the Commons of Ire- " land."

that cut them off for ever from the eastern world; and there the corresponding one, that inclosed them from the west. Nor, let us, said he, forget in our exultation to whom we are indebted for the deliverance. Here stood the trusty mariner (Mr. Conolly) on his old station the mast head, and gave the signal. Here (Mr. Flood) all the wisdom of the state was collected, exploring your weakness and your strength, detecting every ambuscade, and pointing to the hidden battery, that was brought to bear on the shrine of freedom. And there (Mr. Grattan) was exerting an eloquence more than human, inspiring, forming, directing, animating to the great purposes of your salvation.

Which being passed unanimously in the affirmative, he moved,

"That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most "humbly to beseech his Majesty, that he would be graciously "pleased to confer some signal mark of favour upon the Right "Honourable Edmond Sexton Pery, late speaker of this House, "for his great and eminent services performed to that country, "and the distinguished ability and integrity with which he had "presided in the chair of that House; and to assure his Majesty, "that whatever expence his Majesty should think proper to be "incurred upon that account, that House would make good the "same to his Majesty."

Which likewise passed unanimously in the affirmative; and then Lord Headford moved that a committee should be appointed to draw up an address to his grace the lord lieutenant for his wise and prudent administration. On the next day Lord Headford reported from the committee appointed to draw up an address of thanks to his grace the lord lieutenant for his wise and prudent administration, that they had drawn up the following address.

"To his Grace Charles, Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant "General and General Governor of Ireland, the humble "address of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, in Par- "liament assembled.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

"We his majesty's most dutiful and loyal "subjects, the Commons of Ireland in parliament assembled, "beg leave humbly to express to your grace, with unaffected "warmth, the satisfaction which we feel in every opportunity "of testifying our respect for your person, and our attachment "to your government. We cannot reflect upon your grace's "constant attention to the happiness and welfare of this king- "dom, without grateful acknowledgments to his majesty, that "his majesty has been pleased to give us so acceptable a proof "of his royal favour, as the continuing your grace in the go- "vernment of Ireland. The generous humanity of disposition, "and high sense of honour, which distinguish your grace's pri- "vate character, have in conjunction with your hereditary spirit "and firmness, endeared you to the nation, by their happy in- "fluence on your public conduct.

"We humbly desire your grace to accept our sincere thanks "for those exertions, which in consequence of our unanimous "address, and in obedience to his majesty's commands, your "grace employed, during the last interval between our sessions,

" in preparing a plan of commercial intercourse with Great Bri-
" tain. We are aware that the utmost delicacy and caution are
" necessary for the conduct of measures, in which the rights and
" interest of both kingdoms are equally concerned, and must be
" equally regarded; and we entertain a just sense of the attention
" your grace has manifested to this principle, that their comple-
" tion should depend upon the public satisfaction. We trust
" therefore, that the further consideration of this subject will be
" pursued with that temper, that spirit of conciliation, and that im-
" partial attention to the general welfare of the whole empire,
" which alone can ensure permanency to any system, or enable
" the wisdom of parliament to perfect such an equal, reciprocal,
" and just arrangement as may unite both kingdoms for ever in
" interest, and preserve in each a firm confidence of mutual af-
" fection.

" It is our zealous and ardent wish, that your grace may long
" continue the government of this kingdom, and contemplate,
" with growing pride and satisfaction, the successful effect of
" your government, in the increasing affection of a generous
" people, and in the progressive harmony and strength of the
" empire."

The address having been first read at large, and afterwards paragraph by paragraph, as the Speaker was proceeding to put the question, Mr. Grattan, who just entered the house, said, " I
" wish to give my assent to the address; every personal com-
" pliment to his grace the lord lieutenant, I am desirous, to pay;
" the motion of yesterday, therefore, to thank him for his pru-
" dent, wise, and just administration, passed unanimously; but
" the address combining the personal merit of his grace with
" the political demerit of the late offensive arrangement, embar-
" rasses those who would make a personal compliment, without
" making a public surrender of commerce and constitution; I
" say, if the address only proposed to let down administration
" easy, to cover their most happy defeat, and to console them a
" little for the most fortunate overthrow of a most unjustifiable
" system, I should have been silent; but here is my objection;
" I fear I see in some part of that address, a train laid for the
" revival of the twenty propositions, and of that bill by which
" the right honourable gentleman proposed to carry the substance
" of those propositions into execution. Where the address
" would thank the minister for the attention paid to the satisfac-
" tion of the public, I have no objection to it, other than a want
" of foundation in fact. The secretary did not, in the conduct
" of this commercial business, pay the least attention to public
" satisfaction; on the contrary, after almost every county and
" city in the most pointed manner, had expressed their dissatis-

" faction at his adjustment, he introduced his bill in their defi-
" ance; nay, after an hundred and ten of the first men in the
" kingdom had opposed the leave for bringing in the bill, he en-
" tertained an intention of forcing on the measure, until he was
" taught to understand, that the servants of the crown would op-
" pose it in its progress. The house was canvassed, and find-
" ing that he would be in the minority, the right honourable
" gentleman declined a measure, which he found he could not
" carry; and yielded, not in compliment to public satisfaction,
" but in certainty and shame of a public parliamentary over-
" throw."

However, after a long conversation, the question for the address was carried by 130 against 13. The house then attended the lord lieutenant, who after signifying the royal assent to several public and private bills, thus addressed the two houses of parliament.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" ALTHOUGH the very advanced sea-
" son of the year renders it expedient to conclude the present
" session of parliament, I flatter myself, that the great object of
" adjusting a commercial intercourse with Great Britain has not
" in vain engaged your attention, and protracted your delibera-
" tions. You have repeatedly expressed your wishes for the
" attainment of an equitable settlement, and I have the satisfac-
" tion to observe, that you continue to be impressed with a true
" sense of its necessity and importance. You will have now the
" fullest leisure to pursue your consideration of the subject in
" private, with that dispassionate assiduity which it so eminent-
" ly deserves.

" Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I am to thank you, in his majesty's name, for the liberal pro-
" vision you havemade for the public service, and the honourable
" support of his majesty's government. In your generous con-
" tribution of supplies, you have not less consulted the dignity
" of his crown than the real interests of his people. The ne-
" cessity of preventing the accumulation of debt cannot be too
" strongly enforced, and it shall be my earnest and constant en-
" deavour to render your wise exertions for this salutary pur-
" pose effectual and permanent.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I feel the truest satisfaction in observing the various benefi-
" cial laws, which have passed during this session, and the
" wholesome effects of your wisdom in the returning tranquillity
" and industry, and in the rising prosperity of the kingdom.

" The conduct of parliament has had its just influence, their de-
" liberate spirit and approved attention at all times to the public
" welfare has inspired the people with full confidence in the le-
" gislature, and will teach them to consider their true interests
" with calmness and discretion.

" The noblest object to which I can direct my attention, and
" which will ever constitute the happiness and pride of my life,
" is the establishment of the prosperity of Ireland, by extending
" and securing her commerce, and by cementing and perpetuat-
" ing her connection with Great Britain. And I trust you will
" continually cherish this sentiment in the national mind, that
" the stability and strength of the empire can alone be ultimate-
" ly insured by uniting the interests and objects of both king-
" doms in a general and equitable system of reciprocal and com-
" mon advantage."

It is not to be supposed, that an object of so much importance, which fully occupied the attention of both legislatures for seven months, should fall under the consideration of the Irish people out of parliament, without producing a considerable sensation upon the public mind. We have occasionally adverted to the agitation of political questions by the armed bodies of associated volunteers. We have noticed the division of these associations upon certain points, and we have reflected upon the consequent decline of their influence and power upon the nation. The differences, which actually procreated the dissent of Lord Charlemont from the general disposition of the original volunteers to embrace their Catholic brethren in the system of parliamentary reform, were by the artful manœuvres of government rendered ancillary to the debilitation of that armed union of sentiment, which bad defiance to their most rigorous exertions of power. But these dissensions hitherto were confined to Catholic indulgence and parliamentary reform. The projected propositions touched neither of these questions: and as far as they could be or were understood by the different corps, which undertook to consider them, there appears to have been but one opinion for their rejection. The people was disposed or taught to believe, that the propositions were detrimental to the interests of Ireland, and that government wished and intended to force them upon Ireland by the influence of the British cabinet. No wonder then, that the popularity of the Duke of Rutland fell in the proportionate degree, as these convictions gained ground, and every exertion of rigour, whether by attachment or undoubted legal process, infused into the popular mind a degree of venom and asperity against their governor, whom they really considered counteracting the interests of their country. The city of Dublin, the grand centre of public and private negociation, continued during the whole course of the summer of 1785, to be a scene

of tumult and disorder. No sooner had parliament risen, than the expedient of non-importation agreements was again resorted to with greater zeal than ever. These engagements spread themselves into every quarter of the kingdom: they received the sanction of several grand juries, and the merchants of the trading ports found themselves compelled to subscribe to them. The enforcing of these prohibitory compacts naturally devolved upon the lowest class of the people, and they proceeded in the execution of that function according to the usual modes of popular discipline: to keep these excesses within some bounds, the military were posted in such parts of the city, as were the most subject to tumult; sentinels were placed to prevent or give notice of the first appearance of riot, and the garrison was kept in constant readiness for action.

This untemporizing disposition in government drew on the lord lieutenant, whose manners were in other respects peculiarly adapted to command the favour of the Irish, an unusual share of popular odium. His excellency once was received at the theatre by the performance of a piece of music, called the volunteer's march. A general uproar ensued; the entertainments of the evening were stopped; and it was said he narrowly escaped the personal outrage of the mob.

When the Duke of Rutland met the parliament, according to adjournment, on the 19th of January, 1786, it appears from the speech from the throne, that it was his wish, that the consideration of the commercial intercourse should be revived; he considered, that the national solicitude of the Irish parliament for the welfare of that kingdom would point out to them the line of conduct, which would be most conducive to the public advantage, and to that last connection between the sister kingdom, so essential to the prosperity of both. In addressing himself to the commons, he particularly adverted to the principle, which they had so wisely established, of preventing the accumulation of the national debt, which he hoped had already appeared to them to have proved successful; and he doubted not but they would persevere in the wisdom of those measures, which in their operation promoted such beneficial effects. And, in order to smooth the way for a favourite object of government, he recommended a systematic improvement of the police, and took that occasion to call the attention of both houses to the frequent outrages, that had been committed in some parts of the kingdom. Addresses both to his majesty and the lord lieutenant were, as usual, voted and passed unanimously, though not without some severe questions and animadversions upon them by Mr. Flood and some other gentlemen of the opposition.*

* In the course of these debates Mr. Forbes alluded to the industry of government since the recess in their endeavours to reconcile the people to the com-

As the two grand objects, which government appeared the most anxious to carry in this session, were the revival or some modification of the commercial propositions, and the passing of a police bill, so was his majesty's answer to the *address of the commons immediately calculated to give countenance and support to both those measures. Pains had also been taken to exaggerate some rumours of disturbance and abuses in the country parts, which had worked so strongly upon the nerves of Mr. Ogle, that he declared in the House of Commons on the 6th of February, 1786, that he saw the utter ruin of the Protestant ascendancy in the affair of Mr. O'Connor and ten thousand other instances. This Mr. O'Connor was generally considered a madman. He pretended to be a descendant from the ancient kings of Connaught; he had lately taken it into his head to possess himself of the estates and demesnes, which his ancestors had enjoyed. For this purpose he had assembled a num-

mercial propositions, by pamphlets and other publications in favour of the measure. With reference to Mr. Orde's own pamphlet, he in reply gave the following account of it. He said, he hoped it would never be deemed derogatory to any man to account for his parliamentary conduct to his constituents: for himself, he had great pleasure in reflecting, that for twenty-five years he had maintained the most friendly correspondence with the city he had the honour to represent; and though when he had formed an opinion upon the full conviction of his own mind, he never would relinquish it for any man, yet he held it but right for a representative to assign his reason to his constituents, when he had the misfortune of differing from them, and if he could not persuade them to become of his opinion, at least to shew them, that he acted upon principle, and in a full belief, that he was doing right. Consonant to this rule, after the address of the Cork grand jury had been presented to him, he expressed his difference of opinion explicitly and decidedly. Complaints were made, that he had treated his constituents with disrespect, by not explaining his reasons; he felt the force of the observation, and thought himself called upon to assign his reasons. He did so in a letter to one of the magistrates, which the honourable gentleman had been pleased to dignify with the title of a pamphlet. 6 Parl. Deb. p. 12.

* 12 Com. Journ. p. 35.

"GEORGE R.

"His majesty thanks his faithful commons for their loyal and "dutiful address, and receives with pleasure their professions of attachment "to his person, family, and government.

"The House of Commons may depend upon his majesty's warmest con- "currence and support in all the great and important objects of their delibe- "rations, and that he will be always ready to co-operate with them in any "measures tending to strengthen that lasting connection between the two "kingdoms, so essentially necessary to the prosperity and happiness of all "his majesty's subjects.

"His majesty observes, with much satisfaction, their design of attending to "regulations for the improvement of the credit, agriculture, and manufactures "of the kingdom, as well as to the security of public and private property, "and the protection of society; and agrees with them, that the encourage- "ment of industry, and the improvement of the education and morals of his "people, are among the first objects worthy of the care and attention of the "House of Commons of Ireland.

"G. R."

ber of armed men, and he himself resided in a place situate amongst bogs and fastnesses, where he had a cannon placed at his door, by the firing of which he assembled the mob of the country for many miles around. He had attempted to dispossess several persons of their lands, particularly a Mr. Bourke, of Ballydogan. In the last month he went to the lands of that gentleman, and made a formal entry, at the same time telling the hind, who had the care of the cattle, that if his master did not, before the 16th of February, send him a certain sum of money, he would carry his cattle away, where they should never be found.

The solicitor general, on Mr. Ogle's statement to the committee, informed them how far government had interfered in that business of Mr. O'Connor: they had not been inattentive to the information received of that gentleman's proceedings, but had applied to him and his colleague (the attorney general), in order to know how far they were warranted in employing an armed force to suppress him. They had returned their answer, that consistent with law and constitution, government was not warranted, until after due process the magistrates of the county should have reported, that the power of the county was insufficient. The magistrates, he said, were in a state of torpor; nothing more had been done by them, than receiving information, which information went to shew, that Mr. O'Connor had dispossessed several persons of their lands; however, the law officers could not advise the taking repossession with a military force, until after due course of law. He concluded with thanking his right honourable friend, whose honest zeal for the Protestant interest of Ireland had given government an opportunity of explaining their conduct in that business.

Mr. Conolly and some other gentlemen of great landed property in the country, who had been much in the habit of supporting government, now appeared to have taken a decided part in the opposition to the Duke of Rutland's administration. On this same day the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir John Parnell) moved, that the debt of the nation was 3,014,167*l.*; on which Mr. Conolly observed, that the expences of government every year increased: that the minister came regularly to that house to complain of the deficiency in the revenue, and demanded a loan, which was granted on his promise of future œconomy: at last the revenue was raised by new taxes to equal the expence, and still the expence had increased: he (as also Mr. Grattan) insisted upon the necessity of making a stand against the growth of expence, or else their constitution and commerce were at an end. Accordingly, on the 9th of February, Mr. Conolly moved the following resolutions: 1°. That the house did in the last session grant certain new taxes, estimated at

140,000*l.* per ann. for the purpose of putting an end to the accumulation of debt. 2°. That should the said taxes be continued, it was absolutely necessary, that the expences of the nation should be confined to her annual income. After a very warm and long debate, there appeared upon a division 73 for Mr. Conolly's resolutions, and 149 against them.

In the course of this debate the gentlemen of the opposition were frequently and loudly called upon for their confidence in the government, which they indignantly disclaimed.* The grand attack which the patriots made on the treasury bench this session, was upon the pension list.

Mr. Forbes led the van on the attack, and on the 6th of March moved the house, after a very animated speech, that the present application and amount of pensions on the civil establishment, were a grievance to the nation, and demanded redress. The motion produced a very interesting debate; but it shared the same fate as the bill he afterwards introduced to limit the amount of pensions, which was lost by a majority of 134 against 78. This bill was most strenuously opposed by Sir Hercules Langrishe, Mr. Mason, Mr. George Ponsonby, the attorney-general, and the most leading men on the treasury bench, as a direct and indecent invasion of the royal prerogative. The attorney-general asserted, that the principle of the bill went to the most dangerous extent of any bill that had ever come be-

* Upon this subject Mr. Grattan exclaimed (6 Parl. Debates, p. 119) "Who "would have imagined to have seen in the course of this debate, that faded "cockade of the Castle, confidence, advanced on the side of the court, confi-"dence in the Irish minister, in the uncontrolled expenditure of Irish money. "What, after all your experience, to prefer confidence to this resolution, re-"quires, in my opinion, a most robust conscience, and a most infirm under-"standing. Desirous as we all are to pay every respect, and with every pre-"dilection in favour of our present viceroy, a young man of a very noble un-"suspicious nature, exposed perhaps too much to importunity, yet who can "answer for his continuance? This confidence then must extend to all his "successors, whoever they may be, of whatever cast, party, principle, or ca-"pacity. But even that won't do. This confidence must extend to all the "secretaries of all the future lords lieutenants. In the last seven years we "had seven lord lieutenants and eight secretaries. The confidence must "then be extended to the lords and commons of Great Britain, or rather to "the king's commission, on a pure and perfect persuasion that whom the king "shall appoint, the Lord illuminates; and where the purse is bestowed, there "is the virtue, and there is the œconomy. This will not do; it is not sufficient "that viceroys should be gods....Irishmen must be angels, and importunity "and solicitation cease; and in that event I submit to the force of the argu-"ment of confidence, as something not according to reason, but above it."

In the flight of that great orator's imagination, he has left us the following picture of the nation's expence. (6 Parl. Debates, p. 153.) "See the chart "of your credit, an evanescent speck just rising above the plane of the hori-"zon, and then it drops; while your debt ascends like a pyramid, with an au-"dacious defalcation, and almost culminates in your meridian. Midway of "this mountain of debt, you will discern a line marking your effort to put an "end to the practice of running in debt."

fore parliament; it went to rob the crown of its responsibility in the disposal of the public money, and to convey it to that house, and even to the House of Peers. He then begged leave to remind the members of what happened after the passing of their favourite vote of 1757. The members of that house caballed together, forming themselves into little parties, and voting to each other hundreds of thousands. And as no government could go on without the aid of their leaders, it cost that nation more to break through that *puisn* aristocracy, which had made a property of parliament, than what it would by the pension list for many years.* On the side of the patriots, all the old arguments were urged with redoubled force against the pension list. Mr. Grattan gave great offence by the strong and harsh assertion, with which he closed his speech on Mr. Forbes's motion, viz. *If he should vote that pensions were not a grievance, he should vote an impudent, an insolent, and a public lie.*†

* 6 Parl. Debates, p. 290. This is a sort of official evidence, if any were wanting, to prove the existence of the system of individual venality, which has been stated to have been established under the administration of Lord Townshend. Sir Hercules Langrish exerted his powers on this occasion in an extraordinary manner, insomuch, that Mr. George Ponsonby said of him, that he had never heard a series of better arguments, interspersed and enlivened with more brilliant strokes of wit, than the speech of the honourable baronet against that bill. Mr. George Ponsonby was so attached to the government of the Duke of Rutland, that one of his principal arguments against the pension bill, was, that it would convey censure upon his Grace's administration, which he did not deserve.

† Amongst the patriots, Mr. Curran shone conspicuous in support of the pension bill. (6 Parl. Debates, p. 282) This polyglot of wealth, said he, this museum of curiosities, the pension list, embraces every link in the human chain; every description of men, women, and children, from the exalted excellence of a Hawke or Rodney, to the debased situation of the lady who humbleth herself that she may be exalted. But the lessons it inculcates form its greatest perfection; it teaches that sloth and vice may eat that bread, which virtue and honesty may starve for after they had earned it. It teaches the idle and dissolute to look up for that support, which they are too proud to stoop to earn. It directs the minds of men to an entire reliance on the ruling power of the state, who feeds the ravens of the royal aviary, that cry continually for food. It teaches them to imitate those saints on the pension list, that are like the lilies of the field, they toil not, neither do they spin, and yet are arrayed like Solomon in all his glory. In fine, it teaches a lesson, which indeed they might have learned from Epictetus; that it is sometimes good not to be over-virtuous: it shews, that in proportion as our distresses increase, the munificence of the crown increases also; in proportion as our clothes are rent, the royal mantle is extended over us.

On the same day Mr. Grattan exclaimed, when gentlemen say that the new charge for pensions is small, let me assure them they need not be alarmed; the charge will be much greater; for unless your interposition should deter, what else is there to check it? Will public poverty? no: new taxes? no: gratitude for those taxes? no: principle? no: profession? no: the love of fame, or sense of infamy? no. Confined to no one description of merit, or want of character, under the authority of that list, every man, woman, and

The remaining subject of difference between the ministry and the patriots in that session, was upon the police bill, which had been for a considerable time a favourite object with government to carry, in order to strengthen their interest in the city of Dublin, which, from the days of Dr. Lucas, they had felt declining, in the independence, which he had laboured so strenuously and successfully to establish. It was conceived by the opposition, that if the bill were carried for the city of Dublin, it would in the next session be extended to every part of the kingdom: and it was also generally considered, that the report of popular risings and popish conspiracies against the Protestant ascendancy, had been industriously exaggerated for the purpose of intimidating the parliament into the adoption of that strong measure* of government.

child in Ireland, have pretensions to become a public incumbrance; so that since government went so far, I marvel that they have stopped, unless the pen fell out of their hand from fatigue, for it could not be from principle.

No, Sir, this list will go on; it will go on till the merchant shall feel it, until the manufacturer shall feel it, until the pension list shall take into its own hand the keys of taxation; and instead of taxing licence to sell, shall tax the article and manufacture itself; until we shall lose our great commercial resource, a comparative exemption from taxes, the gift of our poverty, and get an accumulation of taxes, to be the companion of our poverty; until public indignation shall cry shame upon us, and the morality of a serious and offended community shall call out for the interposition of law.

* Sir Edward Crofton, in opposing this bill, said, "I have spoken of Mr. "O'Connor in a former debate; and I am firmly persuaded that, as to that "gentleman, matters have been extremely exaggerated and misrepresented. "I know it has been mentioned as an affair, that required the interference "of government; and that camps, cannon, and fortifications, were erected. "It was also rumoured, that the Roman Catholics were in open rebellion; "this was an insidious, infamous, and false report, calculated to cast an "undeserved reflection on a body of men remarkable for their loyalty to their "sovereign, and their known attachment to the constitution; it was an illiberal and an infamous attack on a people distinguished for their peaceable "demeanour, and was intended but to serve the purposes of this still more "infamous bill.

"However great my knowledge may have been of the loyalty of the Roman "Catholics of this country, yet I must confess, on this occasion, I was made a "dupe to report; for from the gentleman, who had declared the county of "Roscommon to be in a state of rebellion, I could scarcely believe but government had authority for saying so; I confess, therefore, I felt for my property; "and it was natural I should make every possible enquiry; I did so, and "found there was no rebellion in the country; and also found the trifling "disturbances, which have been so exaggerated, were only the effects of "some whiskey, to which the country people had been treated, and which "every gentleman knows operates on the lower order of people, as oil of "rodium does on rats; and what was very extraordinary, there was not a "broken head on the occasion.

"I wrote to a gentleman of veracity, and a magistrate, (a Mr. Caulfield) "who assured me, the peace of the county was not for a moment disturbed: "I offered to re-instate those gentlemen who were said to be dispossessed of "their lands, with the assistance of a troop of dragoons; the power was "denied me; I therefore was well-founded in an opinion, that when this bill "was mentioned, the affair of Roscommon would be made a handle of, and

Mr. Conolly took a leading part in opposing the police bill, which he observed, under the specious pretence of giving police, went to take away constitution. He was still positive, that he was well-founded in his opinion; that the conduct of the administration was inimical to the constitution. The temperance of the volunteers since the noble duke's administration, deserved their grateful approbation. When they were misguided, and adopted measures, which he conceived improper, he was not backward in avowing himself against their proceedings; but when he reflected, that the moment the volunteers were told their conduct was disagreeable to parliament, they retired to the country without a murmur, such conduct secured his admiration, and made him tenacious of their liberties; nor could their arms be placed in better hands than where they were.

There were several heated debates upon this bill: it was treated by opposition as a most unconstitutional job, a mere bill of patronage for ministerial purposes: although it must be allowed, that the secretary offered to alter whatever should be found objectionable in the committee, and some of the noxious clauses were withdrawn. Several petitions were presented against the bill, but received with ill grace. Amongst other petitions, one was presented by the freeholders of the county of Dublin, by Sir Edward Newnham, which the attorney-general moved to have rejected,* as an insult to the house; and it was

" that it would be said, the rebellion, as it was ludicrously termed, of O'Con-
" nor, made it absolutely necessary. I am also convinced, that the affairs in
" the south are likewise exaggerated, and by no means fairly stated, so as
" to give rise to this measure." 6 Parl. Debates, p. 338.

* The temper of the house will be better seen by considering the petition which met with this severe fate. (6 Parl. Debates, p. 388).

A petition of the freeholders of the county of Dublin, signed by the sheriff of the said county, was presented to the house and read, setting forth that the " petitioners, deeply interested in the welfare of this country, the metropolis thereof, and the kingdom of Ireland at large, and anxiously solicitous for the honour and dignity of parliament, have, with the most sincere concern, observed a bill, intituled " a bill for the better execution of the law within the city " of Dublin, and certain parts adjacent thereto, and for quieting and protecting " possessions within this kingdom, for the more expeditious transportation of " felons; for the reviving, continuing, and amending certain statutes therein " mentioned, and for repealing an act passed in the 17th and 18th years of " the police of the city of Dublin," involving the chartered rights of the ancient and respectable corporation of the city of Dublin, the liberties, properties, and domestic enjoyments of the inhabitants of the capital and its environs, precipitating through the House of Commons, at a time when a considerable number of members were unavoidably engaged in the business of the assizes, and therefore could not have had an opportunity of being consulted upon a subject of such magnitude; that the petitioners conceive that a certain class of men, who, from their character and conduct have never been considered as objects of responsibility, under the absolute control of certain commissioners nominated by the minister, with powers arbitrary and despotic, may to gratify

rejected by 118 against Sir Edward Newnham and Colonel Sharman. The attorney-general boasted of his indulgence in not moving a censure against the petitioners: but should not again be so gentle, if the offence were repeated. This was the most important bill passed during the session. Several gentlemen on the treasury bench wished to bring in a bill for securing the persons, houses and properties of vicars, rectors, and curates, actually resident within their respective parishes; the introduction of which bill gave to several members an opportunity of giving vent to the feelings either of zeal for the hierarchy, or indignation against those, who were not of the establishment. But as the attorney-general considered them as effectually secured by the law, as other subjects, the bill was reluctantly dropped. On the 8th of May, 1786, the parliament was prorogued; when his grace the lord-lieutenant, in his speech, assured them, that the determined spirit, with which they had marked their abhorrence of all lawless disorders and tumults, had already made an useful impression; and the salutary laws enacted in that session, and particularly the introduction of a system of police, were honourable proofs of their wisdom, moderation, and prudence. He moreover assured them, that his majesty beheld with the highest satisfaction the zeal and loyalty of the people of Ireland: and that he had his majesty's express commands, to assure them of the most cordial returns of his royal favour and parental affection.

When the parliament met according to the last adjournment, on the 18th of January, 1787, the lord lieutenant particularly applied to them for their assistance, in the effectual vindication of the laws and the protection of society: and reminded them,

their own licentious dispositions, force themselves into the peaceful retreats of our families, and, under the pretence of protecting us from the depredations of others, commit the most indecent and cruel irregularities, that the debtor, to whom the law has afforded in his house a sanctuary, cannot be secure; and the infirm and invalid, let their situation be ever so deplorable, cannot be at rest; our wives, children, and friends, will find their domestic enjoyment cease, the ultimate wish of life, retirement, done away: that the petitioners are of opinion, that the powers granted by the bill to the commissioners, of raising bodies of armed men, although limited in number, together with that of levying money to support the same, are dangerous expedients, and directly militate against the principles of the constitution: that the petitioners perceive with sorrow a certain and numerous body of their fellow-subjects obliged to submit to an ignominious distinction, and marked suspicion, by a partial registry of their names, occupations, and abodes, which regulation from any matter that has been set forth in the bill, or we can devise, we cannot but consider as oppressive and unnecessary: that the petitioners consider the clause, which includes that part of the county of Dublin within the circular road in the district of the metropolis, as highly oppressive upon the inhabitants of the county of Dublin residing therein, as it subjects them to a two-fold taxation; and therefore praying to be heard by themselves, or their council, at the bar of the house against the said bill."

that their uniform regard for the rights of their fellow subjects, and their zealous attachment to the religious and civil constitution of their country, would stimulate their attention to their inseparable interests, and would ensure their special support of the established church and the respectable situation of its ministers. He also informed them, that he had ordered a copy of the treaty of commerce with the French king to be laid before them, and he hoped, that the adoption of it in Ireland, by such laws as would be requisite to give it effect, would be attended with the most beneficial consequences to the country. These objects of recommendation formed the bulk of the business of the session.

Mr. Conolly made some observations upon that part of the address, which alluded to the disturbances in the south; he could by no means admit, that they were as extensive as represented by government. He wished not to make any reflection upon the worthy chief governor, whom, he said, he knew to be an honest man and the friend of both countries; he did not suspect him, but the administration: and against them he made the most serious, and at the same time the most important charge, that could be laid at the door of the most wicked administration. It is the more necessary to advert to the nature of this charge, as it has been almost uniformly objected from this time forwards to the measures of every administration, down to the close of the union, but with what justice, subsequent events will disclose. A charge of such intense malevolence, and of such incalculable mischief ought not to be even imagined without the strongest presumptions and grounds.* Mr. Conolly adverted to the proclamations that had been issued, stating, that the greatest meetings ever known had been convened in the south; and that they were all in arms. Why then did not government suppress them in their infancy? Why not punish the

* 7 Par. Deb. p. 21. Supposing, said Mr. Conolly, that these disturbances are as extensive as have been represented, but I hope in God they are not.... supposing they are as formidable as government have represented them in their proclamations, are not the laws at present in being sufficient to restore order? They are abundantly so, if properly enforced. And hence, Sir, my suspicion is excited, when I behold administration attempting by insinuation, to establish the necessity of new laws for unnecessary purposes, or for something worse. I am convinced that had administration been active, they might have checked these disturbances in embryo. I will ask can any man entertain a doubt of it? and when they did not, what can we infer from it, but that there was some dark design in suffering them to come to maturity?

And why do I suspect administration? Because of their conduct on the propositions; when they wished to prove, and to have us believe, that the returned propositions were identically the same as the original ten, and were ready to pass them with the same alacrity and vigour, although every man in the nation was convinced, that they coerced the commerce, and invaded the constitution of this kingdom.

supineness of the magistrates, which was complained of and admitted on all hands? But he considered it as a measure to intimidate the Protestants of that kingdom, and to furnish an immediate pretext for an unconstitutional police bill. If those turbulences were not exaggerated, government was highly censurable for not having prevented them in time: if they were so, they were more criminal for having created ill-founded alarms. Mr. Longfield, who lived near Cloyne in the county of Cork, wholly disclaimed the existence of such turbulence as had been represented under the desperate auspices of a Captain *Right*, whence his followers were called *Right Boys*. He informed the house, that his demesnes bordered the town of Cloyne: that although he had heard much of these disturbances last session, he had observed nothing of them in the course of the summer: the bishop of that diocese had not applied for any military assistance, but lived quietly secure at home, in the protection of the neighbouring gentlemen. The first thing that could be called a disturbance, induced him to think government had a hand in it. Some very respectable people of Cloyne came to him, and told him that a bailiff belonging to the high sheriff had been sent amongst them, with notices to provide a quantity of arms and ammunition, and a number of horses, by the following Sunday, for the use of Captain *Right*. It appeared odd, that a sheriff's bailiff should be employed on such a business, and, as a magistrate, he sent for him. He confessed the fact of having served the notices, and said he was employed by Captain *Right*. He was desired to give information against Captain *Right*, which he refused; upon which the honourable member committed him to gaol, returned the bills against him, and brought persons of credit, who had sworn examinations, and were ready to prosecute; but to his astonishment, the grand jury threw out the bills. Mr. Kemmis, the crown solicitor said, he could do nothing without an order from government, and as he was not in the habit of asking favours from government, there the matter dropped.

This was the first disturbance he had heard of; the next was that Captain Right swore some of the people in his neighbourhood to observe his regulations; yet another gentleman and he, attended by a single servant, had made this formidable Captain Right a prisoner, and safely lodged him in gaol. Such being the case, there ought not to be a general charge of delinquency against the county of Cork, because some of its magistrates were supine. After what he mentioned, government sent forces down to that part of the country; two of their officers were Englishmen, one a Scotchman; the people could not be supposed to have any very great partiality for them, or

they for the people, yet they lived unmolested in good quarters, and never had occasion to be called out to quell any disturbance.

A nobleman of great talents, knowledge, experience and sagacity, had the chief command of the troops sent into the province of Munster. If they had his report, were there any way of coming at it, it would shew that none but the lowest wretches, who groaned under the most intolerable oppressions, were engaged in any disturbance. If that noble lord were present, he would make them shudder at the account of the miseries of that wretched people.

Sir James Cotter said, he came very lately from that county, and to his knowledge, great disturbances did exist, and his report was confirmed by Mr. Warren. He had often been an eye witness to the violences of the deluded people. The honourable gentleman (Mr. Longfield) who had a great estate, and lived in the midst of his tenants, with a number of servants and dependants about him, might feel no apprehension; but he, who had but a small fortune and few servants, had not, he said, for nine months last past gone to bed a single night that he was sure of rising in the morning with his life. He then related to the house an account of his having once been fired at by the insurgents, and of his being stopped by a number of armed men, who, as a very great favour, suffered him to depart unhurt.

Mr. Curran observed, that had this address been, as all addresses that he had ever read or heard of were, composed of unmeaning stuff, he should not now rise to speak to it. But it was an address, that tended to inspire the mind of the chief governor with indignation for the wretched people of that country; an address tending to impress the father of his people with the idea of their being in open revolt, to divert the royal mind from listening to the complaints of afflicted subjects, or alleviating their miseries; it was a gross invective. To say it was necessary, was adding irony to invective.

The people were oppressed, and before they poured the last drop into the vessel, and caused the waters of bitterness to overflow on them, they should well consider if the representatives of the nation had been remiss, if the magistrates throughout the kingdom had criminally been supine; let them lay the blame at the right door; cease to utter idle complaints of inevitable effects, when they themselves have been the causes. The man who would say, that the constitution in church and state was in danger, from the simple insurrection of a parcel of peasants, without order, without a head, without a leader, undisciplined, unarmed, or only partially so, he would not take to be a very wise man; and the man who would say so from any

thing, save an error in judgment, he would not take to be either a wise or an honest man.

Is it any wonder, said he, that the wretches whom woeful and long experience has taught to doubt, and with justice to doubt, the attention and relief of the legislature, wretches, that have the utmost difficulty to keep life and soul together, and who must inevitably perish, if the hand of assistance were not stretched out to them, should appear in tumult? No, Sir, it is not. Unbound to the sovereign by any proof of his affection, unbound to government by any instance of its protection, unbound to the country, or to the soil, by being destitute of any property in it, 'tis no wonder that the peasantry should be ripe for rebellion and revolt: so far from matter of surprise, it must naturally have been expected.

The supineness of the magistrates, and the low state of the commissions of the peace throughout the kingdom, but particularly in the county of Cork, should be rectified. A system of vile jobbing was one of the misfortunes of that country: it extended even to commissions of the peace: how else could the report of the four and twenty commissions of the peace, sent down to the county of Clare in one post be accounted for? Even the appointment of sheriffs was notoriously in the hands of government; and through jobbing, sheriffs themselves could not be trusted: two sheriffs ran away last year with executions in their pockets, and the late high sheriff of the county of Dublin had absconded.

He concluded by moving the following amendments, viz.

"Though it is a great consolation to us to think, that these "outrages have not originated in any disaffection in your ma- "jesty's subjects of this kingdom to your majesty's government, "or in any concerted design of disturbing our present happy con- "stitution either in church or state, but have been wholly con- "fined to some individuals of the lowest class of the people, "whose extreme indigence and distress, may be the occasion, "though they cannot be a justification of such illegal proceed- "ings; and it is a further consolation to us to know, that the "ordinary powers of the law now in being are fully adequate, "if duly exerted, to punish and restrain such excesses.

"At the same time we humbly beg leave to represent to your "majesty, that the public expences of this country have en- "creased to a degree so far beyond the ability of the people to "bear, that we feel ourselves called upon by our duty to our "constituents, to reduce those expences by every mode of re- "trenchment, consistent with such honourable and necessary sup- "port to your majesty's government, within such limits as may "be compatible with the very exhausted resources of a distress- "ed people; and we do not doubt of having your majesty's

"gracious approbation of a measure so essential to the commercial "hopes of your kingdom of Ireland, as well as conducive to the "permanent peace and prosperity of this kingdom:" but they passed in the negative.

On the 31st of January, 1787, when the house was in a committee upon that part of his excellency's speech, which related to the commotions, which in some places disturbed the public tranquillity; the attorney-general (Fitzgibbon) submitted to the house the following narrative of facts, which he said had come to his knowledge respecting the proceedings of the insurgents.* Their commencement was in one or two parishes in the county of Kerry, and they proceeded thus: the people assembled in a Catholic chapel and there took an oath to obey the laws of Captain Right, and to starve the clergy. They then proceeded to the next parishes on the following Sunday, and there swore the people in the same manner, with this addition, that they (the people last sworn) should, on the ensuing Sunday, proceed to the chapels of their next neighbouring parishes, and swear the inhabitants of those parishes in like manner.

Proceeding in this manner they very soon went through the province of Munster. The first object of their reformation was tithes; they swore not to give more than a certain price per acre; not to take them from the minister at a great price; not to assist or allow him to be assisted in drawing the tithe, and to permit no proctor. They next took upon them to prevent the collection of parish cesses; then to nominate parish clerks, and in some cases curates; to say what church should or should not be repaired; and in one case to threaten that they would burn a new church, if the old one were not given for a mass house. At last they proceeded to regulate the price of lands, to raise the price of labour, and to oppose the collection of the hearth-money and other taxes.

In all their proceedings they shewed the greatest address, with a degree of caution and circumspection, which was the more alarming, as it demonstrated system and design. Bodies of 5000 of them have been seen to march through the country unarmed, and if met by any magistrate, who had spirit to question them, they had not offered the smallest rudeness or offence; on the contrary they had allowed persons charged with crimes, to be taken from amongst them by the magistrate alone, unaided with any force. Wherever they went, they found the people, as ready to take an oath to cheat the clergy as they were to propose it; but if any one did resist, the torments which he was doomed to undergo, were too horrible even for savages to be supposed guilty of. In the middle of the night he was dragged from his bed, and buried alive in a grave lined with thorns, or

* 7 Par. Deb. p. 57.

he was set naked on horseback, and tied to a saddle covered with thorns: in addition to this, perhaps his ears were sawed off. There was that day an account received of two military men, who had exerted themselves in the line of their duty, being attacked by a body of Right Boys, and perhaps murdered, for there was but little hope of their recovering of their wounds. The way in which the Right Boys perpetrated that crime, was; the two men were walking together armed, they set a dog at them, when one of the men fired; he had no sooner thrown away his fire, than a multitude rushed upon the two from behind the ditches, and wounded them in a most shocking manner.

Upon the best enquiry, there was not the least ground to accuse the clergy of extortion. Far from receiving the tenth, he knew of no instance in which they received the twentieth part. He was well acquainted with the province of Munster, and that it was impossible for human wretchedness to exceed that of the miserable peasantry in that province. He knew, that the unhappy tenantry were ground to powder by relentless landlords. He knew that, far from being able to give the clergy their just dues, they had not food or raiment for themselves; the landlord grasped the whole, and sorry was he to add, that not satisfied with the present extortion, some landlords had been so base as to instigate the insurgents to rob the clergy of their tithes, not in order to alleviate the distresses of the tenantry, but that they might add the clergy's share to the cruel rack-rents already paid. It would require the utmost ability of parliament to come to the root of those evils. The poor people of Munster lived in a more abject state of poverty than human nature could be supposed able to bear; their miseries were intolerable, but they did not originate with the clergy; nor could the legislature stand by and see them take the redress into their own hands. Nothing could be done for their benefit while the country remained in a state of anarchy.

Upon the best consideration that he had been able to give the subject, two circumstances, which had contributed to spread the commotions, required to be immediately corrected.

The first was, that under the present existing law, the kind of combination, which pervaded the province of Munster, was deemed but a misdemeanor; a bailable offence, and no magistrate could refuse to take bail for it.

The second was, the insufficiency and criminal neglect of magistrates throughout the great county of Cork; there was scarcely a magistrate that would act. In the neighbourhood of the city of Cork, indeed, one gentleman, Mr. Mannix, exerted himself, much to his own honour and the public benefit. In the west of the county, Mr. Cox also behaved with great propriety. If

other magistrates had acted in the same manner these two gentlemen had, the commotions would not have existed for a month. As to the grand jury not having found the bill against the sheriff's bailiff, he shewed the impossibility of framing an indictment upon the facts, he justified the crown solicitor, and moved

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that some further "provisions by statute are indispensably necessary to prevent "tumultuous rising and assemblies, and for the more adequate "and effectual punishment of persons guilty of outrage, riot "and illegal combination, and of administering and taking un-"lawful oaths."

Some further conversation ensued, in which the attorney general assured the house, that it was impossible for the peasantry of Munster any longer to exist in the extreme wretchedness, under which they laboured. A poor man was to pay 6*l.* for an acre of potatoe ground, which 6*l.* he was obliged to work out with his landlord at 5*d.* a day. The question was then put upon the resolution, which passed unanimously, whereupon the committee reported, and leave was given to bring in a bill, consonant to the tenor of the resolution. Several gentlemen in the opposition were very loud in declaiming against the profusion and extravagance of the government expences: complaints were successively made against the allowances to the printers of newspapers for inserting proclamations and advertisements, which were detrimental to the public, and disgraceful to the nation, for the sum of 1266*l.* for repairing the road through the Phœnix Park, through which carts were not permitted to pass, for law bills for prosecuting Right Boys, for the expence of witnesses attending in London to give evidence concerning the Irish propositions, for building country houses for the officers of the crown, and other charges which were most scandalously brought against the public: they were all defended by the ministers, and of course none of the objectionable articles were disallowed.

Mr. Conolly, who at this time took a very active part in the interest of the poor, and the welfare of his country, on the 9th of February, declared in the house, that it had been his intention, in the course of that session, to move an alteration in the tax of hearth-money, for the relief of the poor distressed cottagers: as however a large portion of that description of persons in the south were in a state of resistance to the laws of their country: he declared he would defer his motion till the people should demean themselves peaceably as good subjects. Some observations upon the extreme hardship of this tax were made by Mr. Stewart, when Mr. Monk Mason said, he could not bear to hear the hearth-money spoken of as an oppressive tax: it had been paid for near a century without complaint, and he could see no

reason why it was on a sudden become the fashion to exclaim against it. Such resistance from the treasury bench to the repeal of this most oppressive tax, was little calculated to ensure the affection of the lower orders of society.

Mr. Conolly immediately afterwards called the attention of the house to a resolution, which he flattered himself would be unexceptionable to every part of it, which every gentleman who supported, or who opposed government, every honest Irishman and every honest Englishman must approve of. It was impossible, for any man to say, that running in debt could either serve Ireland or England. If in time of peace they thus continued to run in debt, what were they to do in the event of a war?* He then moved, that the house determined to put an end to the ruinous practice of running in debt, did the session before last vote new taxes estimated at 140,000*l.* per ann. and having on the same principle continued those taxes in the last session of parliament, then provided cheerfully to give and grant the same taxes in the decided expectation, that by his Grace the Lord Lieutenant's frugal and just management of the public revenues, thus greatly enlarged, they would be then rendered sufficient to satisfy the public expences, without the further accumulation of debt or increase of taxes. It passed without a dissenting voice, when Mr. Conolly immediately moved, that the house, with the speaker, should attend the Lord Lieutenant with a copy of the resolution; but the chancellor of the Exchequer opposed this second motion as an indecent parade, and an intended censure on the chief governor; the motion was withdrawn, and Mr. Conolly was complimented thereupon by the secretary, who was sure, that the right honourable member always meant right.

The bill for preventing tumultuous risings and assemblies, and for the more effectual punishment of persons guilty of outrage, riot and illegal combination, and of administering and taking unlawful oaths, was introduced by the attorney general, and was opposed in every stage by the patriots, who contended, that the existing laws were fully adequate to correct, punish and prevent the abuses, if properly carried into execution: that to punish a whole nation by imposing upon them the most severe and unconstitutional laws, on account of the misconduct of a small part was unjust: that this act went infinitely beyond the English riot act: and would be productive of more discontent

* With circumstances, political opinions often change. Mr. Conolly, who was one of the staunchest supporters of the union, on this occasion, so far avowed anti-unionism as the basis of his political creed, as to have volunteered this strong assertion: "*I wish to have it in our power to assist England. No man would do more for England than I would. I would do any thing for her short of an Union.*" 7 Par. Deb. 133.

and confusion, than then unfortunately existed in that country. They admitted, that the South ought to be coerced: they lamented, that the peasantry in that district should have invaded personal security and undermined their own liberties: they deplored the savage infatuation, which had prompted them to outrage, and blushed for the necessity of strong measures, to curb their lawlessness. The hands of the magistrate ought to be strengthened, though not without limitation: the magistrate should be enabled to disperse meetings, that were notoriously convened for illegal purposes: nor ought they to be admitted to bail, who should have refused to disperse: and they fully allowed, that the persons, who dug graves, provided gibbets, and indulged in such atrocities should be punished capitally. They complained, that the principal deviations* from the English

* Mr. Grattan in his speech on this occasion pointed out several of these deviations: 7 Par. Deb. 181. Another difference, from the riot act was, that in England the proclamation is obliged to be read; but by this bill, nothing more was required of the magistrate than to command the rioters to disperse in the king's name. If they did not disperse in one hour, death was the consequence, and this he considered as putting an hour-glass in the hand of time, to run a race against the lives of the people; and this was certainly a great objection. Another objection was, that if a magistrate was stopped, when repairing to the place of riot, the person who stopped him, would be guilty of felony; that was, though the magistrate was resorting to an unlawful place, the person who obstructed him, should be deemed to merit death. And if the persons did not disperse, if the magistrate was interrupted, the reckoning of time was to commence from the moment of his obstruction: and should they continue one hour they would be guilty of felony, and incur the punishment of death; that is, the interception of a magistrate, at a distance in this kingdom, was to be tantamount to the reading of a proclamation on the spot in England. This he thought one of the severest clauses that was ever brought forward, or ever adopted. But even though this had been premised of the English riot act the measure of their severity should not be a measure for the legislation of the houses, if it should, it would be bad in principle, and worse in practice. Another clause of the bill made it felony to write, print, publish, send, or carry any message, letter, or notice, tending to excite insurrection, that is, that a man who shall write or print any letter or notice, shall be guilty....of what?....of felony! Like the Draconian laws, this bill had blood! blood! felony! felony! felony! in every period, and in every sentence. Now had this bill been law for some time past, what would be the situation of every man, who printed a newspaper for nine months past? What would be the situation of every man who had written upon the subject of tithes? For as the right of the clergy to tithes is acknowledged to be founded in law, and as the papers and writers have argued against them, what would be the consequence? Who could tell how their conduct might be construed in a court of law? or whether they might not be adjudged guilty of felony? But he would not ask who would be guilty under such a law; but he would ask, who would not be guilty? A perpetual mutiny bill had been once the law of the land, and yet gentlemen both spoke and wrote against it as dangerous, unconstitutional, and beyond the power of parliament to sanction. Had this bill been then law, they would have all been guilty of felony, and suffered death. Who could tell in what manner the words, *tending to excite disturbance* might be interpreted? The clause, respecting the taking of arms, and ammunition, or money to purchase them, he observed, to bear a similarity to the white boy act; but the white boy act was more guarded. He then looked to the clause,

riot acts, were all founded in more intense severity: perpetuity was also another objection to the bill: and it was strongly urged, that this extreme rigour was not to be handed down to posterity as an inheritance: nor were the provinces of Ulster, Leinster and Connaught to be punished for their tranquillity in the same manner as Munster was for its turbulence: neither should such overstretched severity descend from the fathers to their children, as a kind of original sin, and death and felony be spread in every quarter through the land: should the bill in its then form pass, it would become ineffectual from its excessive rigour: it would be the triumph of the criminal and the stigma of the laws. The attorney general supported the deviations from the English riot act: but abandoned the clause directing the magistrates to demolish the Roman Catholic chapels, in which any combinations should have been formed or an unlawful oath administered. The debate was carried on with great warmth on both sides to a late hour. Mr. Orde, the secretary, particularly remarked, that he never could have concurred in the clause for pulling down the chapels, and was therefore happy, that it had been abandoned by his friend. He

that respected the prostrating places of public worship, and was remarkably pointed and severe upon it. He considered it as casting a stain of impiety on the whole nation, and enjoining the magistrates to commit that very act of violence, which is punished with death in the peasantry. It was a revival of the penal laws, and that in the most dangerous and exceptionable part. He called upon gentlemen to consider, that they had no charge against the Catholics to warrant this measure; to consider, that they had not so much as cause for suspicion of them; to consider, if they were a Popish peasantry, they were actuated by no Popish motive; to consider, that public thanks had been returned to the principal person of the Catholic religion in that country, for his manly exertions to maintain the public peace and to protect the rights of the established clergy: and he thought, if there were any thing sacred or binding in religion, it would operate successfully against the present measure; for it would cast a stigma on the Protestant religion.

He had heard, he said of transgressors being dragged from the sanctuary, but he never heard of the sanctuary being demolished. It went so far as to hold out the laws as a sanction to sacrilege If the Roman Catholics were of a different religion, yet they had one common God and one common Saviour with gentlemen themselves; and surely the God of the Protestant temple, was the God of the Catholic temple. What then did the clause enact? That the magistrate should pull down the temple of his God, and should it be rebuilt, and as often as it was rebuilt for three years, he should again prostrate it, and so proceed, in repetition of his abominations, and thus stab the criminal through the sides of his God: a new idea indeed! But this was not all, the magistrate was to sell by auction the altar of the divinity to pay for the sacrilege, that had been committed on his house. By preventing the chapel from being erected, he contended, that we must prohibit the exercise of religion for three years; and that to remedy disturbance we resorted to irreligion, and endeavoured to establish it by act of parliament. A commission of the peace might fall into the hands of a clergyman, and this clause first occasion him to preclude the practice of religion for three years, then involve him in vile abominations, and afterwards he must preach peace upon earth and good will towards men.

lamented, that any thing should have appeared in print, purporting, that those insurrections had arisen from a popish conspiracy: he declared, he not only did not believe it, but in some places he could say; he knew it not to be true: and affirmed, that the insurgents had in some places deprived the Roman Catholic clergy of one half of their income. That in respect to the book of a Right Rev. Prelate, (the Bishop of Cloyne) though he differed from him in some of his opinions, he thought highly of his ability and upright intentions.*

* Mr. Curran, in his speech, had particularly noticed the attempts to exaggerate the disturbances of Munster, and to dye them with a religious tint, and he thence took an occasion to advert, for a moment, to the ecclesiastical policy of Ireland for centuries past (7 Par. Deb. 193) The Church of Ireland, said he, has been in the hands of strangers, advanced to the mitre, not for their virtues or their knowledge, but quartered upon this country, through their own servility or the caprice of their benefactors, inclined naturally to oppress us, to hate us, and to defame us; while the real duties of our religion have been performed by our own native clergy, who, with all the finer feelings of gentlemen and scholars, have been obliged to do the drudgery of their profession for forty or at most fifty pounds a year, without the means of being liberal, from their poverty, and without the hope of advancing themselves by their learning or their virtues, in a country where preferment was notoriously not to be attained by either. On this ground he vindicated the great body of the native acting clergy of Ireland, from any imputation, because of the small progress which Protestantism had made among them: The pride of episcopacy, and the low state, to which our ministers of the gospel were reduced, abundantly accounted for it. Their distresses and oppression, he said, were the real objects of parliamentary consideration; and we could not interfere in the manner now proposed, without exposing them to the most imminent danger.

He then adverted to the nature of the disturbances in the south. He could not justify these outrages; they ought to be punished, but we ought not to forget that we had ourselves expressly admitted that they had proceeded from the supineness of magistrates and the oppression of landlords. But now, he said, an act like this would be a proclamation of a religious war in the kingdom. A publication had been industriously circulated through a number of editions, stating that a scheme was formed between the Catholics and Presbyterians, for the subversion of the established religion and constitution; and the former were gravely informed that their religion absolved them from all tie of allegiance to the state, or observance of their oaths. And this, he said, was not an opinion pronounced upon light authority, it was the deliberate assertion of a Reverend Prelate, whose judgment on one of the abstrusest points of our common law, had been opposed and with success to that of our venerable chancellor, who was perhaps the ablest common lawyer in either kingdom, except only those gentlemen who were not of the profession; he then examined the justice of the learned author's publication, which he condemned as founded on illiberality and misrepresentation, and tending to obstruct the advancement of our religion, and to annihilate the provision of the established clergy; and tending also, manifestly to revive the dissensions, from which we had so recently emerged, and to plunge us into the barbarism, from which we were emerging, or perhaps to imbrue us in the bloodshed of a religious war.

He said, that however the public may excuse the effects of mistaken zeal in the reverend writer, this house would be degraded below itself, if it should

Mr. Forbes with undaunted perseverance again brought in his bill for limiting pensions. A pension bill had at all times been a favourite object of the patriots: but every former effort to procure it had, like the present, proved abortive. He contended, that from the mode of resistance offered by the enemies to that measure both in that and the preceding session, he was warranted in concluding that the majority of the house admitted the principle of the bill: they would not otherwise have moved to adjourn it to a distant day, but have met it with a direct negative. He urged it upon the double principle of œconomy and constitution, and complained of pensions granted during pleasure to members of parliament even since the last session. Several gentlemen of the opposition made very long and animated speeches upon the abuses of the pension list, not only by rewarding demerit and infamy, and by corrupting the members of that house in particular by doubling the pensions of those, who before possessed them: but by introducing a new species of prostitution into that list, by the previous grant of honours and titles, for the direct purpose of engrafting pensions upon them. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Monk Mason, and Sir Henry Cavendish were the only opposers of the bill, who spoke to the question: the first alleged, that as a similar bill had before been rejected by that house, and nothing had happened to render that proper then, which had before been improper, he should move to have it read a second time on the 1st of August: the second also insisted, that the new bill ought to be founded on some actual abuse, and none had been proved, and the third said, the bill went too far: the best way would be to take the pensioners singly, every man upon his own merit. The sportsman who fired at the whole covey, seldom hit a feather. In consonance with this idea, Mr. Jones said, that had he not full confidence, that the house would from its moderation adopt the bill, he should have moved, as an amendment: that an enquiry might be made into the character, circumstances, and situation of the persons, to whom pensions were then paid. The bill was lost by a division of 129 against 65.

adopt so silly an intolerance, or so abject a panic. He said, that this law would render the established church odious to the country, and of course, prevent the progress of the established religion; that it would expose the maintenance of the great body of the clergy, to be stripped of the scanty pittance, to which the cruelly unequal distribution of church revenues had confined them; that it would involve us in all the horrors of religious war; would throw us back into the miseries of a weak, a licentious and a divided people; it would be a repeal of the acts, which our wisdom had made in favour of our Catholic brethren, in admitting them to the natural rights of fellow subjects and fellow christians. He therefore thought himself bound as a man anxious for the rights of the country, for its peace, its religion, and its morals, to vote against the committing of the bill.

On the 13th of March, 1787, Mr. Grattan, who appears to have been equally anxious to check the lawlessness, and relieve the distressess of the poor, brought forward the subject of tithes. In that session they had on the subject of tumults, made some progress, though not much. It had been admitted, that such a thing did exist, among the lower order of people, as distress; they had condemned their violence, they had made provisions for its punishment, but they had admitted also, that the peasantry were ground to the earth; they had admitted the fact of distress: they had acknowledged, that this distress should make part of the parliamentary enquiry; they had thought proper indeed to postpone the day, but were agreed, notwithstanding, in two things, the existence of present distress, and the necessity of future remedy. The system of supporting the clergy was liable to radical objections; in the south, it went against the first principle of human existence; in the south they tithed potatoes. The peasant paid often 7*l.* an acre for land, got 6*d.* a day for his labour, and paid from eight to twelve shillings for his tithe. That fact was sufficient to call for their interference: it attacked cultivation in its cradle, and tithed the lowest, the most general, and the most compassionate subsistence of human life. That was the more severely felt, because chiefly confined to the south, one of the great regions of poverty. In Connaught, potatoes paid no tithe, in the north a moderate modus took place; but in the south they paid a great tithe, and in the south they had perpetual disturbances. The tithe of potatoes was not the only distress; 6*l.* or 7*l.* an acre for land, and 6*d.* a day for labour, were also causes of misery; but the addition of eight, ten, or twelve shillings tithe, to the two other causes, was a very great aggravation of that misery; nor was it because they could not well interfere in regulating the rent of land or price of labour, that they therefore should not interfere where they could regulate and relieve; why they should suffer a most heavy tithe to be added to the high price of rent and the low price of labour; it was a false supposition, that a diminution of the tithe of potatoes would be only an augmentation of the rent, for rent was not higher in counties where potatoes were not tithed, nor could an existing lease be cancelled and the rent increased by the diminishing or taking off the tithe: neither was there any similitude between tithe and rent, which would justify the comparison; rent was payment for land, tithe payment for capital and labour expended on land; the proportion of rent diminished with the proportion of the produce, that is of the industry; the proportion of tithe increased with the industry, rent therefore, even a high rent, might be a compulsion on labour, and tithe a penalty. The cottier paid tithe, and the grazier did not; the rich grazier, with a very beneficial lease,

and without any system of husbandry, was exempted, and threw the parson on labour and poverty. As this was against the first principle of husbandry, so another regulation was against the first principle of manufacture; they tithed flax, rape and hemp, the rudiments of manufacture. Hence, in the north, they had no flax farmers, though many cultivated flax. You gave a premium for the growth of flax, a premium for the land carriage and export of corn, and they gave the parson the tithe of the land, labour, and cultivation occupied therein, contrary to the prosperity of either; as far as they had settled they were wrong, and wrong where they had unsettled. What was the tithe was one question, what was titheable another. Claims had been made to the tithe of turf, the tithe of roots, moduses had been disputed, litigation had been added to oppression, the business had been ever shamefully neglected by parliament, and had been left to be regulated, more or less, by the dexterity of the tithe proctor, and the violence of the parish; so that distress had not been confined to the people, it had extended to the parson; their system was not only against the first principle of human existence, against the first principle of good husbandry, against the first principle of manufacture, against the first principle of public quiet, it went also against the security and dignity of the clergy. Their case had been reduced to two propositions, that they were not supported by the real tithes or the tenths; and that they were supported by a degrading annual contract; the real tithe or tenth is therefore unnecessary for their support, for they had done without it; and the annual contract was improper by their own admission, and the interference of parliament proper therefore. Certainly the annual contract was below the dignity of a clergyman; he was to make a bargain with the squire, the farmer, and the peasant, on a subject which they did, and he did not understand; the more his humanity and his erudition the less his income? it was a situation where the parson's property fell with his virtues, and rose with his bad qualities. Just so the parishioner; he lost by being ingenuous, and he saved by dishonesty. The pastor of the people was made a spy on the husbandman: he was reduced to become the annual teazing contractor and litigant with a flock, among whom he was to extend religion by his personal popularity; an agent became necessary for him, it relieved him in this situation, and this agent or proctor involved him in new odium and new disputes; the squire not seldom defrauded him, and he was obliged to submit in repose and protection, and to reprise on the cottier, so that it often happened, that the clergyman did not receive the thirtieth, and the peasant paid more than the tenth; the natural result of that, was a system,

which made the parson dependent on the rich for his repose, and on the poor for his subsistence. The spirit of many clergymen, and the justice of many country gentlemen, resisted such an evil in many cases, but the evil was laid in the law, which it was their duty and interest to regulate. From a situation so ungracious, from the disgrace and loss of making in his own person a little bargain with squires, farmers, and peasants, of each and every description, and from non-residence, the parson was obliged to take refuge in the assistance of a character, by name a tithe farmer, and by profession an extortioner; that extortioner became part of the establishment of the church; by interest and situation, there were two descriptions of men he was sure to defraud; the one was the parson, and the other the people; he collected sometimes at fifty per cent. he gave the clergyman less than he ought to receive, and took from the peasants more than they ought to pay; he was not an agent, who was to collect a certain rent, he was an adventurer, who gave a certain rate for the privilege of making a bad use of an unsettled claim; that claim, over the powers of collection, and what was teazing or provoking in the law, was in his hand an instrument not of justice but of usury; he sometimes set the tithes to a second tithe farmer, so that the land became a prey to a subordination of vultures.

In arbitrary countries the revenue was collected by men, who farmed it, and it was a mode of oppression the most severe; in the most arbitrary country the farming of the revenue was given to the Jews. They introduced that practice into the collection of tithes, and the tithe farmer frequently called in aid of christianity the arts of the synagogue; obnoxious on account of all that, the unoffending clergyman thrown off the rich upon the poor, cheated exceedingly by his tithe farmer, and afterwards involved in his odium, became an object of outrage: his property and person were both attacked, and in both the religion and laws of the country scandalized and disgraced. The same cause, which produced a violent attack on the clergyman among the lower order of the community, produced among some of the higher orders a languor and neutrality in defending him. Thus outraged and forsaken he came to parliament; they abhorred the barbarity, they punished the tumult, they acknowledged the injury, but they were afraid of administering any radical or effectual relief; because they were afraid of the claims of the church; they claimed the tenth of whatever by capital, industry, or premium, was produced from land. One thousand men claimed this; and they claimed this without any stipulation, for what appears for the support of the poor, the repair of the church, or even the residence of the preacher. Alarmed at the extent of such a claim, they conceived, that the difficulty of col-

lection was their security, and feared to give powers, which might be necessary for the collection of customary tithes, lest the clergy should use those powers for the enforcing of a long catalogue of dangerous pretensions. They had reason for that apprehension; and the last clause in the Riot Act had prompted a clergyman in the south to demand the tithe of agistment, and to attempt to renew a confusion, which their act intended to compose. The present state of the clergyman was, that he could not collect his customary tithe without the interference of parliament, and parliament could not interfere without making a general regulation, lest any assistance then given should be applied to the enforcement of dormant claims, ambiguous and unlimited.

Thus the situation of the clergy, as well as of the people, called on the house to take up at large the subject of the tithe. They had two grounds for such an investigation, the distress of the clergy, and the distress of the people.

He then moved the following resolution: "That if it appear, "at the commencement of the next session of parliament, that "public tranquillity has been restored in those parts of the "kingdom that have lately been disturbed, and due obedience "paid to the laws, this house will take into consideration the "subject of tithes, and endeavour to form some plan for the "honourable support of the clergy, and the ease of the peo-"ple."

Mr. Secretary Orde differed from Mr. Grattan, and insisted, that in the existing circumstances of the country it was impossible in any degree to hold out an expectation, that the house would even enter upon the subject. Sir Henry Harstonge seconded Mr. Grattan's motion, because the people was admitted on all hands to suffer great hardships and oppression. The debate was continued with much animation to a very late hour: and several of the gentlemen, who usually voted with Mr. Grattan, expressed their wishes, that he would withdraw his motion. This brought him up again at a very late hour; and he observed, that the subject had been agitated in such a variety of different ways, and opposed by so many gentlemen, that even at that late hour of the night he felt himself under the necessity of making some observations; and at the same time he assured the house, that nothing but a conviction of the propriety of the motion could make him resist the wishes of so many gentlemen, whom personally he loved and respected; but he should appear a very light man, were he, by withdrawing the motion, to give any ground to suppose, that he had taken up the subject without the most mature consideration, or that he would hazard such a motion without duly considering its consequences. This was not the case; and therefore it was not the smallness of the mi-

nority, in which he might be found, that would induce him to relinquish a measure arising from justice, mercy, and true policy. The only effect a defeat on that occasion could produce would be, to confirm him in a resolution of doing in the next session that, which the situation of the church and the people required. He had the utmost veneration, love, and respect for the church, which he was determined to prove, not by words only, but by acts. He had heard, indeed, very plausible professions of regard to the church: but while they remained mere words, unaccompanied by deeds, he should pay little regard to them. He was determined to prove his affection to the church by his actions, by securing her ministers in an honourable affluent independence, and by removing every cause of dispute that could endanger their persons or properties.

He could have wished, that government had not taken any part in the business. He could not see what an English cabinet, or an Irish secretary, had to do with it. The gentlemen of the country knew best their own situation; it should therefore have been left to them. On the riot bill the house had resolved themselves into a committee on that part of the lord lieutenant's speech, which respected the disturbances; they did not, however, examine at all, whether there were any disturbances, but they adopted a measure more adapted to an adult sedition than to the suppression of a flying peasantry. However, as ministers were responsible for the quiet of the country, the measure was agreed to; but having done so, it certainly was now necessary ro enquire into the distresses of the people, to enquire into their grievances after they had become coerced into obedience, after it had been declared by some of the first officers of the state, and allowed by every one, that they were bowed down with misery, and ground to powder with oppression; after they had passed a law to shoot, and to hang, and to whip, and to banish, and to imprison them, could it be thought too soon to enquire into their grievances? It might, indeed, be too late, but the dignity of parliament would be injured. And how has the right honourable gentleman maintained that dignity? By sealing up the lips of the majority, and pronouncing his *veto* against compassion. I should have wished, continued he, he had not risen, or that the imperial *veto* had not sealed up the springs of humanity.

It has been said, that the exoneration of potatoes from tithe would be of no advantage to the poor. Where had gentlemen learned that doctrine? Certainly not in the report of Lord Carhampton. Or would they say, that taking sixteen shillings an acre off potatoes is no benefit to the miserable man, who depends on them as his only food?

It had been admitted, that some tithes are illegal, such as those on turf, and the poor man was advised to institute a law-suit for relief. Were gentlemen serious when they gave that advice? or would they point out, how the man, who earned five pence a day was to cope with the wealthy tithe farmer that oppressed him?

It had been said, they should not pay any regard to people in a state of resistance; that it would be derogatory from the dignity of parliament, and that they should apply in proper form. He laughed at such language; there could never be a time when it was improper for the legislature to do justice. Mr. Grattan's motion was then superseded without a division.

When the bill for better executing the laws, and for the better preservation of the peace within the counties at large was read a second time, it was warmly opposed by several of the patriots; Mr. Griffith* was unwilling it should be brought

* This gentleman was very vehement in his expressions on this occasion. 7 Par. Deb. p. 445. He objected against going into a bill of that importance, in a house consisting of not one third of the members, and most of those present were aids de camp, searchers, packers, gaugers, placemen of all descriptions, and pensioners. And that it was highly indecent at that time to press forward a bill of such consequence, a bill, which created thirty-two additional judges, which annulled six hundred magistrates, which raised an army of three thousand soldiers, under the name of constables, and changed the administration of the justice of the country. Mr. John O'Neile said the bill would raise a body of five thousand sub-constables, which was equal to one full third of the standing army, and had but two objects, viz. to increase the patronage of the crown, and to overawe the people, Mr. Charles O'Neile was vehement in the support of the bill.

On the further progress of this bill, Mr. Fitzgibbon very tauntingly upbraid-braided the gentlemen on the opposition bench, for their silence, as if proceeding from inability and ignorance, which was highly resented by Mr. John O'Neile and Mr. Conolly: the former reminded the attorney general of several unconstitutional acts brought in by him, some of which still disgraced the statute books: namely, the bill for securing the liberty of the press, which deprived the subject of his birth-right; a trial by jury: and vested in the magistrate the executive of judicial powers, making him at once the judge, who was to preside, the jury to deliberate, and the executioner, who was to punish: his prosecutions by attachment, which met with the loud and general condemnation of all ranks of men and of lawyers fully as able as himself, which also deprived the subject of his birth-right, the trial by jury: and lastly, his bill to prevent tumultuous risings as it first stood, enjoining the prostration of the houses of religious worship, which would have driven two-thirds of the people to despair, madness, and rebellion. He warned ministry to desist from that overbearing exultation, with which they carried questions by their majorities, and insolently attempted to run down country gentlemen from standing up in support of their oppressed countrymen. Mr. Conolly observed, that a country gentleman might be well excused, if, in his zeal to serve the country, he fell into some error upon the constitution: but no apology could be made for the law officer of the crown, at the head of his own profession, who, to seduce that house, openly asserted so false a fact, as that in giving them that bill, he was *giving them the law of Great Britain*, where constables were not made and paid by government. The attorney general made a full apology to Mr. O'Neile. 7 Parl. Debates, p. 474.

forward before so thin a house: Sir Edward Crofton opposed it on the same ground, as well as upon the unconstitutional tendency of the measure. Mr. Conolly entertained the most serious apprehensions from putting the country under an armed marechausée, by making constables dependent upon government for their salaries. He had, he said, asked the attorney general, when the Riot Act was introduced, whether it were intended to be followed up with a general police bill; and the right honourable gentleman had said it was not. The attorney general still persisted, that no such thing was intended, and he pledged himself to prove in the committee, that the bill then before them had no such tendency. Mr. Conolly professed himself anxious to have the laws strictly executed, though in a constitutional way. He always approved of a Riot Act, and was confirmed in that opinion by the late Marquis of Rockingham, the known friend to liberty, who declined going over to Ireland, alleging, that he never would go to a country, where a Riot Act never had existed. Yet he would not object to the bill, if the constables to be appointed under it were to be elective in the counties by the grand juries. The bill was committed by a very large majority.

It was singular, that so many sessions had passed over without any motion or resolution concerning the body of Roman Catholics: the Protestant part of the nation had latterly become much reconciled to them, as appeared by the liberal declarations of the volunteer corps. On the 4th of April, 1787, Mr. Brown, of the college, without any previous notice, or any particular view, brought them under the consideration of the House of Commons, by a motion, which he carried, even against the vote of the secretary. The motion was in itself of trifling consequence: though every circumstance, which ascertains the disposition for the time being, of the government and parliament towards that numerous part of the Irish nation, cannot be indifferent to those, who take an interest in the history of that kingdom. He accordingly moved, "*That the proper officer do lay before "this house, copies of all the rolls, which have been transmitted "to, and deposited in the Rolls Office of this kingdom, con- "taining the names, titles, additions, and places of abode of "such persons as have taken the oath prescribed by the statute "of the 13th and 14th years of his present majesty, intituled, "An act to enable his majesty's subjects of whatever persuasion, "to testify their allegiance to him; specifying the time when, "and the court or magistrate, before whom they respectively "took the said oath. Also, that the proper officer do lay "before this house, copies of the returns, which have been made

* 12 Journ. Com. p. 258.

"to the clerk of the privy council, by the registers of the several "dioceses in this kingdom, of the names, abodes, ages, parishes, "times and places of receiving Popish orders of such Popish "ecclesiastics as have been registered in pursuance of an act of "the 21st and 22d years of his present majesty, intituled, An "act for the further relief of his majesty's subjects of this king-"dom professing the popish religion."

The Secretary of State could not conceive for what purpose those motions were made; and as the motion affected great bodies of men, he hoped he would oblige the house with his motive.

Mr. Browne said, that in the year 1774, an act passed, by which any of his majesty's subjects were enabled to testify their allegiance. The dissenters were particularly pleased at this, as before they had no such opportunity. In 1778, an act passed allowing Roman Catholics great advantages, such as taking long leases, with this proviso only, that they should previously have taken the oath of allegiance. Another act afterwards passed, taking off many restrictions, and giving them every advantage possessed by Protestants, except filling any of the offices of state. He wished to know how generally the oath of allegiance had been taken?

Mr. Charles O'Neill observed, that the motion might gratify curiosity, but could not answer any useful purpose; and the secretary of state thought the object of those motions was to insinuate an imputation upon two great bodies of men, to excite a suspicion of their fellow subjects. Convinced how groundless such a charge would be, and convinced of the extreme danger of making it, he should vote against the motion. Pamphlets of a very exceptionable nature had been published, and the nation might apprehend, that the house was proceeding to that investigation in consequence. Upon that ground he also objected to the motion. He wished the business not to be pursued, as it went to revive matters, which every man should wish buried in perpetual oblivion.

Mr. Griffith remarked, that there was not a body of people better affected than the Roman Catholics. A very ill-judged suspicion had already given them the alarm, and that motion would still further increase it. He hoped, from what had fallen from the secretary of state, the motion would be withdrawn. It was, however, put and carried.

Two other subjects occupied the attention of parliament during the session of 1787: one of them was, the consideration of the treaty of navigation and commerce with the French king:* the

* Mr. Mason reported from the committee of the whole house, to whom it was referred to take into consideration, that part of his grace the lord-lieute-

other was a plan of education, which appeared to have been a favourite subject of attention and study to the secretary for two years. Shortly before the close of the session, he submitted the plan of it to the house; but it was not relished or supported according to his wishes or expectations. The parliament was prorogued on the 28th of May: and his excellency's speech comprised the usual thanks for the supplies, assurances of his majesty's affectionate protection, and promises of his own œconomical application of the revenue, and a recommendation to the people of regular and peaceable demeanour.

In the long and interesting discussion of the treaty of navigation and commerce with the French king, the parliament of Great Britain was not altogether inattentive to the interests of Ireland. When the report of the committee upon that treaty was brought up to the British House of Commons, notice was taken of what had been said relative to Ireland, and the Irish propositions, arguing, that great good might result to Ireland, if she passed laws adapted to the regulations of duties contained in the tariff.

Mr. Flood said, that he could assure the right honourable gentleman and the house, that he felt no extreme anxiety for the attainment of any benefits for Ireland through the medium of a treaty, to which he had so many objections on the ground of its being disadvantageous to Great Britain. He had on a former day stated, that if the sentiments of the manufacturers remained unaltered, they could not but be adverse to a treaty with France, founded on principles so transcendently more injurious to their interests, than the principles of the former treaty with Ireland. Nothing could be more self-evident, than that if the reasoning of the manufacturers had been right on that occasion and their apprehensions had been justifiable, the same style of reasoning would apply more forcibly on the present occasion, and their apprehensions would be still more justifiable. With regard to the court of France understanding, that Ireland was implied and comprehended in the present treaty, although it were not so declared in express words in any part of the treaty, he asked what security had Ireland for her share of the advantages or privileges, which the treaty held out to Great Britain, if either privileges or advantages were likely to arise from it, any more than she had for the court of Lisbon's extending to her the advantages of the Methuen treaty, which it was well

nant's speech, which related to the treaty of navigation and commerce, concluded by his majesty with the Most Christain king, the resolutions, which the committee had directed him to report in the house, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table. They were fifteen in number, and are to be seen in the Appendix, No. LXXVII.

known she had refused to suffer Ireland to participate of, in violation of the spirit and meaning of that treaty, and which treaty on the part of Portugal, although it had been five years in negotiation, no redress had been obtained for Ireland. Mr. Flood stated his conviction, that the commercial treaty was neither likely to be a benefit to Great Britain or Ireland, and he thought a stronger proof of its objectionable invalidity could not be stated to the friends of Ireland, (and every honest Briton must be the friend of Ireland, because her interests were so deeply involved and interwoven with the interests of Great Britain, that they were inseparable considerations,) than the extraordinary position, in which the commercial treaty would place the two countries of France and Ireland, by entitling France to commercial privileges and advantages in Great Britain, to which Ireland was not entitled; and by entitling Ireland to greater privileges and advantages in France, than she could obtain in Great Britain.

Mr. Grenville declared, that Great Britain had two years ago made a liberal offer to Ireland, which the parliament of that misled and infatuated people had been persuaded to refuse. He never would admit the doctrine, that therefore Great Britain had no right to treat and conclude a commercial treaty with France, adapted to her own commercial circumstances, without considering herself as a dependant on Ireland, and consulting her previously upon the subject. Mr. Grenville went into a recapitulation of the parliamentary transactions of the year 1785, respecting the commercial arrangements then agitated in favour of Ireland, and consulting her previously upon the subject. He said, that the offer of Great Britain had been more liberal than it perhaps ever might prove again; and that it ill became those, who had principally stood forward in the parliament of Ireland to persuade that assembly to reject the offer, to be afterwards among the foremost to endeavour to prevent this country from carrying into execution a treaty with France, which was concluded with a view to the benefit of Great Britain. Ireland had been favoured with an early option of solid and substantial advantage: and Ireland had rejected the offer under circumstances of great delusion, and under artful misrepresentations of the real nature of that offer, he was ready to admit; but having rejected it, till she saw her fatal delusion, and was, from conviction of the value of what she had been so unhappily persuaded to refuse, induced to ask Great Britain to give her a second option, she had not the smallest pretensions to complain of neglect of her interests on the part of Great Britain; and the more especially, as the present commercial treaty with France had been concluded with an eye to her interests equally with

the interests of this country, as it lay with the parliament of Ireland to decide for themselves, and if they thought the treaty advantageous to that country, they had it in their power to make it so, by passing laws adapted to the stipulations in the tariff.

Mr Flood answered, that he could not have conceived it possible for three or four natural expressions to have drawn down upon him an animadversion, delivered in so high and imperative a tone. Being a native of Ireland, and having the honour to possess a seat in the parliament of that kingdom, he had thought it his indispensable duty not to sit silent, when so much had been said on the subject of Ireland, and its commercial interests; but he plainly saw, that if any man professed himself to be the real friend of Ireland, he was to be reprehended and stigmatized as the enemy of Great Britain. He had before declared, that he was a friend to both countries, and had said that every honest Briton must be the same. The right honourable gentleman had contended, that Great Britain was not the dependant of Ireland, it was undoubtedly true; but was Great Britain not bounden to take care of the interests of every part of the empire? The parliament of Great Britain was the imperial parliament: was it not then the indispensable duty of that parliament, in every great national measure, to look to the general interests of the empire, and to see that no injurious consequences followed to the peculiar interests of any part of it. If this were admitted, would any man say, that Ireland was not to be considered on the present important occasion? And why, because the parliament of Ireland had rejected, and rejected with disdain, the commercial treaty of 1785. The right honourable gentleman had told them, that in 1785, Great Britain made a liberal offer to Ireland. This was the first time that it had been owned, that the treaty of 1785 was the offer of Great Britain, at the time the right honourable gentleman (he believed) had called the measure the Irish propositions, and stated them as coming from Ireland. He had now confessed the fact, and acknowledged (more, perhaps, than he meant to admit) that the propositions were English propositions, sent originally from hence to Ireland, then sent back, and ultimately returned from England in a shape widely altered from their original appearance. The right honourable gentleman had talked of delusion, and hinted, that those who endeavoured to open the eyes of the parliament of Ireland, were ashamed to avow their conduct. The right honourable gentleman was in error. He gloried in the share, which he had taken in that transaction. The offer had been insidious, and under colour of commercial advantage, the constitution of Ireland was endeavoured to be bartered away. Mr. Flood next took notice of what he termed the right

honourable gentleman's declaration, that till Ireland asked to have the propositions revived, she was to expect no favour from Great Britain. He said, that it reminded him of the declaration of the right honourable gentleman (a member of that house) in an eminent situation in Ireland, who had obtained an address as a sanction of the measure, and who triumphantly told the House of Commons of Ireland, that in less than three months, when the people were undeceived, and the delusion in which they had been involved, cleared up, they would come in numbers to the house, execrate those members who had been most active in opposing that mass of propositions, some parts of which they had been told, were English, some part Irish, some commercial, and some political, and earnestly implore their revival. To ensure this triumph, some thousand copies, accompanied with the address to the lord lieutenant, had been printed and disseminated throughout the kingdom of Ireland, but to that day, no man had ventured to mention the revival of the propositions in parliament, nor was it at all likely that they should. Mr. Flood said, that he hoped it would not be thought that he had obtruded the subject of Ireland upon the house. It had been agitated for a considerable time before he interfered; nor should he have said thus much, had he not thought that his silence would have been deemed a dereliction on his part of a cause, which it would ever be his pride to assist in maintaining and supporting. There was something so high in the tone of the right honourable gentleman, that it struck his ear as extraordinary; he could not imagine that the right honourable gentleman meant any thing personal; but he begged leave to say, that no man living should brow-beat him, or awe him into an unbecoming silence.*

Mr. W. Grenville said, that in the first place, he hoped that no man would believe that he meant to brow-beat the right honourable gentleman; and far less could he have intended to have stood up as professing to entertain any sentiment inimical to the interests of Ireland. To the contrary, he professed and

* I have given this speech of Mr. Flood's in the British House of Commons, as largely as I found it reported, not only to prove what were the opinion and feelings of that part of the Irish nation and senate, which adopted his reasoning, and moved by his influence (and they were not few), but more particularly to draw the reader's attention to the avowals of Mr. Flood, the most violent and impassioned asserter of Irish independence, that there existed a political necessity for a controlling superiority in the British, which was the imperial parliament, whose indispensable duty it was, in every great national measure, to look to the general interests of the empire, and to see that no injurious consequences followed to the peculiar interests of any part of it. Now, as Ireland did not claim any such controlling right over Great Britain, the independence claimed could not be real, for all independence must be reciprocal. The admission of these principles demonstrates the political necessity of an incorporate union for the advantage of the empire at large.

felt a warm affection and sincere regard, grounded on principles of personal gratitude for past kindnesses and attentions to himself, and on a variety of dear and interesting considerations. In the progress of the Irish propositions through that house, he had been actuated by those principles, and had stood up as the friend of Ireland to stem the torrent of prejudice, to resist and oppose the objections of interested individuals, and to reason into silence and conviction, the groundless alarms and apprehensions of those manufacturers, who, misled by factious men, were taught to be terrified at imaginary evils, and to expect dangers never likely to happen. Mr. Grenville stated the object and end of the Irish propositions, to have been for Great Britain to grant to Ireland as full a participation of her commercial advantages as could be permitted consistently with her own safety, and to secure a suitable return. The idea of its being intended to assume the power of legislating for Ireland, he contended, was nothing more than an empty phantom, raised by the machinations of sophistry, to frighten the parliament of Ireland from accepting one of the greatest boons ever offered to one country by the impulse of the liberal and affectionate feelings of another.

Mr. Fox reprobated the idea, that nothing beneficial to Ireland was to be thought of, because she had refused the propositions of 1785. He entered into a detail of the nature of those propositions; stated his own conduct respecting them; and concluded with moving, by way of amendment, that the words, "this day se'nnight," be inserted in the motion, instead of the word "now."

Mr. Pelham seconded the motion, declaring, that he should have moved it, had not his right honourable friend made such amendment.

When the commercial treaty was under debate in the British House of Lords, the Marquis of Lansdowne,* ever attentive to the interest of Ireland, observed, that this matter gave him the highest concern as well as astonishment. When he lately heard in the country, that a body of the Irish privy counsellors had been collected in England, to consult with ministry, he had no conception, that the conference was on the subject of

* In the beginning of his speech on this occasion the noble Marquis had, in defending himself against an imputation from Lord Carlisle, of having spoken both for and against the treaty, said, that he had approved the principles and tendency of the measure, though he objected to some of the articles in the detail. The fact was, that he did then stand, as through his life he always had stood, aloof from parties. He was of no party It was his pride and principle to be of no faction, but to embrace every measure on its own ground, free from all connection. Such had been his political creed: as such he stood before the people, and as such he coveted to be judged by them. 22 Parl. Deb. Lords, p. 98.

a French treaty with Ireland, while England and Ireland still remained in the same distracted state as before. Nothing could be more extraordinary than this; for the time was favourable; Ireland was a nation of good humour; the Duke of Rutland and Mr. Orde were men, who would make her good humoured, if she were the contrary: the conduct of the English manufacturers, in the present case of the French treaty, must crush all their former objections to the system of the Irish propositions. The present then was the moment for ministers to revive the idea of a beneficial connection. Why was it not done? He did not mean the vague, ill-natured, and inadequate Irish propositions, as they were called; but a plain, simple, good-intentioned scheme of reciprocal intercourse, taking off the shackles that lay on our trading laws, which was all the union he desired. It was monstrous to think, that their privy counsellors should be assembled, and nothing done; at a time too when the Right Boys exhibited such a scene, to whom, for aught he knew, every consul from the court of France may prove a minister.

The Duke of Rutland died in October, 1787. This nobleman was calculated to command the affections of the Irish nation: he was open, free, liberal, and convivial: he committed the management of the public business to those about him: and unfortunately for that nation, the expences of driving the state equipage through the beaten track necessarily increased in an alarming degree. In this very year the pension list was increased by additional grants to the amount of 8730*l.** Sir Henry Hartsonge, Mr. Conolly, and many who had most strenuously opposed his administration, rendered willing tribute to his amiable qualities, to the uprightness of his heart, and the honourable views and intentions with which he acted on all occasions. The errors of his administration they attributed to his advisers, and the majority of that house, who had constantly supported them. To an aggrieved people it is however immaterial, whether the noxious system proceed immediately from a depraved or austere governor, or immediately through those ministers, who abuse the frankness and ease of a benevolent one. The melancholy necessity of a corrupt majority in parliament to support a permanent and commanding influence of the English executive, or rather of the English cabinet in the councils of Ireland, has been faithfully delineated by the late Earl of Clare, who for nearly the last twenty years of his life was one of the most powerful directors and supporters of that very influence.† "Such a connection," said he, "is formed "not for mutual strength and security, but for mutual debility;

* 8 Parl. Deb. p. 8. † Speech of the Earl of Clare, p. 45.

"it is a connection of distinct minds and distinct interests, "generating national discontent and jealousy, and perpetuating "faction and misgovernment in the inferior country. The "first obvious disadvantage to Ireland is, that in every depart- "ment of the state, every other consideration must yield to "parliamentary power; let the misconduct of any public officer "be what it may, if he is supported by a powerful parliamentary "interest, he is too strong for the king's representative. A "majority in the parliament of Great Britain will defeat the "minister of the day; but a majority of the parliament of "Ireland against the king's government, goes directly to separate "this kingdom from the British crown. If it continues, separa- "tion or war is the inevitable issue; and therefore it is, that "the general executive of the empire, as far as is essential to "retain Ireland as a member of it, is completely at the mercy "of the Irish parliament; and it is vain to expect, so long as "man continues to be a creature of passion and interest, that "he will not avail himself of the critical and difficult situation, "in which the executive government of this kingdom must "ever remain, under its present constitution, to demand the "favours of the crown, not as the reward of loyalty and service, "but as the stipulated price, to be paid in advance, for the "discharge of a public duty. Every unprincipled and noisy "adventurer, who can achieve the means of putting himself "forward, commences his political career on an avowed specula- "tion of profit and loss; and if he fail to negotiate his political "job, will endeavour to extort it by faction and sedition, and "with unblushing effrontery to fasten his own corruption on "the king's ministers. English influence is the inexhaustible "theme for popular irritation and distrust of every factious and "discontented man, who fails in the struggle to make himself "the necessary instrument of it. Am I then justified in stating, "that our present connection with Great Britain, is in its nature "formed for mutual debility; that it must continue to generate "national discontent and jealousy, and perpetuate faction and "misgovernment in Ireland."*

* This avowal of the necessary continuance of national discontent, jealousy faction, and misgovernment in Ireland, from that noble lord, who bore so pre-eminent a share in the government of that country, at once stamps the quality of those majorities in parliament, which he so long triumphantly led, and fatally proves, that a most powerful argument for the union was to be drawn from the inveterate corruption of the Irish government. This argument in favour of the union might have been urged by any member of the Irish parliament more graciously, by none more forcibly, than by the Earl of Clare. As that nobleman has now paid the debt of nature, and as he bore the principal part in bringing about the union of his country with Great Britain it is no slight duty of the historian to lay before the reader his real character: the motives of his conduct may be collected, if at all, from his own avowals. He was one of the most eminent and successful lawyers, that ever adorned the

If credit be given, as it ought, to the truth of what Lord Clare has further asserted, of the political state of Ireland at that period, we shall find, that the Irish nation then was, and that it was impossible that it should not be, an aggrieved and discontented people. It was, said he, a fact of public notoriety, that on the acknowledgment of Irish independence in 1782, the first step taken by some gentlemen of that country, who had been in the habit of considering the Irish nation as their political inheritance, was to make it a muniment of their title, by forming a political confederacy, offensive and defensive in both countries. The basis of that alliance was, mutual engagement to play the independence of Ireland against their political antagonists whenever they happened to occupy the seat of power; and, if he were to judge by the conduct of the parties principally concerned up to that hour, to foment turbulence and faction in Ireland even to open rebellion, if it should be found necessary to the removal of an obnoxious British administration. In prosecution of that very laudable system, it became an essential object of the confederacy to guard against any settlement between Great Britain and Ireland, which might cut off the most obvious sources of mutual jealousy and discontent.

Whilst there exists the semblance of a parliament in a country, which is at all, however unequally, divided, the bulk of the people naturally will side with one party or the other: and if according to this nobleman, as long as man continues to be a creature of passion and interest, the majority of parliament be to consist of those, who receive the favour of the crown, not as the reward of loyalty and service, but as the stipulated price to

Irish bar: he came early into parliament, and having succeeded to a very ample patrimony, the extraordinary perquisites of his profession rendered him one of the most independent members of the House of Commons. From the moment of his appointment to be attorney general in the administration of the Duke of Portland, 1782, he was to the hour of his death most devotedly and uniformly attached to the interests and influence of the British cabinet. He was singularly gifted by nature to succeed in the elevated stations of attorney general and chancellor, in which he successively moved. His professional talents and knowledge were inferior to none at the bar; and his personal intrepidity, spirited exertions, and unwearied zeal in supporting the cause he had undertaken, were superior to those of any other political character in the nation. He rather spurned, than courted popularity. He was the first Irishman, to whom the British cabinet had entrusted the great seal, and is universally allowed to have performed the functions of that important office with infinitely more ability and effect than any of his predecessors on that bench. He was an excellent landlord. But as a public political character he was very unpopular. He was the promoter of all the strong measures of government, which created so much discontent at different periods throughout the nation: he never favoured, and latterly was the principal agent in suppressing the volunteers; he determinately opposed the enlargement of the indulgencies to the Catholics, and uniformly supported every measure of the British cabinet, which either did or was supposed to encroach upon the liberty and welfare of his country. In parliament he was always assiduous and powerful, frequently sarcastic and

be paid in advance for the discharge of public duty, it necessarily follows, that the bulk of those, whom the rays of royal favour do not reach, must be in opposition to those stipendiary servants of the crown, who were necessary to keep up that system of English influence upon Irish government, to which such terrible effects were necessarily annexed. Nothing therefore could be more true, than that the whole Irish people (except those who received emolument through the revenue, police, or other departments of government,) were unexceptionably discontented at the system of government, then carrying forward. Nay, the very part of the new viceroy's conduct, which was most laudable, at this time swelled the stream of discontent. His œconomical vigilance upon the application of public revenue, and his determination to reform the abuses in the several departments, had raised against him the whole host of fiscal dependants throughout the nation. It may indeed easily be imagined with what zealous energy they laboured to thwart the views and render the character of the lord lieutenant unpopular. In the metropolis the citizens were meeting by deputies from each parish to prepare petitions against the police bill; and by way of reviving the spirit of liberty, which they conceived the late strong measures of government were aimed at extinguishing, the corporation of Dublin took an opportunity of presenting a formal request to the provost and fellows of the university, in grateful remembrance of that disinterested patriot the late Dr. Lucas, to give a gratuitous education to his son; to whom the provost and fellows most liberally granted an apartment and commons in college, without any expence to his family.

On the 17th of January, 1788, the Marquis of Buckingham met the parliament for the first time: in his speech from the throne he condoled with them upon the loss his majesty's service had sustained by the death of the Duke of Rutland, whose public and private virtues had deservedly conciliated the esteem of that kingdom; and he called upon them to take part in the satisfaction, which his majesty felt in the situation of foreign affairs, particularly in the restoration of the constitution and tranquillity of the united provinces by the co-operation of his majesty and the King of Prussia, under the conduct of the Duke of Brunswick. When the address had been moved for and seconded, Mr. Parsons objected to it, because in speaking of the Duke of Rutland's administration, it seemed entirely

heated, and sometimes arrogant and overbearing. In private he was warm in his attachments, and unrelenting in his enmities. In his complacencies he was engaging, often fastidious in his deportment, and in his domestic habits convivial and luxurious.

to approve of it, and to bind the house to pursue the same measures, which that administration had done. He owned he was not at the moment prepared to enter into a subject of so much importance, but there were some points so notoriously disagreeable, and so highly injurious to the country, that he could not for a moment suppose the house would adopt any measure, which would look like an approbation of them, much less would it pledge itself to retain all the measures of the Duke of Rutland's administration. He trusted the house would not now approve the act, by which the press in Ireland was laid under a degree of restraint unknown in England; he well knew, that under certain circumstances, very dissimilar laws might be found necessary in the two countries, but the great fundamental principles of law ought to be the same in both; and therefore he hoped under the present administration to see the press liberated from the shackles, which the last had imposed: he also hoped to see the unconstitutional exercise of attachments discontinued; the present administration he trusted would feel no necessity for such a guard. He also hoped a general police and riot act would be no longer deemed necessary; and therefore, if gentlemen meant to do away these abominations, he could see no necessity for pledging themselves to, or for approving of them: they were all acts, which tended to increase prerogative, and diminish liberty, and the address as it stood embraced them all. He observed, that throughout the whole speech, and the whole address, the word œconomy was no where to be found; he asked, therefore, did the present ministry mean to continue the same system of extravagance, by which the last had loaded the country with taxes? or did they mean to retrench? If the latter, why not declare it? The expences of the country were enormous, and exceeded those of Lord Carlisle's administration, which was deemed sufficiently profuse, by a sum of not less than 660,000*l.* per annum; he again desired to know, was the profusion to be continued? There was no promise to the contrary in the speech; and therefore every man must infer it was; though it would be somewhat strange, after all the examination which had been made into the public offices, and which the nation supposed was for the purpose of retrenchment.

Several gentlemen of the opposition, out of tenderness to the character of the late Duke of Rutland, who was personally beloved, prevailed on Mr. Parsons to withdraw his motion, conceiving that the address did not commit them to the approbation of the measures of his administration. Mr. Parsons, however, on the next evening, when the address was moved, still persisted, that the amendment he had to propose, so far

from casting blame upon the late Duke of Rutland, was the most favourable comment upon his administration, by laying the defects of it at the door of his ministers, who really were guilty.

He accordingly moved the following amendment, by expunging the words, *the wise and steady course of his public administration, had established the public tranquillity and exalted the credit of the nation;* and inserting in the room thereof the following: "at the same time, our regard to truth, and to the "real interests of his majesty and his loyal people of Ireland, "which will not suffer us to convey an imperfect representation "of the state of this kingdom to his royal mind, compel us to "declare, that notwithstanding the good disposition, which we "are willing to believe our late lamented chief governor had for "the prosperity of this island, yet, through the misguidance "of his counsellors, this kingdom during his administration, "has been afflicted with a most burthensome encrease of taxa-"tion, and with several grievous and severe acts, repugnant to "the principles of our wise constitution, and injurious to the "liberties of his majesty's subjects of this realm." This amendment was rejected without opposition.*

Early in the session, the secretary of state called the attention of the house to a subject of the highest importance to the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, and which had been strongly recommended from the throne; he meant the security of the established church. He reminded the house, that he had in the last session introduced a bill to protect the rights of the clergy, that had been wrested from them by force or fraud. He was sorry, that the bill, though founded in lenity, had fallen short of its intent. Although the outrages of the south had somewhat abated, yet a spirit of combination against the payment of tithes still existed, and notices signed by Captain *Right* were in circulation, enjoining all persons, under the severest penalties, not to pay tithe for the year 1787. If in 1787, there existed a necessity for such an act to enforce compensation to the clergy for tithes withholden up to that time; the necessity was now become much stronger by the extension of the combination against the clergy; many of whom in the south were now reduced to beggary. He concluded by observing, that the present dispute did not lie between the farmers and the clergy, but between the legislature and a lawless rabble. He then moved, "that leave be given to bring in a bill to enable all ecclesiastical persons and bodies, rectors, vicars, and curates, and impropriators, and those deriving by, from, or under them, to recover a just compensation for the tithes withheld from them in the year 1787, in the several counties and counties of cities therein

* 8 Par. Deb. p. 13.

mentioned, against such persons who were liable to the same; and to explain and amend an act made in the twenty-seventh year of his majesty's reign, intitled, "An act to enable all ec- "clesiastical persons and bodies, rectors, vicars and curates, "and impropriators, and those deriving by, from, or under "them, to recover a just compensation for the tithes withheld "from them in the year 1786, in the several counties therein "mentioned, against such persons who were liable to the same."

The subject of tithes took up the principal attention of the nation, both within and without the parliament, during the first months of the year 1787. The speech, which Mr. Grattan delivered upon this delicate and important subject, in the House of Commons, on the 14th of February, 1787, made such a sensation in the country, that it was published with a very spirited preface, and ran through four editions in less than a month: upon a division, however, in the house, 49 only voted for Mr. Grattan's motion against 121, which was for this reasonable proposition, viz. that a committee should be appointed to enquire, whether any just cause of discontent existed amongst the people of the province of Munster, or of the counties of Kilkenny or Carlow, on account of tithe, or the collection of tithes; and if any, to report the same, together with their opinion thereupon.*

The new viceroy had not been inactive in strengthening the ministerial party in parliament. In several instances he had been successful. What communications he made to his converts is not to be now known: but it was a general complaint, that his excellency would not condescend to make known, even to his friends, the plan or even principles of his administration.† As far indeed, as could be collected from some of his measures,

* 8 Par. Deb. p. 192. As no alteration in the system of tithes in Ireland has taken place since Mr. Grattan delivered his wonderful speech upon that subject, it will be found in the Appendix, No. LXXVIII. for the instruction of those who interest themselves about it. It is a master-piece of eloquence and reasoning on that interesting subject.

† Amongst other proselytes, that went over to the new viceroy was Mr. Longfield, who had considerable parliamentary interest; he and the friends he introduced had uniformly opposed the late administration: amongst these was Mr. Curran, who having been brought into parliament by Mr. Longfield, could not bend his principles to the pliancy of his friend, or take a subordinate part in supporting an administration, whose intended measures were made a secret of: he therefore purchased a seat in a vacant borough, and offered it to Mr. Longfield for any person, whose principles were at his command. Thus did Mr. Curran retain his seat and parliamentary independence: and Mr. Longfield was enabled to fulfil his engagements with the minister, for his own and his dependant's votes in parliament. Two exceptions from the system of the late administration were prominently conspicuous, in that of the Marquis of Buckingham, neither of which went far in encreasing his popularity. The first was a rigid inspection into all the subaltern offices of the fiscal departments of government: and the other a rigorous œconomical reform throughout the culinary and other household departments of the castle.

it was generally concluded, that the whole system of the late administration was intended to be followed up: consequently the same system of opposition was adhered to. Notwithstanding, therefore, the new lord lieutenant's œconomical attack upon the subaltern officers of the revenue, the gentlemen of the opposition did not give his excellency credit for any œconomical reform in the original dispensation of the public money. Mr. Forbes, on the 29th of January 1788 desired, that a list of the pensions granted since the last session of parliament might be read. He then objected to a pension of 1000*l.* to James Brown, Esq. the late prime serjeant, on the principle only of its being granted to a member of the house during pleasure. He remarked, that by the English act for further securing the liberties of the subject, it was provided, that after the accession of the present family to the throne, no pensioner during pleasure, should sit or vote in the House of Commons. The people of Ireland had a right to participate with the inhabitants of Great Britain, in all the benefits and privileges of that act, and the Bill of Rights. He moved, "that this pension was a misap-"plication of the revenue." He also on the same day moved, that the pension of 640*l.* to Thomas Higinbotham for life, adding, that he was astonished that so large a portion of the public money should be disposed of without the knowledge or privity of the chancellor of the exchequer; and that for such a transaction all the servants of the crown should deny any responsibility; he then objected to a pension of 1200*l.* per annum to Robert Ashwood, for the life of his son, and also two other pensions of 300*l.* each, and one of 200*l.* to the same person, for the lives of his other children. He stated, that a pension of 2000*l.* per annum had been granted in the year 1755, for the life of Frederick Robinson; that the family of Robinson had lately sold that pension to Mr. Ashworth, and had influence with government sufficient to prevail on the minister to change the life in the grant, and to insert the lives of the young children of Mr. Ashworth, in the place of Mr. Robinson: that this management was now become a frequent practice, and if not restrained, must tend to perpetuate the burdens on the establishment, and thereby a grant of a pension for life, would operate as a lease for lives, with a covenant for perpetual renewal. He therefore moved, "that the above pension was an improvident disposition of the "revenue." He then expressed his concern, that measures in their nature so highly exceptionable should receive the sanction of the new administration. However, all his motions were negatived without a division.

Mr. Forbes made also several unsuccessful motions for reducing the public expence by discontinuing the government allowances of country houses for some of their officers, and town

houses for most servants of the crown. On this occasion he observed, without being contradicted, that there were few members upon or in the vicinity of the treasury bench, the rents of whose houses were not charged on the public accounts. This gentleman on making these several motions had very pointedly remarked, that as he had in common with most persons, in and out of parliament, conceived strong expectations of great reform in point of public expence, to be effected by the new administration, it was the duty of every member of that house to lend his assistance to the minister, to enable him to attain that desirable object. Nothing could check the unabating ardour and perseverance of Mr. Forbes. He had early in the session given the minister notice of his intention to bring in a bill to disable any person from being chosen a member of, or from sitting or voting in the house of commons, who had any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, from, or held any office or place of profit created after a certain time, under the crown, and to limit the amount of pensions: but having received no encouragement from him, he brought in his bill unsupported by the secretary, which having been received and read a first time, the chancellor of the exchequer moved, that it should be read a second time on the 1st of August, alleging, that the subject had often been before the house and uniformly rejected.

Mr. Conolly said, neither the situation of the country, nor that of the pension list, were the same they were when this bill had formerly been rejected; since that time the pensions had increased, were increasing, and ought to be diminished; if government were in earnest in their professions of œconomy, they would let the bill go fairly forward to discussion; if they resisted the bill, he never would believe their professions sincere. They had a numerous and rising royal family; to their support the country would be proud to contribute. England had many worthy old servants, both civil and military; to those men they should not grudge a subsistence, but to have 100,000*l.* a year squandered on the unworthy, or bestowed as the reward of corruption, was a grievance the country could not bear; and if the minister would agree with parliament to set limits to that profusion, he should find himself sit much easier in the seat of government, than if he should resist it.

Mr. secretary Fitzherbert said, he had declined taking a part in support of the bill for many reasons; one was, that he thought it in much abler hands: another, that the present time did not demand it. The house had, he observed, given credit to the present government for their intentions of œconomy, intentions to which they would most rigidly adhere. Suppose then, said he, the bill should pass, what construction would such a measure bear? Would it not be as if the house should say, we have great

confidence in the present government, we are convinced of their integrity, and we believe they will pursue the interest of the kingdom; we therefore lay them under restrictions, which we never imposed on any other government. Then supposing his concurrence in the bill, what construction would his conduct wear? Would it not be saying this, you have expressed great confidence in government, but I who know them better, desire you not to trust them.

Sir, the prerogative of the crown to bestow marks of approbation upon such subjects as have distinguished themselves by their merits, was one of its dearest rights.*

The question, upon the adjournment, was carried by a majority of 103 against 40.

The discontent of the people out of doors, was great: yet the ministry appeared to set it at defiance. Mr. Hartley presented a petition from the inhabitants of Dublin and the liberties thereof paying taxes, to be heard by council against the police bill, which was signed by 7000 and upwards. But the attorney general said, he should be extremely sorry, that there should be 7000 seditious persons existing in the kingdom any where, but on paper. It was he said, admitted by all, that the police bill wanted amendment; and a bill was then before parliament to explain and amend that act. Did the petitioners mean to petition against the bill for amending that act, of which they so much complained.

The most violent attack upon the minister, during this session of parliament, was made on the 29th of February, when Mr. Forbes moved his address to the crown, in order, at least, to leave to posterity, on the face of their journals the grievances, under which the people laboured in the year 1788. He prefaced his motion by a very interesting speech founded on facts, to be collected from the journals of the house, or from authentic documents then lying on the table. He travelled over much of his former arguments against the prodigality of the late administration, which had encreased the pension list by 26,000*l.* He took that opportunity of giving notice, that he meant next ses-

* In this debate Mr. Dennis Browne, rather against order, referred to an assertion of the lord lieutenant in conversation, that he had rather put his right hand into the fire, than grant a pension to any person, which every honest man should not approve of. Sir Henry Cavendish, though he declared his unqualified devotion to that administration, yet remarked, that doubling the pensions of members might be avoided, "for," said he, "suppose it appears, that 400*l.* a year are annexed to the name of a member of this house, "and that no particular cause could be assigned for the grant, may it not be "conjectured, that it was made for his service in that house, and if so, an additional pension is unnecessry, for he that has 400*l.* a year for his vote, will "not refuse voting though he were to be refused 400*l.* a year more." 8 Par. Deb. p. 355.

sion to offer a bill to that house for the purpose of creating a responsibility in the ministers of Ireland, for the application of the revenue of that kingdom: The only authority, under which the vice treasurer then paid any money, was a king's letter, countersigned by the commissioners of the English treasury. He adverted with marked censure, to the addition of 2,000*l.* to the salary of the secretary in the late administration, and to the large sums expended in the purchase and embellishment of his house in the Phœnix Park, and to the present intent of granting a pension of 2,000*l.* to that very secretary for life;* which was establishing a most mischievous precedent for such grants to every future secretary. He was sorry to hear the ostensible minister avail himself of the same argument, which his predecessors had successfully used for the last ten years in resisting every attack upon the pension list. He then enlarged upon the pernicious consequences of placing implicit confidence in administration; and supported his thesis by the following historical illustrations.

† From the year 1773 to 1776, confidence in the administration of that day had cost this nation 100,000*l.* in new taxes, and 440,000*l.* raised by life annuities. In 1778, confidence in the administration cost 300,000*l.* in life annuities; a sum granted for the purpose of defence, and which produced on an alarm of invasion, one troop of horse, and half a company of invalids. In 1779 the then secretary, for the purpose of opposing a measure, for relief against the abuses of the pension list, read in this house an extract of a letter from the secretary of state in England, expressive of the determination of the then English ministry, not to increase the pension list; confidence was placed in the administration of the day, and it cost the country 13,000*l.* in new pensions, granted by the same secretary. In April 1782, on the arrival of the principal of the new administration, confidence, in the first instance, was neither asked nor granted; certain measures were proposed by the commons and the people, they were granted, and the country was emancipated. In 1785, confidence in the administration of that day, cost Ireland 140,000*l.* new taxes to equalize the income and expenditure; but the grant produced 180,000*l.* excess of expences. The same confidence cost 20,000*l.* per annum for a police establishment, which it had been proved at their bar contributed to the violation, instead of the preservation of the peace of the metropolis.

* This was intended to be given for the life of the Duke of Bolton. For the secretary having married a lady, to whom the bulk of the Bolton estate had been left in default of issue male of that Duke, he would cease, upon the accession of her fortune, to stand in need of that *pension*. He has for some years been in that possession, and was created Baron Bolton in 1797.

† 8 Par. Deb. p. 357.

The same confidence cost the nation last year 100,000*l.* charged for buildings and gardens in the Phœnix Park; in fine they might place near two thirds of the national debt to the account of confidence in the administration of the day. He then moved *a very long and special address to his majesty, in which the whole abuse of the pension list was gone into.

* Viz. "That an humble address be presented to his majesty to express "their inviolable attachment to his majesty's person and government, and "their zeal and readiness to maintain the establishments of that kingdom, "in an amount adequate to the support of his government, and the dignity "of his crown.

"That having taken into their consideration the income and expenditure "of the nation, they found themselves obliged by their duty to his majesty, "to lay before him certain abuses and misapplications of a considerable portion "of the public revenue.

"That the house, determined to put an end to the ruinous practice of running "in debt, and to raise the revenues of that kingdom to an equality with "the establishments, did, in the sessions of 1785, unanimously vote new taxes, "estimated at 140,000*l.* per annum, and had continued these taxes in the "present and intervening sessions; that the charges of the establishments, "instead of being equal to the revenues, had exceeded considerably the national income in the year ending Lady-Day, 1786, and that the excess of "the expences on the net revenues in the year ending Lady-Day, 1787, was "180,000*l.* That the improvident disposition of the public money in the "article of pensions, was one among many other causes of that excess.

"That the list of pensions on the 1st of January, 1788, appeared to have "increased to the amount of 96,289*l.* per annum, exclusive of military pensions, "and charges under the head of incidents on the civil establishment, and "additional salaries to sinecure offices, both of which were substantially pensions; a sum greater than the pension list of England, nearly equal to half "of the charges on the civil establishment, even in its present enlarged state, "and exceeding by 7000*l.* in one year, the charge of pensions on that establishment for two years, ending Lady-Day, 1757, when the commons unanimously voted that charge an improvident disposition of the revenue, an "injury to the crown, and detrimental to the public.

"That the pensions placed on the civil establishment since the 24th day of "February, 1784, exclusive of those granted in lieu or exchange of former "pensions, which had ceased, amounted to 17,000*l.* per annum; that many of "the pensions had been granted to members of that house during the pleasure "of the crown, in violation of the principles of the constitution, and the honour "of the House of Commons.

"That his majesty's servants in Ireland were ignorant of the causes and "considerations, which induced the grants of other pensions within the above "period, and amounting to a considerable sum.

"That a system of bartering pensions lately established, was become an "object of universal complaint: that the pernicious consequences of that "barter, extended even further than an abuse of the royal bounty, and an "injury of the character of the parliament and government of that country, "as it involved the practice of changing the names of persons, for whose lives "pensions were formerly granted; of substituting in the place of those, "who were advanced in years, the names of very young persons, and of "continuing the pensions for the lives of such young persons; a practice "which must effectually prevent the diminution of the present pension list, "and perpetuate a charge, that was one of the greatest burdens on the establishment.

"That at the commencement of the administration of the late lord lieutenant, "the sum of 4000*l.* was added to the salary of the chief governor of that king-

Mr. Monk Mason and the chancellor of the exchequer were the only two, who spoke in defence of the administration: they

"dom, and 2000*l.* to that of his principal secretary; that notwithstanding this "encrease of salaries the sum charged for one year, ending Lady-Day, 1787, "as expended on buildings and gardens in the Phœnix Park, was nearly equal "in amount to half the salary of the chief governor, exclusive of the charge "incurred since Lady-Day, 1782, of 43,936*l.* by purchasing houses in the "Park for the accommodation of the lord lieutenant and his secretary, and by "paying salaries and other expences attending the Park; and to the above "sums were to be added, two annuities or pensions, making together 750*l.* "granted for lives, and charged on the establishment, for the purpose of com-"pleting the purchase of houses in the Park for the chief, and another secretary "to the lord lieutenant.

"That they could not refrain from expressing their apprehensions to his "majesty, that the first effect produced by the liberal grant of his commons, "in support of the dignity of the situation of principal secretary, would be a "charge on the establishment of that kingdom, of a pension to the person who "enjoyed, under the government of the late viceroy, the great and various "emoluments of that office; a measure, which they deprecated as pregnant "with a two-fold evil to that country; an immediate increase of the public "burdens, and an established precedent for similar charges in future.

"That they had reason to apprehend that such pension was to be so enor-"mous as to exceed considerably the sum which, by the laws of England, "could be granted to any one person for a like purpose, either at the present "or any future period.

"That the pensions granted during the period, in which he was confidential "secretary, considerably exceeded the amount of those placed on the estab-"lishment during the administration of any of his predecessors, for the last "twenty years.

"That after all their efforts to restrain the gross and repeated abuses in the "disposition of pensions had proved ineffectual, and their expectations from "the promises of œconomy on the part of his majesty's ministers had been "uniformly frustrated, they had one certain resource in his majesty's wisdom "and justice; and they rested assured, that they should obtain relief in an "instance, in which they are peculiarly the objects of his majesty's protection, "as the sole authority, under which the servants of the crown in that "kingdom placed pensions on the establishment, was derived from his ma-"jesty's letters, countersigned only by commissioners of the Treasury of "England: officers, who from their situation could not be responsible to "that house for their conduct in the application of the revenues of that "country.

"That united with Great Britain, by the ties of common interest as well "as mutual affection, they supplicated his majesty, as the common father "of his people, graciously to permit his faithful and loyal subjects of Ireland "to participate in the benefits of the salutary regulations adopted in Great "Britain for the reduction of public expences; and they firmly relied on his "majesty's paternal goodness, that he would not suffer his faithful subjects in "that kingdom, to endure the signal mortification of observing in the conduct "of his majesty's ministers in England, continued exertions to establish a per-"manent system of the strictest œconomy, as far as relates to Great Britain, "but of experiencing in the arrangements of the same ministers respecting "Ireland, an uniform disposition to sanction unbounded profusion. Having "thus, with all humble submission, in discharge of what they conceived to "be their indispensable duty, laid before his majesty the state of the abuses "and misapplications of a considerable portion of the public revenues, they "most humbly besought his majesty for redress thereof, that he would be "graciously pleased not to grant a pension exceeding the sum of 300*l.* per

complained of the multifarious mass of matter contained in the motion, which it was impossible then to answer: such a farrago had never been offered to any assembly; they insisted upon the meritorious services of many on the pension list, and observed, that a large portion of the grants had been made in consequence of addresses from parliament.* In order to get rid of the question (on which ministers appeared to be the most sore) the question of adjournment was put, and carried by 108 against 40.

The last thing, which particularly arrested the attention of parliament during the session, was Mr. Conolly's humane effort to relieve his poor fellow creatures by the repeal of the Hearth Tax. He had had it in his intention for two years: he had indeed last year been deterred from it, by the misconduct of several of those, who would be chiefly relieved by the repeal. He wished to give full time for considering the subject: and procuring accurate information upon it, and accordingly moved,

First. That the proper officer do lay before this house, on the first day of next session, an account of the houses, in counties at large in this kingdom, paying hearth-money, which are not of a greater value than 30*s.* per annum, on the full improved rent, and are inhabited by persons, who have not lands, goods or chattels, of the value of 5*l.* in their possession.

" annum, in addition to the amount of pensions on the civil establishment, on " the 21st of January, 1788, to and for the use of any one person, and that the " whole amount of the pensions granted in any one year should not exceed the " sum of 800*l.* until the whole pension list should be reduced to 80,000*l.* nor " any pension granted after the said reduction to or for the use of any one " person, which should exceed the sum of 12,00*l.* per annum, except to his " majesty's royal family, or on an address of either house of parliament.

" That the abuses in the pension list had, by long acquiescence, acquired " such a degree of strength as to render the many private virtues and ac- " knowledged constitutional principles of our late viceroy, in that instance, " almost inoperative and inefficacious; and they had too much reason to " apprehend, that even the good intentions of their present chief governor " would be frustrated, unless his excellency's exertions to effectuate the sys- " tem of œconomy were aided and supported by his majesty's gracious and " decided interference."

Mr. Conolly most cheerfully and heartily seconded the motion, and the more because his first motion was treated with neglect, which nothing that came from him could merit, and because the law proposed by him, being a part of the British constitution, was denied to that kingdom. It was in vain for that country to seek for redress, as the same gentlemen were always consulted upon the arrival of a new viceroy and his secretary, the same measures recommended, and at any rate an indemnity granted for the past. The right honourable secretary had been informed of, and had adopted the old system of governing that country. There were gentlemen of equal knowledge, worth and integrity on that side of the house, and that kingdom could be governed at half its present expence. But as that side of the house had no other way of communicating their sentiments to government, it had gone into a true state of facts for their information, and that of the people. Facts that could be proved at their bar, not to the satisfaction but to the mortification of the people.

* 8 Parl. Deb. p. 373.

Secondly, That the ministers or curates, and churchwardens, of the different parishes, in counties at large, in this kingdom, do on or before the first day of January next, return to the registers of the respective dioceses in this kingdom an account of all the houses, in their respective parishes, paying hearth-money, which are not of a greater value than 30*s.* per annum, on the full improved rent, and are inhabited by persons, who have not lands, goods, or chattels, of the value of 5*l.* in their possession.

Thirdly, Ordered that a copy of this, and the above resolution, signed by the speaker of this house, be forthwith sent to the registers of the respective dioceses in this kingdom, and that said registers, immediately on the receipt thereof, do serve the ministers or curates, and churchwardens, of the different parishes, in their respective dioceses, with copies of the above resolution, and that said registers do, on the first day of next session, lay before this house, all such accounts as shall be returned to them, by ministers or curates, and churchwardens, pursuant to the above resolution, and also a list of the names of the ministers or curates, and churchwardens, whom they have served with a copy of such order, together with the names of the parishes, to which they respectively belong.*

The Chancellor of the Exchequer and several gentlemen on the Treasury Bench opposed the motions: upon which Mr. Conolly observed, that he conceived the reluctance of gentlemen to have the matter investigated, proceeded from the many frauds, that would come to light in consequence of investigation; when it would appear that patronage was at the bottom of their refusal. Was it not well known, when a gentleman solicited, from the minister, a hearth-money collection, that instead of 40*l.* a year, its nominal value, that he considered it as from 1 to 200*l.* a year? and whence did that arise, but out of the plunder of the people, already too wretched, by taking indulgence money, and by afterwards taking their pot, their blanket, and at last their door, and making what return they thought proper to the public treasury? The very act itself originated in injustice, and it was continued in oppression. Gentlemen seemed to have forgotten its origin. This tax was given in England and Ireland to Charles II. in lieu of his right to wardship and marriage. The poor felt none of that oppression, they cared not whom their children married; not so the rich; but still this tax was by the rich put upon the poor. At the Revo-

* The motions were seconded by Mr. O'Neile, who had long employed his mind upon the subject; but had given it up in despair. Mr. O'Neile, who was afterwards raised to the peerage, was always a popular character. At present he was in the zenith of favour for the sharp rebuke he had given last session to the attorney general.

lution, in England, King William took away this tax, and substituted a window tax in the place of it; the house of a poor man there, having only six windows was exempted. Compare an English house with six windows, to an Irish house with only one hearth.

He said, that he did not even intend to take in all the houses in Ireland in this predicament, but only to exempt the lower order of people, as described in this resolution; the farmer, and many others, were well able to pay; and it would not serve them, to take off an old and stinted tax, that would not grow, and leave them open to the rapacity of ministers, who when they might want money, would substitute a new tax, which, from its youth, might be an increasing one, the poor man (as he would afterwards prove) could not, from his means, live honestly; (he spoke of the neighbourhood of the metropolis in which he lived,) and he did not believe the poor were better off in other parts of the kingdom, except in the heart of the linen manufacturing counties. If he should prove that the poor could not live honestly upon what they earned, he should consider government, in enacting this tax, to be accessaries before the fact, in the many depredations they were obliged to commit upon their neighbours. That he did not mean to blame either that or late administrations, for that effect, but to hope that the recent one would put an end to it, especially as the circumstances of the country, as lately stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were in such a prosperous way, as to have induced him to bring forward a bill for reducing the public interest of money, from six to five per cent. The whole of this obnoxious tax could be taken off, and the quantum of its produce nearly paid out of the redundancy of those taxes, that were voted in 1785, which were then calculated to produce 140,000*l.* but had since produced 190,000*l.* They were voted to equalize our revenue to our expences, at the opening of a commercial treaty with Great Britain, which had failed, God rest its manes! and thank God they were then in prosperity with a free trade, as undefined as the prerogative, and he hoped it would thrive as well.

He then stated the preamble of the act of William and Mary, upon the repeal of the hearth money tax in England. It was declared therein, to be "not only a great oppression to the "poorer sort, but a badge of slavery upon the whole people: "exposing every man's house to be entered into, and searched "at pleasure, by persons unknown to him;" and therefore to erect a lasting monument of his majesty's goodness in every house in the kingdom, the duty of hearth-money was taken away and abolished. Now, if King William did this for his English subjects, why should not his present majesty erect a lasting monument of his goodness in every poor man's house in

Ireland? Were his majesty, said Mr. Conolly, thoroughly and honestly informed of the situation of our poor countrymen, he would willingly stand their friend. They were sufficiently taxed by their situation in life; they procured bread for the community, and fought the battles of their country. If they could not pay the tax out of their honest earnings, as an account of their expences in living would prove, he hoped the tax upon them would be abolished.*

So warmly did Mr. Conolly press this matter upon the opposite side of the house, that he said, conscious that he was right, he pledged himself to persevere to the last hour of his life, as long as he should have a seat in that house, when he could no longer speak standing, he would throw out his feeble voice from his seat to emancipate his poor fellow-creatures and countrymen from a tax so oppressive to them, and so disgraceful to the government that continued to enforce it. Such, however, was the influence against the motion, that it was negatived without a division.

On the 20th of March, the speaker, on presenting the money bills, made the following speech to the lord-lieutenant:

* Mr. Conolly then submitted to the house the following statement of a poor man's necessary subsistence through the year.

One man consumes

Per day.	*In the year.*	*Price.*	*Sum.* *l.*	*s.*	*d.*
7 *lb.* of potatoes	7 *bar.* 12*st.*	at 3*s.* per bar.	1	18	0
1 *oz.* of butter	22 *lb.* 13 *oz.*	at 6*d.* per lb.		11	4 1-2
1-12th part of a stone of oaten meal	3 *cwt.* 6*st.* 1 *pottle*	at 11*s.* per cwt.	2	1	8 1-2
3 pints of butter-milk	136 *gal.* 7 *pints*	at 1*d.* for 3 quarts		15	4 1-4
Salt				1	0
1 kish of turf per week,	40 kishes	at 18*d.* per kish	3	0	0
House rent			1	2	9
Clothing				16	0
		£.	10	6	2 1-4

Labourers means of subsistence.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Labourers at 7*d.* and 8*d.* per day, the average 7 1-4*d.* deducting 52 Sundays and 10 holidays, the amount for 303 working days comes to	9	9	4 1-2
Balance against the poor man		16	9 3-4
£.	10	6	2 1-4

He said, one kish of turf per week will scarcely allow of the necessary saving towards supplying a fire to boil the potatoes, and bake the griddle bread, during the twelve weeks in summer left out of this calculation.

Neither beer or meat are allowed the poor man in the above account, because he cannot purchase them.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

"THE Commons of Ireland, in the year 1785, "made a great and spirited effort, by a large increase of taxes, "to form a steady system for the annual supply of the public "expence.

"Such a system, desirable in all countries, and at all times, is "particularly necessary to a commercial state, where the pros- "pect of new loans must induce fluctuations in the price of mo- "ney injurious to the steady course of trade.

"It was happily adopted here; and this is the third succes- "sive session in which the national debt has not been increased "by any new loan, nor has any new tax been imposed.

"Thus the system has answered; it seems settled, and the "people confide in it. Under its influence, public credit has "risen high; and private credit, unawed by any fear of inter- "ference from the nation's borrowing, extends itself with safety "to encourage industry, promote enterprize, and enlarge the "commercial capital: manufactures have in consequence been "extended, our exports increased, and the kingdom feels a "prosperity unknown in any former time.

"Such are the happy effects of liberal supplies wisely admi- "nistered; and the commons, sensible of those effects, do now, "with the most dutiful zeal for his majesty's service, and with "the fullest confidence in your excellency's experienced wisdom "and affectionate attachment to this kingdom, grant the same "supplies in the bills I have the honour to present to your "excellency, in their name, for the royal assent."

On the 14th of April, Mr. Grattan, with that undaunted perseverance so peculiar to himself, returned once more to the subject of tithes, and submitted to the house a string of resolutions, which he meant to move regularly in the course of the ensuing session. In doing this, his wish was to have the great principles of redress thoroughly considered; and particularly that these propositions should be submitted to, and maturely weighed by the church, as the foundation of future bills to stand the sentiments of the commons, and to be (if these sentiments should be resisted by a right reverend bench) their acquittal and justification to the public. He followed up each resolution with a most impressive comment.* Nothing else of an interesting

* 8 Parl. Debates, p. 445, &c. The resolutions were so far opposed by the secretary of state, as to keep them out of the journals, though he, and the other gentlemen on the Treasury bench, who spoke on the occasion, did not pretend to controvert the principles. The resolutions were as follows:

"I. *Resolved*, That it would greatly encourage the improvement of barren "lands in Ireland, if said lands, for a certain time after being reclaimed, were "exempt from the payment of tithes.

"II. *Resolved*, That a domestic supply of flax is an object, to which all his "majesty's subjects of Ireland should contribute.

nature came before parliament during that session: it was prorogued on the 14th of April, 1788, to the astonishment of the nation. The natural quickness of their sensations was accelerated by disappointment, when they found, that all that was done relative to tithes was, to provide for the clergy what some of them had lost by retention of the tithes in the two preceding years, and to secure to them for ever a tithe of hemp of 5*s*. per acre. The failure in every popular attempt of the patriots, went but a little way to sooth the ruffled minds of the distressed peasantry in the provinces, or of the middling and higher orders in the metropolis and large towns. Notwithstanding the increase of peace officers under the police bill, it was sarcastically observed, that his excellency had the peace and tranquillity of the country deeply at heart, for that, upon the slightest appearance of interruption, he was sure to call in the aid of the military. It is incident to human nature, to see the various events of the day through the medium of that disposition, with which the spectator is at the time affected; and as the public mind had not as yet debarrassed itself of all the prejudices, prepossessions, and resentment, which the successive influence, triumph, and degradation of the volunteers, had produced; and as the police, and other late measures of government, were directly calculated to extinguish that spirit in the people, out of which the volunteer army, and all the consequent benefits had arisen to the nation, it was impossible, that the army should not have been considered useless for internal regulation, or viewed with an eye of jealousy or disgust by those, who, in their absence, had preserved the peace, and worked the happiness and welfare of their country. Great jealousy, soreness, and irritation, manifested themselves throughout the kingdom, on the report of

"III. That this house greatly contributed to said object by various bounties, "but that the linen manufacture had only flourished in those parts of the king-"dom, where a total exemption from, or a small composition for the tithe of "flax has existed.

"IV. *Resolved*, That in order to extend the linen manufacture, said exemp-"tion or composition should be made general.

"V. *Resolved*, That potatoes are the principal subsistence of the poor in "Ireland, and are, in a great part of the kingdom, most fortunately exempt "from tithe.

"VI. *Resolved*, That it would much contribute to relieve the poor of the "south of this kingdom, if the benefit of said exemption were extended to "them; and that if it should be made to appear that the owners of tithe "should suffer thereby, that house would make them just compensation.

"VII. *Resolved*, That that house would be ready to relieve the owners of "tithes from the necessity of drawing the same; and to give said owners a "power of recovering the value of the same, in all cases, by civil bill, or other-"wise, provided said owners of tithe should conform to certain rateages to be "ascertained by act of parliament.

"VIII. *Resolved*, That the better to secure the residense of the clergy, a "moderate tax on non-residents would be expedient."

a plan for multiplying barracks, and surrounding the island with a military cordon for the preventing of smuggling: buildings, in the nature of guard-houses, were to be erected on the coast, at the distance of ten miles from each other, with a guard of twelve men and a serjeant to each. The present system of government could not be successfully carried on without extraordinary countenance to the army on one side, and stronger checks, than what were perhaps prudent, upon the constitutional rights of the people, on the other. The feelings of the people without were in strict unison with the sentiments of the patriots within the walls of parliament; and the lord lieutenant finding himself pressed by the weight of talent, influence, and popularity of those, who had ranged themselves in opposition to his measures, got rid of them by an early prorogation, that he might busy himself without interruption, in his favourite subaltern system of œconomical reform.

Animated with a laudable indignation against the rapacious and bare-faced practices of the clerks, and other subaltern officers in the different fiscal departments of government, he seized all* their keys, examined himself their papers and accounts, and subjected them to the most rigorous scrutiny, and demanded instant payment of outstanding balances. An universal panic seized the whole; many defaulters fled the country, others cut their throats, and some few, relying on the sympathies and countenance of their immediate superiors in office, stood the brunt of the enquiry, and either eluded by dexterity, or softened by false promises the anger of their indignant governor. Some few were ultimately dismissed with disgrace. In these secondary departments nothing was so minute, which the scrutinizing eye of his excellency would not descend to inspect. The profligacy of official profusion was truly incredible: peculation reigned in every department where public money was handled, or public property disposable: the public accounts were wound up yearly with formidable items for balances in the hands of collectors, treasurers, and pay-masters, or arrears due by former great officers who had received their employments without security, or had been discarded for misconduct, or were dead, or had fled, or become bankrupt. Such was the inveteracy of this disease, that each succeeding viceroy, on close inspection, was afraid to touch it; until the Marquis of Buckingham, with more courage or more temerity than his predecessors, ventured to upset the hornets' hive, and develop the wicked workings of these official peculators. In the ordnance and treasury, the grossest frauds pervaded almost every department. The public

* When Mr. Corry was made surveyor of the ordnance, his first act was to lock up and seal the desks of the several clerks, who were dismissed instantly.

stores were plundered with impunity in the open day. The arms, ammunition, and military accoutrements, condemned as useless, were stolen out at one gate, and brought in at the other, as purchased, and charged anew to the public account. Journeymen armourers, who worked in the arsenal, seldom went home to their meals without conveying away a musket, sword, or brace of pistols, as lawful perquisites, and sanctioned by the connivance of their superiors. Clerks in subordinate departments, with salaries of 100*l.* per annum, or less, kept handsome houses in town and country, with splendid establishments; some of them became purchasers of loans and lotteries: all exhibited signs of redundant opulence.

In the course of the year 1788, the county of Armagh was disturbed by the increased animosity and outrages of the Peep of Day Boys, and Defenders. These two sets had been advancing in numbers, system, and ferocity, ever since the year 1785: they arose, like many other considerable and tumultuary sets or denominations of men, from mere accident. An altercation took place between two peasants, who happened to be Presbyterians: amongst the spectators of the affray, was a Roman Catholic, who took a part with one of the combatants: at which the other swore perpetual vengeance: this spirit of difference was kept up, and the neighbours began to take a part with the original combatants, according to their intimacies of friendship: the spirit of discord spread from families to villages: they embodied and called themselves fleets, and went out to meet and fight each other: hitherto they knew no other difference or distinction, than that of their villages or townships; which, from their names, they called the Nappack fleet and the Bawn fleet: a third set, living about Bunker's-hill between Newry and Armagh, associated to defend themselves against the Nappack fleet, and calling themselves defenders joined the Bawn fleet. Many on both sides were armed: and as far back as 1785, near a thousand men on both sides met for a regular engagement, which was fortunately prevented by some gentlemen of property, who had been apprized of their intentions. When once associations of this sort have formed themselves into bodies, it is impossible that the spirit of discord, or revenge, or even frolic, should not carry them beyond their original intentions and lead them into new mischief, arising out of the fortuitous circumstances of their unguarded warmth. In this part of the country, the religious division of the population was different from most other districts in Ireland: the Protestants were the more numerous, and of these the greater part were Presbyterians. As the discord and animosity increased, some accidental differences about religion blew up a religious dissension

amidst both parties: and, in process of time, they formed into a new division, and enlisted under the opposite banners of the Protestant and Catholic religions. Of all grounds of dissensions, religion is ever the most inveterate, and most to be dreaded. A tumultuary spirit had so long pervaded these unfortunate people, that as they had once armed and arrayed themselves for combat, they would not it seems part or disarm without fighting. This new marshalling of their whole force soon gave rise to different appellations: for the Protestants taking advantage of the laws against Papists having arms, paid their antagonists very early domiciliary visits to search for arms, in which they were often guilty of the most wanton outrages; they acquired the appellation of *Peep of Day Boys:* whilst the others assumed that of *Defenders.* The consequence of this new division of parties was, that their mutual ferocity increased, and frequent rencounters terminated in blood. Certain it is, that by timely and vigorous exertions of government, this spirit of dissension and outrage might have been at any time subdued and extinguished; but unfortunately the unhappy differences were permitted to be fomented by gentlemen of the country for electioneering or other worse purposes. Hence the fatal origin of defenderism.

Either for the purpose or under the pretence of checking this spirit of turbulence and outrage, in this year recourse again was had to the raising of some volunteer corps, by way of strengthening, as it was said, the arm of the civil magistrate. It was not in the nature of things, that these volunteer corps, into which they refused to admit any Catholic, should not be more obnoxious to the defenders, than to the *Peep of Day Boys:* for although they should not have shewn favour or affection to any description of men disturbing the public tranquillity, yet it was the first part of their duty to disarm the defenders (being Papists), and in their arms had they for some time found their only safety and defence against their antagonists. Some occasional conflicts happened both between the *Defenders* and *Peep of Day Boys*,, and between the *Defenders* and the *Volunteers.* As a corps of volunteers in going to church at Armagh passed by a Catholic chapel, a quarrel arose with some of the congregation, and stones were thrown at the volunteers. After service, instead of avoiding the repetition of insult by taking another route, the volunteers procured arms, returned to the spot, and a conflict ensued, in which they killed some of the Catholic congregation. In consequence of these rencounters, and the defenders procuring and retaining what fire arms they could, the Earl of Charlemont, governor of the county, and the grand jury, published a manifesto against all Papists, who should assemble in arms, and also against any person, who should

attempt to disarm them without legal authority. In addition to these efforts, some of the *Peep of Day Boys* sought also to disarm their antagonists by means of the law: they accordingly indicted some of the defenders at the summer assizes of 1788; but Baron Hamilton quashed the indictments, and dismissed both parties with an impressive exhortation to live in peace and brotherly love. The *Defenders* about this time were charged with openly sending challenges both to the *Peep of Day Boys* and the volunteers to meet them in the field: the fact was, that the defenders certainly did look upon them both as one common enemy combined to defeat and oppress them: whilst therefore this open hostility between the two parties subsisted and rankled under the daily festering sore of religious acrimony, the defenders, who knew themselves armed against law, though in self-defence against the *Peep of Day Boys*, became the more anxious to bring their antagonists to an open trial of strength, rather than remain victims to the repeated outrages of their domiciliary visits, or other attempts to disarm them. Thus a private squabble between two peasants gradually swelled into a village brawl, and ended in the religious war of a whole district. Some symptoms of renovated disturbances also broke out in the south. The prorogation of parliament, without having administered any relief to their grievances, was not likely to increase or spread amongst them a spirit of content or gratitude.

We now approach the period of Irish history, pregnant with those awful circumstances, which it has lately been the study, affectation, or rage of modern writers to connect with the late Irish rebellion in whatever manner it best suited their views, interests, or passions: and as the incorporate union of the two kingdoms followed so closely upon the heels of that rebellion, it becomes the historian's duty to conduct his reader by an uninterrupted chain of facts to that eventful period of union, which it is the wish of every loyal subject of his majesty may, as it certainly ought to be productive of accumulative and permanent prosperity to the British empire. Whoever has lived to see and reflect impartially upon the awful effects of the last twelve years in the political turns of human government, will allow the superior necessity, at the present above any former period, of ascribing effects to their real causes. Inattention to this transcendent duty of the statesman in Ireland, appears to have been immediately productive of many of those disasters, which the tears of a century will not efface.

From the year 1779, when Lord Clare tells us, that *the imbecility of Lord Buckinghamshire's government had arrayed the volunteer army*, the whole Irish nation had been successively seized with a spirit of civil freedom and independence, which had not been felt, or at least had not been shewn for several

preceding centuries We have traced that spirit through its several gradations to its zenith: and when by its undaunted perseverance it had procured all it demanded in 1782, we have observed it at first disjointed by internal difference, and when weakened by division, we have seen it bought up or worked down by all the allurements, power, and influence of government. From the recal of the Duke of Portland, every measure of government had a tendency to extinguish the national spirit, to which alone the legislative independence of Ireland was owing. The defection of the members from the general popularity of their sentiments in 1782, was at first rapid with the change of administration in all those, who systematically supported the minister of the day. These numerically secured a majority; but the great landed interests of the country remained for a time staunch to the principles by which their country had become free and independent: with them lay the weight of property, of talent, and natural influence over all that part of the nation, which had not bartered their freedom for emolument or lucre. Although the minister commanded considerably more than two thirds out of the three hundred votes in the commons, yet so hardly were they pressed by the minority, both as to the popularity of the subjects brought under the discussion of parliament, and the superior abilities, with which they were urged, that the lord lieutenant almost indecently curtailed the duration of the session, to the great dissatisfaction of the minority within and the majority out of parliament. Mr. Yelverton's bill and all the transactions in the year 1782, had been adopted upon the genuine principles of Whiggism, which the Duke of Portland at that time professed, and every true friend of the Marquis of Rockingham practised.

In the autumn of this year, it was the will of Heaven to visit the British empire with a most distressful calamity. A circumstance, which placed Ireland in a more peculiar delicacy of situation, than any other part of the empire. Soon after the recess of the British parliament in the middle of July, 1788, the king, who had been for some time rather indisposed, was advised by his physicians to try the mineral waters of Cheltenham, which seemed to promise the re-establishment of his health. During his residence there, his majesty amused himself and gratified his people by various excursions in the vicinity of that place, displaying on these occasions much condescension and affability, and being every where received with extraordinary demonstrations of joy. On his return to Windsor, his illness returned with new and alarming symptoms; and in the month of October it was generally rumoured, that the malady of the king was of a nature peculiarly afflicting. It was however the natural wish of the court, that it should not be credited by the

public, earlier than the dreadful necessity required. On the 24th of October there was a levee at St. James's, for the purpose of quieting the alarm, which the report of his indisposition had spread amongst the people; but upon his return to Windsor, his disorder took a new and unfortunate turn; and before the end of the first week in November it was generally known, that it had settled in a delirium. The grief and consternation, which this intelligence excited amongst all ranks of his affectionate subjects could only be equalled by the joy they so conspicuously manifested at his happy recovery. The Prince of Wales repaired immediately to Windsor, where he was met by the lord chancellor; they, in concert with the queen, took such measures relative to the domestic affairs of the king, as the necessity of the case required. In the mean time all those, who by their rank and situation in the state were required to take a part in so new and unexpected an exigence, assembled in the capital; and an express was dispatched to Mr. Fox, at that time on the continent, to hasten his return.*

The parliament then stood prorogued to the 20th of November; and as the intended commission for a further prorogation had not been issued by the king, its meeting took place upon that day, as a matter of course.† The peers and the commons remained in their separate chambers; and the chancellor in the lords, and Mr. Pitt in the commons, having notified the cause of their assembling without the usual notice and summons, and stated the impropriety of their proceeding under such circumstances to the discussion of any public business whatsoever, both houses resolved unanimously to adjourn for fifteen days. At the same time Mr. Pitt took occasion to observe, that it would be indispensably necessary, in case his majesty's illness should unhappily continue longer than the period of their adjournment, that the house should take into immediate consideration the means of supplying, as far as they were competent, the want of the royal presence; it was incumbent upon them to ensure a full attendance, in order to give every possible weight and solemnity to their proceedings. For this purpose it was ordered, that the house should be called over on Thursday the 4th of December next, and that the speaker should send letters requiring the attendance of every member. Orders to the same effect were made by the lords.

In order to lay some ground for the proceeding of the two houses of parliament, a council was holden at Whitehall on the day preceding their meeting, to which all the privy counsellors

* Mr. Fox was at this time on the borders of Italy; and the fatigue of travelling incessantly night and day, in order to return in time, seriously affected his health.

† 25 Parl. Deb. p. 2.

were summoned. Of fifty-four who attended, twenty-four were of the party of opposition. The physicians,* who had attended his majesty during his illness, were called before them and sworn; after which three questions, which had been previously debated and carried in the council, were put to them severally. The first was, "Whether his majesty's indisposition rendered him "incapable of meeting his parliament, and of attending to any "sort of public business?" To this they answered, "That "certainly he was incapable." The second was, "What was "their opinion of the duration of his majesty's malady, and of "the probability of a cure?" To this they answered, "That "there was a great probability of his recovery, but that it was "impossible to limit the time." The third question was, "Did "they give that opinion from the particular symptoms of his ma-"jesty's disorder, or from their experience in complaints of a "similar nature?" To this their general answer was, "That it "was from experience, and having observed, that the majority "of those, who were afflicted with the same disease, had reco-"vered."

On the 4th the two houses being assembled, the president of the council informed the peers, that the king, by the continuance of his indisposition, was rendered incapable of meeting his parliament, and that all the other functions of government were thereby suspended. He then declared it to be his opinion, that in that dismembered state of the legislature, the right devolved on the two houses of parliament to make such provision for supplying the defect as should be adequate to the necessity of the case; but that it was necessary, before any step could be taken in so delicate a business, that the deficiency should be fully ascertained: with this view he moved, that the minutes of the privy council should be read: which being done, the following Monday was appointed for taking it into consideration.

A motion to the same effect being made by Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons, Mr. Viner expressed his doubt, whether, in a matter of such moment, and which would be attended with such important consequences, the house could proceed upon a report from the privy council, without further examination of the physicians, either at their bar, or by a committee of their own. Mr. Pitt urged, in reply, the delicacy to be discussed; and remarked further, that the examination was taken upon oath, which the house had it not in their power to administer. Mr. Fox concurred in opinion with Mr. Viner; he felt the pro-

* The physicians were Sir George Baker, Sir Lucas Pepys, Dr. Addington, and Dr. Reynolds; of whom Dr. Addington was the most sanguine in his hopes of his majesty's recovery, as he had seldom or ever known cases attended by such symptoms as he had discovered in his majesty fail of a happy termination. 25 Par. Deb. p. 3.

priety of acting with all possible delicacy; but if delicacy and their duty should happen to clash, the latter ought not to be sacrificed to the former.

On Monday the 8th of December Mr. Pitt, either convinced, upon further consideration, of the propriety of Mr. Viner's suggestion, or expecting that the probability of his majesty's recovery would become more apparent upon a fuller enquiry into the case, came forward to propose, that a committee of twenty-one members should be appointed to examine all the physicians, who attended the king during his illness. A like committee was appointed the same day in the House of Lords; and the members in both were chosen nearly in equal numbers from each side of the house.

The report of the committee being brought up on the 10th, and ordered to be printed, Mr. Pitt moved "that a committee "be appointed to examine the Journals of the house, and report "precedents of such proceedings as may have been had in cases "of the personal exercise of the royal authority being prevented "or interrupted by infancy, sickness, infirmity, or otherwise, "with a view to provide for the same." Mr. Fox objected to the motion as nugatory, and productive of unnecessary and improper delay. The right hon. gentleman knew, that no precedent was to be found of the suspence of the executive government, in which, at the same time, there existed an heir apparent to the crown, of full age and capacity. For his part, he was convinced, upon the maturest consideration of the principles and practice of the constitution, and of the analogy of the common law of the land, that whenever the sovereign, from sickness, infirmity, or other incapacity, was unable to exercise the functions of his high office, the heir apparent, being of full age and capacity, had as indisputable a claim to the exercise of the executive power, in the name and on behalf of the sovereign, during the continuance of such incapacity, as in the case of his natural demise. And as to the right, which he conceived the Prince of Wales had, he was not himself to judge when he was entitled to exercise it; but the two houses of parliament, as the organs of the nation, were alone qualified to pronounce when the prince ought to take possession of it, and exercise his right. He thought it candid, entertaining this opinion, to come forward fairly, and avow it at that instant; and therefore, under such an idea, he conceived, that as short a time as possible ought to intervene between the Prince of Wales's assuming the sovereignty, and the present moment. He justified the prince's not making this his indubitable claim himself, by imputing his desire of waving the open advancement of it, to his having been bred in those principles, which had placed his illustrious house on the throne, and to his known reverence and regard for those principles,

as the true fundamentals of our glorious constitution, in the maintenance of which, his family had flourished with so much prosperity and happiness, as sovereigns of the British empire. Hence it was, that his Royal Highness chose rather to wait the decision of parliament, with a patient and due deference to the constitution, than to urge a claim, that, he trusted, a majority of that house, and of the people at large, admitted; and which, he was persuaded, could not be reasonably disputed. With regard to the examination of the physicians, three points formed the result, and must be the *substratum*, on which that house would necessarily raise the superstructure, whatever it might be, that they should deem it expedient to erect.

1. That his majesty was incapable of meeting his parliament, or proceeding to business.

2. That there was a great prospect, and a strong probability, of his recovery.

3. But that with respect to the point of time, when that recovery would take place, they were left in absolute doubt and uncertainty.

Mr. Pitt observed, that if a claim of right were intimated (even though not formally) on the part of the Prince of Wales, to assume the government, it became of the utmost consequence to ascertain, from precedent and history, whether that claim were founded; which, if it were, precluded the house from the possibility of all deliberation on the subject. In the mean time he maintained, that it would appear, from every precedent, and from every page of our history, that to assert such a right in the Prince of Wales, or any one else, independent of the decision of the two houses of parliament, was little less than treason to the constitution of the country. He pledged himself to this assertion, that in the case of the interruption of the personal exercise of the royal authority, without any previous lawful provision having been made for carrying on the government, it belonged to the other branches of the legislature, on the part of the nation at large, the body they represented, to provide, according to their direction, for the temporary exercise of the royal authority, in the name, and on the behalf, of the sovereign, in such manner as they should think requisite; and that, unless by their decision, the Prince of Wales had no right, (speaking of strict right) to assume the government, more than any other individual subject of the country. What parliament ought to determine on that subject, was a question of discretion. However strong the arguments might be on that ground, in favour of the Prince of Wales, which he would not enter into at that time, it did not affect the question of right; because, neither the whole, nor any part, of the royal authority

could belong to him in the present circumstances, unless conferred by the houses of parliament.

The exclusive right of the prince to the regency under the physical inability of his royal father, was strenuously and ingeniously supported in both houses by the gentlemen of the opposition, and warmly and ably opposed by the ministerial members. Although on this great and important occasion the number of the former were considerably encreased: yet the minister was secure on every question of a majority of upwards of threescore in the Commons, and of a larger proportion of the House of Lords. Lord Loughborough, who on this occasion assumed the lead of opposition in the peers, amongst other arguments in support of the prince's inherent right, strongly urged the inconveniency and mischief, which might arise from the contrary doctrine, when it should come to be acted upon by the independent kingdom of Ireland. Was it remembered, said his lordship,* that a neighbouring kingdom stood connected with us, and acknowledged allegiance to the British crown. If once the rule of regular succession were departed from by the two houses, how were they sure, that the neighbouring kingdom would acknowledge the regent, whom the two houses would take upon themselves to elect. The probability was, that the neighbouring kingdom would depart, in consequence of our departure, from the rule of hereditary succession, and choose a regent of their own, which must lead to endless confusion and embarrassment.†

As it was evident from the complection of both houses of parliament, that the majority was against the claim of the Prince of Wales's strict right to the regency, it was thought most advisable, by those who held the affirmative, to avoid, if possible, its being brought to a formal decision. With this view, on the 15th of December, Earl Fitzwilliam, after stating the inexpediency of bringing under the present circumstances, any abstract political questions into discussion, when all parties were agreed in substance, desired to know from the ministers, whether they meant to introduce any proposition of that nature. He was answered by Earl Camden, that as the most essential rights of the two houses of parliament had been questioned

* 26. Par. Deb. Lords, p. 20.

† In answer to this part of Lord Loughborough's speech, Lord Chancellor (Thurlow) lamented, that any remarks should have fallen from the noble and learned lord respecting Ireland, because he considered them as not unlikely, *Spargere voces in vulgum ambiguas!* Such vague and loose suggestions could answer no useful purpose, but might produce very mischievous consequences. He declared, that he had every reliance on the known loyalty, good sense, and affection of that country, and felt no anxiety on the danger of Ireland's acting improperly.

by persons of great and respectable authority, he thought it was become absolutely necessary, that they should not be left doubtful and unsettled. Upon this declaration, his Royal Highness the Duke of York rose to express his sentiments on a subject, in which the dearest interests of the country were involved. He entirely agreed with the noble Earl (Fitzwilliam) and other lords, who had expressed their wishes to avoid any question, which tended to induce a discussion on the rights of the prince. The fact was plain, that no such claim of right had been made on the part of the prince; and he was confident, that his royal highness understood too well the sacred principles, which seated the house of Brunswick on the throne of Great Britain, ever to assume or exercise any power, be his claim what it might, not derived from the will of the people, expressed by their representatives and their lordships in parliament assembled. It was upon that ground that he must be permitted to hope, that the wisdom and moderation of all considerate men, at a moment when temper and unanimity were so peculiarly necessary, on account of the dreadful calamity which every description of persons must, in common, lament, but which he more particularly felt, would make them wish to avoid pressing a decision, which certainly was not necessary to the great object expected from parliament, and which must be most painful in the discussion to a family already sufficiently agitated and afflicted. Such, his royal highness observed, in conclusion, were the sentiments of an honest heart, equally influenced by duty and affection to his royal father, and by attachment to the constitutional rights of his subjects: and he was confident, that if his royal brother were to address them in his place, as a peer of the realm, these were the sentiments, which he would distinctly avow.

He was followed by his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, who strongly deprecated the discussion of a question, which could only tend to produce the most mischievous consequences. He felt so strongly on the subject, that, if the attempt were persisted in, and the question brought before that house, he could only say, that he believed he should not dare to trust himself to come forward and speak his sentiments on the extraordinary conduct of those, who were unnecessarily inclined to compel a decision on so delicate a question.

Notwithstanding the entreaties of the princes of the royal family, the ministers persevered in their intention; and the lord chancellor closed the conversation by declaring, that though he much lamented the starting of such a question, yet he did not see how they could now avoid coming to some determination upon it.

On the 16th of December, the House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee, Mr. Pitt moved the three

following resolutions, the first of which was voted unanimously.

"1. That it is the opinion of this committee, that his majesty is prevented, by his present indisposition, from coming to his parliament, and from attending to public business; and that the personal exercise of the royal authority is thereby, for the present, interrupted."

"2. That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is the right and duty of the lords, spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, now assembled, and lawfully and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, arising from his majesty's said indisposition, in such manner, as the exigency of the case may appear to require."

"*Resolved*, that for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king, it is necessary, that the said lords spiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain, should determine on the means, whereby the royal assent may be given in parliament to such bill, as may be passed by the two houses of parliament, respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name, and on the behalf of the king, during the continuance of his majesty's present indisposition."

These resolutions passed the commons after several vehement debates, by a majority of 64: and were carried in the lords by 99 against 66. On the 29th of December, 1788, the illness of the speaker (Mr. Cornwall, of which he died on the 2d of January, 1789,) prevented his attendance in the commons, and there was no debate for some days. During this interval from parliamentary business, Mr. Pitt, on the 29th of December, 1788, wrote* to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales the following letter, concerning the plan of restrictions intended to be put upon the regency.

"SIR,

"THE proceedings in parliament being now brought to a point, which will render it necessary to propose to the House of Commons, the particular measures to be taken for supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, during the present interval, and your royal highness having some time since signified your pleasure, that any communication on this subject should be in writing, I take the liberty of respectfully entreating your royal highness's per-

* Some aukward misrepresentations of what had passed at one of the meetings, between his royal highness and the premier, having gone abroad, his royal highness had from that time declined any personal interview with the minister, and had expressed his royal pleasure, that any future communications should be in writing.

" mission, to submit to your consideration the outlines of the " plan, which his majesty's confidential servants humbly con- " ceive (according to the best judgment which they are able to " form) to be proper to be proposed in the present circum- " stances.

" It is their humble opinion, that your royal highness should " be empowered to exercise the royal authority in the name and " on the behalf of his majesty, during his majesty's illness, and " to do all acts which might legally be done by his majesty; " with provisions, nevertheless, that the care of his majesty's " royal person, and the management of his majesty's household, " and the direction and appointment of the officers and servants " therein should be in the queen under such regulations, as " may be thought necessary. That the power to be exercised " by your royal highness should not extend to the granting the " real or personal property of the king (except as far as relates " to the renewal of leases), to the granting any office in rever- " sion, or to the granting, for any other term than during his " majesty's pleasure, any pension, or any office whatever, except " such as must by law be granted for life, or during good beha- " viour; nor to the granting any rank or dignity of the peerage " of this realm to any person, except his majesty's issue, who " shall have attained the age of 21 years.

" These are the chief points, which have occurred to his ma- " jesty's servants. I beg leave to add, that their ideas are " formed on the supposition, that his majesty's illness is only " temporary, and may be of no long duration. It may be diffi- " cult to fix before hand, the precise period, for which these pro- " visions ought to last; but if unfortunately his majesty's recove- " ry should be protracted to a more distant period, than there is " reason at present to imagine, it will be open hereafter to the " wisdom of parliament, to reconsider these provisions when- " ever the circumstances appear to call for it.

" If your royal highness should be pleased to require any " farther explanation on the subject, and should condescend to " signify your orders, that I should have the honour of attend- " ing your royal highness for that purpose, or to intimate any " other mode, in which your royal highness may wish to receive " such explanation, I shall respectfully wait your royal high- " ness's commands.

" I have the honour to be,
" With the utmost deference and submission,
" SIR,
" Your royal highness's
" Most dutiful and devoted servant,
" W. PITT."

Downing-street, Tuesday night,
December 30, 1788.

To this letter his royal highness wrote the following answer, which he delivered to the lord chancellor, January 1, 1789.

"The Prince of Wales learns from Mr. Pitt's letter, that the "proceedings in parliament are now in a train, which enables "Mr. Pitt, according to the intimation in his former letter, to "communicate to the prince the outlines of the plan, which his "majesty's confidential servants conceive to be proper to be "proposed in the present circumstances.

"Concerning the steps already taken by Mr. Pitt, the Prince "is silent. Nothing done by the two houses of parliament can "be a proper subject of his animadversion; but when, previ- "ously to any discussion in parliament, the outlines of a scheme "of government are sent for his consideration, in which it is pro- "posed, that he shall be personally and principally concerned, "and by which the royal authority, and the public welfare may "be deeply affected, the Prince would be unjustifiable, were he "to withhold an explicit declaration of his sentiments. His si- "lence might be construed into a previous approbation of a "plan, the accomplishment of which every motive of duty to "his father and sovereign, as well as of regard for the public "interest, obliges him to consider as injurious to both.

"In the state of deep distress, in which the Prince and the "whole royal family were involved by the heavy calamity, "which has fallen upon the king, and at a moment when go- "vernment deprived of its chief energy and support, seemed "peculiarly to need the cordial and united aid of all descrip- "tions of good subjects, it was not expected by the Prince, that "a plan should be offered to his consideration, by which go- "vernment was to be rendered difficult, if not impracticable, in "the hands of any person intended to represent the king's au- "thority, much less in the hands of his eldest son, the heir ap- "parent of his kingdoms, and the person most bound to the "maintenance of his majesty's just prerogatives and authority, "as well as most interested in the happiness, the prosperity, and "the glory of the people.

"The Prince forbears to remark on the several parts of the "sketch of the plan laid before him; he apprehends it must "have been formed with sufficient deliberation to preclude the "probability of any argument of his producing an alteration of "sentiment in the projectors of it. But he trusts, with confi- "dence, to the wisdom and justice of parliament, when the "whole of this subject, and the circumstances connected with "it, shall come under their deliberation.

"He observes, therefore, only generally on the heads com- "municated by Mr. Pitt, and it is with deep regret the Prince "makes the observation, that he sees in the contents of that pa- "per, a project for producing weakness, disorder, and insecu-

" rity in every branch of the administration of affairs. A pro-
" ject for dividing the royal family from each other, for sepa-
" rating the court from the state; and therefore, by disjoining
" government from its natural and accustomed support, a
" scheme for disconnecting the authority to command service,
" from the power of animating it by reward; and for allotting
" to the Prince all the invidious duties of government, without
" the means of softening them to the public by any one act of
" grace, favour or benignity.

" The Prince's feelings on contemplating this plan are also
" rendered still more painful to him by observing, that it is not
" founded on any general principle, but is calculated to infuse
" jealousies and suspicions (wholly groundless he trusts) in that
" quarter, whose confidence it will ever be the first pride of his
" life to merit and obtain.

" With regard to the motive and object of the limitations and
" restrictions proposed, the Prince can have but little to observe.
" No light or information is offered him by his majesty's mi-
" nisters on these points. They have informed him what the
" powers are, which they mean to refuse him, not why they are
" withheld.

" The Prince, however, holding as he does, that it is an un-
" doubted and fundamental principle of this constitution, that
" the powers and prerogatives of the crown are vested there, as
" a trust for the benefit of the people; and that they are sacred
" only, as they are necessary to the preservation of that poise
" and balance of the constitution, which experience has proved
" to be the true security of the liberty of the subject, must be al-
" lowed to observe, that the plea of public utility ought to be
" strong, manifest, and urgent, which calls for the extinction or
" suspension of any one of those essential rights in the supreme
" power or its representative; or which can justify the Prince
" in consenting, that in his person an experiment shall be made,
" to ascertain with how small a portion of the kingly power
" the executive government of this country may be carried on.

" The Prince has only to add, that if security for his majes-
" ty's repossessing his rightful government, whenever it shall
" please Providence, in bounty to the country, to remove the
" calamity with which he is afflicted, be any part of the object
" of this plan, the Prince has only to be convinced, that any
" measure is necessary, or even conducive to that end, to be the
" first to urge it, as the preliminary and paramount considera-
" tion of any settlement, in which he would consent to share.

" If attention to what is presumed might be his majesty's
" feelings and wishes on the happy day of his recovery, be the
" object, it is with the truest sincerity the Prince expresses his
" firm conviction, that no event would be more repugnant to

" the feelings of his royal father, than the knowledge, that the " government of his son and representative had exhibited the " sovereign power of the realm in a state of degradation, of " curtailed authority and diminished energy; a state, hurtful in " practice to the prosperity and good government of his people, " and injurious in its precedent to the security of the monarch, " and the rights of his family.

" Upon that part of the plan, which regards the king's real " and personal property, the Prince feels himself compelled " to remark, that it was not necessary for Mr. Pitt, nor proper " to suggest to the Prince, the restraint he proposes against the " Prince's granting away the king's real and personal property. " The Prince does not conceive, that, during the king's life, " he is by law entitled to make any such grant; and he is sure, " that he has never shewn the smallest inclination to possess " any such power. But it remains with Mr. Pitt to consider " the eventual interests of the royal family, and to provide a " proper and natural security against the mismanagement of " them by others.

" The Prince has discharged an indispensable duty, in thus " giving his free opinion on the plan submitted to his con- " sideration.

" His conviction of the evils, which may arise to the king's " interests, to the peace and happiness of the royal family, and " to the safety and welfare of the nation, from the government " of the country remaining longer in its present maimed and " debilitated state, outweighs in the Prince's mind every other " consideration, and will determine him to undertake the pain- " ful trust imposed upon him by the present melancholy neces- " sity (which of all the king's subjects he deplores the most) " in full confidence, that the affection and loyalty to the king, " the experienced attachment to the House of Brunswick, and " the generosity which has always distinguished this nation, " will carry him through the many difficulties, inseparable from " this most critical situation, with comfort to himself, with " honour to the king, and with advantage to the public.

Carleton House, Jan. 2d, 1789. (Signed) G. P."

On the 6th of January Mr. Pitt having given notice, that he should on that day propose to the house the restrictions, within which the exercise of the regal power should be granted to the regent, Mr. Loveden, the member for Abingdon, rose as soon as the order of the day was moved, and observed, that before the house proceeded to settle the terms of the regency, he conceived that they ought to know exactly the present state of his majesty's health, what the degree of alteration, which it had undergone since his majesty's physicians were last examined. This was the more necessary, as reports had gone abroad

of a very contradictory kind, and the authority of the different physicians who attended his majesty had been made use of to give sanction to those reports. He therefore moved, "That the physicians, who had attended his majesty should be again examined, "to inform the house whether any alteration or amendment had "taken place in the state of the king's health, and if the present "symptoms were such, as to give reason to hope for his majes-"ty's speedy recovery."

This motion gave rise to a warm debate, which was managed not with the most perfect temper and moderation on either side of the house. After much altercation it was agreed, that a new committee should be appointed, and that the physicians should be examined.

The committee sat till the 13th of January, when the report was brought up, ordered to be printed, and to be taken into consideration in a committee of the whole house on the state of the nation upon the 16th of January, 1789.

On that day Mr. Pitt, after expressing his satisfaction at having consented to the motion for re-examining the physicians, the event of which had justified his former opinion respecting the probability of his majesty's recovery, proceeded to open the business, which was then to be the subject of their deliberations. The subject divided itself into three distinct heads: 1st, The nature of the king's illness. 2dly, The principles, upon which the two houses were authorized to act on this occasion. And 3dly, The application of those principles to the measures, which he should propose for remedying the present defect in the personal exercise of the royal authority.

It had been determined, that the right to provide for the deficiency in the executive government devolved on the two houses of parliament; but there was abundant reason to hope, that the occasion would be temporary and short. What they had to provide for, therefore, was no more than an interval, and if unfortunately, his majesty's illness should be protracted, they might leave it to parliament to do what at present was clearly unnecessary; to consider of a more permanent plan of government. They were to provide only for the present necessity, and not to exceed it; they were also to provide against any embarrassment in the resumption of the royal authority, whenever God, in his providence, should enable the rightful holder again to exercise it. They were therefore to grant such powers, and none other, as were requisite to carry on the government of the country with energy and effect.

Upon these principles he should propose to invest the Prince of Wales with the whole royal authority, to be exercised in the name and on the behalf of the king, subject to such limitations and restrictions only as should be provided. He observed in

the Succession Act of Queen Anne, and in the regency acts of George the Second and George the Third, the exercise of all the royal prerogatives were granted in a fuller manner than he intended to propose: but on the other hand, the regent, in all those cases, was fettered with a council, the consent of a majority of which was necessary to authorize his acts. Under the present circumstances he thought it more advisable to leave the regent entirely free in the choice of his political servants; but at the same time this required some limitation of the authority, with which he was to be invested.

The first restriction he meant to propose was, that the authority of the regent should not extend to the creating any peer, except such of the royal issue as should have attained the age of twenty-one. There were three grounds, he conceived, upon which this branch of the prerogative was intrusted by the constitution to the crown, none of which were applicable to the present case. First, It was designed to enable the king to counteract the designs of any factious cabal in the House of Lords, which might have acquired a predominant influence in their deliberations. But was it at all probable that the government of his royal highness should be obstructed by any such cabal? He, for one, was ready to declare, that he should give no opposition to any administration the regent should chuse to form, so long as their measures were compatible with the prosperity of the kingdom. On the other hand, he said, such a number of peers might be created, as would considerably embarrass his majesty's government on the event of his being restored to health. Secondly, This power was vested in the crown, to enable the sovereign to reward eminent merit, and thereby to invite others to the same laudable exertions in the public service. But was it, he said, to be supposed that for want of such an incentive for a few months, the country was likely to be deprived of the service of men of merit. If his majesty recovered, as they all hoped, and had reason to expect he would, the power of creating peers might be exercised by the rightful holder of the prerogative; but if, unfortunately, his majesty should grow worse, and be pronounced not likely to recover for a long time, parliament would have it in its power to take off the restriction, and vest the regent with a power, which though not at present, he was ready to admit might in time become necessary to the carrying on of a powerful government. Thirdly, This power was designed to provide for the fluctuation of wealth and property in the country, that by raising men of great landed interest to the peerage, that branch of the legislature should be always placed upon its true and proper basis. But surely it would not be contended, that it was necessary to provide in a temporary plan for exigencies, which could only arise from

the lapse of considerable periods of time. For all these reasons taken together he should therefore propose, that the regents should be restrained from the exercise of that part of the prerogative of the crown.

The next restriction he should propose was, that the regent should not grant any pension or place for life, or in reversion, other than such place as is, from its nature, to be holden for life, or during good behaviour. This restriction, he said, flowed from the same principle, which supported the former; it would prevent his majesty from being put on a worse footing, should he recover, than he was before his illness; and it could not be said, that the power restrained by this limitation was necessary to a regent.

The next was, to restrain the regent from exercising any power over the personal property of the king. Mr. Pitt on this occasion observed, that he scarcely thought it necessary to pass this resolution, as it was not probable, that his royal highness should interfere with his majesty's personal property in his life-time, but as they were acting upon parliamentary principles, he thought it his duty to submit it to the committee.

The last resolution would be for entrusting the care of the royal person during his majesty's illness, where of course all men would be unanimous in agreeing that the royal person ought to be placed, in the guardianship of the queen; and with this trust his intention was, to propose to put the whole of his majesty's household under her authority, investing her with full powers to dismiss and appoint, as she should think proper. Without being invested with this control, he imagined that the queen could not discharge the important trust committed to her care. These officers were, for the most part, in actual attendance upon his majesty's person, and he did not see how they could be put under the control of the regent, while the care of his majesty, upon whom they were to attend, was trusted to another person.

The lords of the bed chamber, indeed, might not be thought necessary now, when their attendance could not be required; but, on the other hand, a generous and liberal nation would not have it said, that in the moment of the king's illness they had grown so economical, that they would not bear the expence of supporting, till his recovery, those officers who formed part of his majesty's royal state; it would be no pleasant thing to his majesty to be told, should he, on his recovery, call for some one of those lords who used to be about his person, that they had been dismissed, that the nation might save the expence attending their offices.

Lastly, he should propose, that a council should be named to assist the queen with their advice, whenever she should re-

quire it: but who should not have any power of control, but barely that of giving advice, and of satisfying themselves daily of the state of the king's health: and that they, or some others, should be appointed to manage the real and personal estate of the king, with this restriction, not to alienate, or to dispose of any part of it, except by lease.

Mr. Pitt then moved the first of the five resolutions* which he successively brought before the house: they were warmly contested in their progress through the commons as well as they were in passing through the lords: the divisions upon them or the different amendments proposed kept the same proportion throughout: in the lords a very strong †protest was

* The form of the resolution was as follows:

"*Resolved*, That for the purpose of providing for the exercise of the royal "authority, during the continuance of his majesty's illness, in such manner, "and to such extent, as the present circumstances and the urgent concerns of "the nation appear to require, it is expedient that his Royal Highness the "Prince of Wales, being resident within the realm, shall be empowered to ex- "ercise and administer the royal authority, according to the laws and consti- "tution of Great Britain, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, and "under the style and title of regent of the kingdom; and to use, execute, and "perform, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, all authorities, prero- "gatives, acts of government, and administration of the same, which belong to "the king of this realm to use, execute and perform, according to the laws "thereof, subject to such limitations and exceptions as shall be provided.

"*Resolved*, That the power, so to be given to his Royal Highness the Prince "of Wales, shall not extend to the granting of any rank or dignity of the peer- "age of the realm to any person whatever, except to his majesty's royal issue "who shall have obtained the full age of twenty-one years.

"*Resolved*, That the said powers should not extend to the granting in re- "version, of any office whatever, or to the granting of any office, salary, or "pension, for any other term than during his majesty's pleasure, except such "offices as are by law required to be granted for life, or during good beha- "viour.

"*Resolved*, That the said powers should not extend to the granting of any "part of his majesty's real or personal estate, except so far as relates to the "renewal of leases.

"*Resolved*, That the care of his majesty's royal person, during the continu- "ance of his majesty's illness, should be committed to the queen's most ex- "cellent majesty; and that her majesty should have power to remove from, "and to nominate and appoint such persons as she shall think proper, to the "several offices in his majesty's household; and to dispose, order and manage "all other matters and things relating to the care of his majesty's royal per- "son, during the time aforesaid: and that, for the better enabling her ma "jesty to discharge this important trust, it is also expedient that a council "should be appointed, to advise and assist her majesty in the several matters "aforesaid. And with power from time to time, as they may see cause, to "examine upon oath, the physicians and others attending his majesty's per- "son, touching the state of his majesty's health, and all matters relative "thereto."

† The form of the protest will apprize the reader of the general grounds, upon which the friends of the Prince opposed the resolutions, and as it may be matter of historical curiosity to know how the different members voted on this important occasion, a correct list of the majority and minority and of those who did not vote, may be seen in the Appendix, No. LXXIX.

signed by fifty-five lords, at the head of whom were two princes of the blood.

On the 27th of January, 1789, Mr. Pitt after having recapitulated the various steps, that had been already taken, observed,

Dissentient,

1st. Because we firmly adhere to the principles and arguments, on which we disapproved the resolutions formerly passed by this house, especially when the legislative power of the two houses of parliament, unconstitutionally assumed by those resolutions, is meant to be employed to restrict or suspend many important and essential branches of the royal power, at the moment of the declared incapacity of the King.

2d. Because we think the power of conferring the rank and privileges of the peerage, as a reward to merit, is necessary to the royal authority, in order to afford an incitement to vigorous exertions in the service of the state, and is more peculiarly necessary (like all other parts of the prerogative) when the regal power is to be exercised by a substitute, with an authority uncertain and precarious in its duration: but especially on the present occasion, as it is the only branch of the prerogative sufficiently powerful to afford a remedy against such a combination in this house, as other parts of this system of restriction and mutilation, have a natural and obvious tendency to produce.

And because we conceive that this restriction may create an interest in the members of this house, to withhold their assent to restore the ancient powers of the crown in this respect.

3d. Because we conceive, that by the subsisting law of the land, his majesty's property is sufficiently secured from any undue disposition and alienation, and the resolution on that subject can have no other effect, but to convey to the public injurious suspicion, and unjust imputation, on the character and intentions of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

4th. Because we are of opinion, that in order to maintain the proper dignity of the crown, and preserve the due influence and respect, which arise from the great offices of the state, it is necessary that the person exercising the royal authority in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, should be attended by those distinguished servants, whose functions have been established for the purpose of adding weight and splendour to the regal office. We cannot agree to a division of the royal power; to the creation of a fourth estate, unknown to the constitution of this country.

Frederick	Loughborough	Southampton	Bayle
Henry	Scarborough	Shaftesbury	Maynard
Lothian	Foley	Chedworth	Eglington
Devonshire	Ponsonby	Portland	Sandwich
Audley	Douglas	Huntingdon	Kinnaird
Craven	Rawdon	Egremont	Aberdeen
Bedford	St. John	Ponsonby	Chr. Bristol
Carlisle	R. Landaff	Malmesbury	Hay
Portchester	Cholmondeley	Sandes	Rodney
Pelham	Hereford	Montford	Northumberland
Breadalbane	Peterborough	Derby	W. Fitzwilliam
Cassilis	Stawell	Hertford	Buckinghamshire
Abergavenny	Cardiff	Cadogan	

Diss. for the 2d, 3d, and 4th, reasons.

St. Albans.

Diss. for the 1st, 2d, and 4th, reasons only.

Clifton	Suffolk and Berks
Spencer	Hawke

Diss. For all the reasons given in the protest, except those in this latter parts of the 2d reason, viz. beginning at these words, "but especially on, &c." and thence to the end of that second reason.

Selkirk.

that before they proceeded any farther, he thought it would be most respectful to the Prince of Wales, and most expedient in the order of their proceedings, to endeavour to know, whether his royal highness were willing to accept the regency upon the terms of the resolution which they had come to. With this view he moved, That a committee should be appointed to attend his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales with the resolutions, which had been agreed to by the lords and commons, for the purpose of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority during his majesty's illness, by impowering his royal highness to exercise such authority, in the name and on behalf of his majesty, subject to the limitations and restrictions which the circumstances of the case then appeared to require; and, that the committee should express the hope, which the commons entertained, that his royal highness, from his regard to the interests of his majesty and the nation, would be ready to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to be invested in his royal highness as soon as an act of parliament should have been passed for carrying the said resolutions into effect.

This motion gave rise to a very heated altercation, in which the ministers were accused, and they defended themselves against the accusations of having treated the Prince of Wales, throughout the whole course of their proceedings, with the most shameful want of attention and respect. The motion was voted without a division, and ordered to be carried to the lords for their concurrence, together with a similar resolution for a committee to lay before the Queen the resolution of the two houses, relating to the care of his Majesty's person.

The resolutions having been read in the house of lords on the 28th, and a motion made for their lordships concurrence, the Duke of Northumberland briefly observed, that these resolutions, as proposed to be presented to the prince for his assent, appearing on the face of them most materially to curtail the exercise of that royal authority, which they were about to put into his hands would, as they stood, seem to convey a want of confidence in his royal highness; he conceived it, therefore, would be but decent in their lordships to specify the reasons which had guided their lordships in adopting those resolutions.

It having been most generally taken as the ground for those restrictions, that his majesty's illness was but temporary, and would probably be but of short duration, he conceived their lordships could have no objection to connect that with the address. His grace concluded with moving an amendment to that effect, which was negatived without farther debate; and the usual blanks were ordered to be filled up with the words, "lords spiritual and temporal."

On the 30th of January the two committees presented to the Prince of Wales and the Queen the resolutions of the two houses.

To this committee his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was graciously pleased to give the following answer.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"I THANK you for communicating to "me the resolutions agreed upon by the two houses, and I "request you to assure them in my name, that my duty to the "King my father, and my anxious concern for the safety and "interests of the people, which must be endangered, by a long "suspension of the exercise of the royal authority; together "with my respect for the united desires of the two houses, "outweigh, in my mind, every other consideration, and will de- "termine me to undertake the weighty and important trust "proposed to me, in conformity to the resolutions now commu- "nicated to me. I am sensible of the difficulties that must "attend the execution of this trust, in the peculiar circumstan- "ces, in which it is committed to my charge, of which, as I "am acquainted with no former example, my hopes of a "successful administration cannot be founded on any past "experience. But confiding that the limitations on the exercise "of the royal authority deemed necessary for the present, have "been approved by the two houses only as a temporary mea- "sure, founded all the loyal hope, in which I ardently partici- "pate, that his majesty's disorder may not be of long duration, "and trusting, in the mean while, that I shall receive a zealous "and united support in the two houses and in the nation, propor- "tioned to the difficulty attending the discharge of my trust in "this interval; I will entertain the pleasing hope, that my "faithful endeavours to preserve the interests of the king, his "crown, and the people, may be successful."

When the committee presented the resolutions of the lords and commons concerning the custody of his majesty's person, her majesty was graciously pleased to give the following answer.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"My duty and gratitude to the king, and "the sense I must ever entertain of my great obligations to "this country, will certainly engage my most earnest attention "to the anxious and momentous trust intended to be reposed in "me by parliament. It will be a great consolation to me to "receive the aid of a council, of which I shall stand so much in "need, in the discharge of a duty wherein the happiness of my "future life is indeed deeply interested, but which a higher

" object, the happiness of a great, loyal, and affectionate people, " renders still more important."

These resolutions and answers were ordered to be entered on the journals; and the minister, when business was resumed in the house, emphatically entreated gentlemen to pause, and by giving the bill, that would be laid before them a deliberate perusal and cool unbiassed reflection, proceed in future with the caution due to such a momentous transaction. On the 31st of January, 1789, the house of lords being in a committee of the whole house on the state of the nation, Lord Camden began with remarking, that being still merely a convention, they could do no one legislative act till they were enabled so to do by the presence or assent of the sovereign. Deprived of the assistance of his majesty in his natural capacity, they were compelled to resort to his political capacity. There was but one organ by which this assistance could be obtained, and that organ was the great seal. This mode of proceeding, he knew, had already been ridiculed as a phantom. But would those, who were thus free of their ridicule impart any other mode, by which they could be extricated from their present difficulties? They were compelled, therefore, by necessity to resort to the resolutions of the two houses, impowering the proper person to make use of the great seal; an instrument, which his lordship said, was of such great and particular authority, that even if the lord chancellor committed a high misdemeanor by affixing it to letters patent, those instruments must be considered valid; they would have the whole force of law, and could not be disputed by the judges. His lordship, in support of this doctrine, quoted the conduct of lord chancellor Hardwicke, who had suffered the great seal to be affixed to an instrument in the manner he now proposed. Two resolutions he said, would be therefore found necessary to be adopted under their present circumstances to complete the legislature. The first was, to establish a commission to open and hold the parliament in due form: the second would follow up the first at a convenient time, for the purpose of empowering the royal assent to be given in his majesty's name to the bill of regency, by the same, or by another commission. His lordship concluded by moving, " That it is expedient and necessary that letters patent, under " the great seal of Great Britain, be impowered to be issued by " the authority of the two houses of parliament, in the tenor and " form following:" Then followed an exact transcript of the writ usually issued under the sign manual, impowering certain commissioners to open and hold the king's parliaments at Westminster. The commissioners nominated by the present letters patent, were, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, the Dukes

of Cumberland and Gloucester, together with the other persons usually inserted therein.

The motion having been seconded, Lord Portchester arose, and observed, they were now in that precise situation, where they stood two months since, with this difference only, that they were now going to do, by a pretended act of parliament, what should have been done by a declaration of the two houses. But besides this fiction of the great seal, there were other stumbling blocks in their way. By two acts of parliament, the sign manual was made essentially necessary to the validity of any act: these were, the acts of 33d of Henry the Eighth, and the 1st of Philip and Mary; the former declaring, that no act could be valid unless signed by the sovereign, or, in his absence, by the custos regni; and the latter, in deciding on the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, speaking the same language, but in stronger terms.

Lord Camden replied, that a different meaning was to be attached to those acts: they were, he contended, acts merely affirmative; that is, they asserted, that acts so signed, were legal; but they no where contained the assertion, that those acts could not be legalized in any other form. His lordship added a precedent in point, that of the 28th of Elizabeth, which had actually passed under the great seal only, and without the sign manual.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York rose unexpectedly at this moment, and said, he had not been informed, that it was intended to insert his name in the commission, and therefore it had not been in his power to take any steps to prevent it. He could not sanction the proceedings with his name, not wishing to stand upon record, and be handed to posterity, as approving such a measure. His opinion of the whole system adopted was already known: he deemed the measure proposed, as well as every other that had been taken respecting the same subject, to be unconstitutional and illegal. He desired, therefore, to have nothing to do with any part of the business; and requested that his name, and that of his brother, the Prince of Wales, might be left out of the commission.

Lord Camden said, upon a requisition thus communicated, there could be no hesitation. He should not for a moment resist the royal duke's desire, but would readily agree to omit his royal highness's name, and that of his royal highness the Prince of Wales.

The Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester desired their names might also be omitted, which was complied with.

The resolutions, as amended and passed by the lords, on February the 2d, having been communicated to the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt moved for their concurrence therein. This

motion, which was at length carried without a division, gave rise to a warm and long debate. The resolutions were defended, as affording the only legal security to their proceedings, which the case admitted of. On the other side, it was urged, that however they might thus be made formally legal, yet being substantially and historically otherwise, it would have been much more safe, that the whole case should stand upon its own ground, distinguished as an irregular proceeding, justified only by necessity, than to call in counterfeit props to support it. The precedents of the reign of Henry the Sixth, upon which so much stress had been laid, whilst ministers were contending for the right of the two houses to nominate a regent, were now totally abandoned. In conformity to those precedents, the Prince of Wales ought to be empowered, by the proposed commission, to open the parliament in the king's name, and to exercise the legislative authority of the king, in the passing of such acts as might be tendered for the royal assent. Nor could there be now any ground of apprehension that he should reject a bill of limitation, as he had already declared his willingness to accept the regency with the restrictions proposed.

Mr. Burke, in a long and able speech, supported the exclusive right of the Prince of Wales to the regency; and endeavoured to impress the committee with a sense of the fatal consequences that might follow, from admitting any idea of competition in it, to the unity of the empire, the integrity of the constitution, and the hereditary succession to the throne itself.

The day following, February the 3d, the speaker with the commons being at the bar of the House of Lords, Earl Bathurst, who sat as speaker for the lord-chancellor, acquainted them, that the illness of his majesty had made it necessary, that a commission in his name should pass the great seal, which they would hear read. The clerk having read the commission, Lord Bathurst, in a short speech,* opened the causes of their present meeting, and the objects, for which they were to provide.

As soon as the commons had returned to their house, and had gone through the usual forms, Mr. Pitt rose, and after a

* Lord Bathurst's speech was as follows:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"IN pursuance of the authority given to us by his "majesty's commission under the great seal, which has been read, amongst "other things, to declare the causes of your present meeting, we have only to "call your attention to the melancholy circumstances of his majesty's illness; "in consequence of which, it becomes necessary to provide for the care of "his majesty's royal person, and for the administration of the royal authority, "during the continuance of this calamity, in such manner as the exigency of "the case seems to require."

short preface, moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to provide for the care of his majesty's royal person, and for the administration of the regal authority during his majesty's illness. Leave was accordingly given; and the bill was brought in and read for the first time, without a debate, on the day following.

So far in this delicate and important situation of the British empire, had the minister laid down and successfully put in train, a system of provisional regency, during the uncertain duration of his majesty's incapacity, fettered and clogged with restrictions and limitations, which it was frequently urged by the gentlemen in the opposition, were industriously calculated to produce a weak government with a strong opposition. Mr. Burke particularly observed, that it was insulting and injurious to the prince, as his royal highness's conduct had never given the remotest ground for suspecting him of a disposition to abuse power. It was evidently the intention, and probably the expectation of the Britsh minister, that the two houses of the Irish parliament should follow the example of those of Great Britain. This national calamity had too recently followed the declaration of Irish legislative independence, to ground any reasonable expectation in our cabinet, that the parliament of Ireland would be dictated to by a British convention, with all the auxiliary powers and effects intended to be attached to the application of the great seal. Many grounds of anxiety, mistrust, and alarm, with reference to the conduct of the Irish on this trying occasion, agitated the breasts of the British and Irish cabinets. The conscious unpopularity of the Marquis of Buckingham; the real congeniality of principle in the bulk of every independent Irishman with that party, which had given them independence in 1782, and now opposed the galling and humiliating fetters about to be rivetted on the regent; the sympathy of the true Irish character, with the native prowess, generosity, and magnanimity of the prince; the national disgust, contempt, and detestation of any thing mean, sordid, and suspicious; and, above all, the brilliant and important occasion of exercising their national independence in ascertaining and establishing the constitutional boundaries of the royal authority in the person of their favourite prince. All these considerations, deterred the joint cabinet from convening the Irish parliament. From the moment, however, of the melancholy tidings of the king's malady having been announced in Ireland, effects were daily more and more discernable of the rising difficulties, which the government would have to encounter in persuading or forcing the Irish nation to adopt the very extraordinary measures of the British cabinet.

Amongst the first impressions, which the fatal news of his majesty's incapacity to exercise the executive functions of go-

vernment produced upon the greatest part of the Irish nation, was the flattering expectation, of soon seeing an end to the administration, which they considered systematicaily inimical to their welfare. To a change of ministers, they naturally attached a dissolution of parliament. As early, therefore, as in the month of November, 1788, meetings were had throughout the kingdom, and associations formed preparatory to the expected election for a new parliament; and a common test was very generally agreed upon to be tendered, and sworn to by every candidate before he should be entitled to propose himself as a representative of either county or borough: the associated electors bound themselves to each other (generally by oath), to vote for no man who should refuse to subscribe, and swear to their test: the purport of which was: 1stly. To vote for a per centage tax upon the property of all absentees. 2dly. For a settlement or commutation of tithes. 3dly. For the restoration of the sail cloth manufacture. 4thly. For a bill to limit the pension list, (with a N. B. that it then exceeded that of England by 8000*l.*) 5thly. For a reform in the popular representation in parliament. 6thly. For protecting duties.

On the other hand, the most unlimited discretion and imperative instructions, were received at the Castle from England, to procure from Ireland a formal recognition, that whomever Great Britain should appoint as regent, should, *ipso facto*, be received in Ireland with all the restrictions and limitations imposed upon the regent in Great Britain; with peremptory orders to convene the parliament the instant his excellency could answer for a majority for carrying such recognition. Unusual exertions to gain over the members to that point were used by all the means, which the Castle influence, aided at that time by the British treasury, could command. Threats also were circulated, and generally credited, (not rashly, as experience afterwards proved), that, whoever possessing place or pension, should vote against the minister, would forfeit, or be deprived. Yet inasmuch as the Leinster, the Shannon, the Tyrone, and most other independent interests in Ireland, violently opposed Mr. Pitt's plan of regency, the canvass of the Castle proved unsuccessful; and it was previously known, that government would be left in a minority on the question: they therefore deferred the evil day as long as possible, and convened the parliament only on the 5th of February, after the whole plan had been settled, and submitted to by the Prince in England. On an emergency so pressing, the lord lieutenant, who at no time had been popular, now found himself importuned and harassed beyond bearing: the deaths of Sir William Montgomery and Lord Clifden, who held lucrative places under government, brought upon his excellency a host of besiegers, rather than beseechers,

who imposed their extortionary demands with an arrogance in proportion to the value now known to be set on a single vote at the Castle.

A singular measure was about this time carried with a high hand, which Lord Townshend had once carried, though he were forced immediately after to abandon it: this was the division of the revenue and excise board: preparatory to which his excellency appointed one of the Beresford family to be second council to the commissioners. About this time also his excellency found it necessary to restore to the officers in barracks their wonted allowances of firing, which in a former fit of subaltern œconomy he had stopped from them: this pitiful stoppage had been laid on to the great discontent of the army; and being very ungraciously removed, the alleviation was received without gratitude. The very creatures of the Castle decried the parsimonious system pursued within its walls, and contrasted it against the days of Lord Townshend, who had done more by table attachments, than his command of the treasury. Amongst other œconomical arrangements, the Marquis of Buckingham about this time appointed an additional commissioner to the stamp office; which the people considered as a new and unnecessary creature, and in defiance of a statute, which had already appointed a given number of commissioners. The opposition to the Marquis of Buckingham's administration, feeling their own strength, and anxious to lose no part of it, from want of concert and harmony, met on the 3d of February, 1789, at Lord Charlemont's house in Rutland-square, in order to arrange their plan of operation for the meeting of the parliament.

The session was opened by the Marquis of Buckingham on the 5th of February, 1789, who, in his speech* from the throne,

* 13 Journ. Com.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"WITH the deepest concern I find myself obliged, "on opening the present session of parliament, to communicate to you that "his majesty has been for some time afflicted by a severe malady, in consequence of which he has not honoured me with his commands upon the measures to be recommended to his parliament.

"I have directed such documents as I have received respecting his majesty's health, to be laid before you; and I shall also communicate to you as "soon as I shall be enabled, such further information as may assist your "deliberations on that melancholy subject."

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"DEEMING it at all times my indispensable duty "to call your attention to the security of the public credit, and to the maintenance of the civil and military establishments, I have ordered the public accounts to be laid before you.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"IT is unnecessary for me to express to you my "earnest wishes for the welfare and prosperity of Ireland, which, in every

informed the two houses of the severe indisposition with which the king had been inflicted, and apprized them, that he had directed all the documents respecting his majesty's health, which could assist their deliberations, to be laid before them. On the next day, some objections to the address to the lord lieutenant, were made, that brought on a very long and interesting conversation: for as it was the common belief, that the government of the Marquis of Buckingham would now be of very short duration,* opinions were delivered of his excellency with-

" situation, I shall always be anxious to promote. Nor need I declare my " confidence in that affectionate attachment to his majesty, and in that zealous " concern for the united interests of both kingdoms, which have manifested " themselves in all your proceedings."

* The reason of submitting to the reader some of these severe censures upon the Marquis of Buckingham is, that they are the strongest vouchers that can be procured of several important facts, necessary to be known to those, who take an interest in the genuine history of Ireland: and it appears, that such of those facts asserted or referred to on this occasion, as were not contradicted by any of the gentlemen, whose disposition, interest, and duty called upon them to deny them, (if false), must be admitted as true. 9 Parl. Debates. Mr. Brown, of the college, said, that he came into the house extremely well-disposed to dilacerate the public character of the viceroy; but really it was now left in so miserable and mangled a condition, that it would be ungenerous, and unmanly, to attack the small fragment that remained. He could only now talk of what he intended to have done, which had been already anticipated by other assailants. He might have painted the acclamations, with which his administration began; the disgrace, with which it terminated; the declarations against jobbing; the actual jobbing that succeeded; jobbing in the closet; coercion in the offices. A little gnawing, corroding, venemous scrutiny, which eats its way into the hearts of some poor men, who had not strength of body to bear violent accusation, or strength of mind enough to retort on greater offenders; which seemed to look out for crimes and forfeitures, as objects of prey, not of correction. He might have painted an œconomy, which instead of applying itself to great objects, such as the pension list, police establishment, or sinecure offices, fell upon a few miserable military taylors; and by depriving them of their little fire, in reality increased, instead of diminishing, the expence of clothing the army. He might have dwelt on a prorogation of parliament, prejudicial to the public business, and unnecessary, except for the purposes of a faction.

Mr. Grattan wished that the lord lieutenant had not been introduced into the address: he said, the expences of the Marquis of Buckingham were accompanied with the most extraordinary professions of œconomy and censures on the conduct of the administration, that immediately preceded him; he had exclaimed against the pensions of the Duke of Rutland, a man accessible undoubtedly to applications, but the most disinterested man on earth, and one whose noble nature demanded some, but received no indulgence from the rigid principles or professions of the Marquis of Buckingham. He exclaimed against his pensions, and he confirmed them: he resisted motions made to disallow some of them; and he finally agreed to a pension for Mr. Orde, the secretary of the Duke of Portland's administration, whose extravagance was at once the object of his invective, and of his bounty: he resisted his pension, if report says true: and having shewn that it was against his conscience, he submitted. Mr. Orde can never forgive the Marquis the charges made against the man he thought proper to reward: the public will never forgive the pension given to a man the Marquis thought proper to condemn. The pension list, said he, whose increase the Marquis condemned, he had an oppo-

out any reserve or tenderness to his character or situation: and by the turn of the debate, the ministers seemed thoroughly con-

tunity to restrain. A bill limiting the amount of pensions was proposed by an honourable friend of his, and was resisted by the Marquis of Buckingham; his secretary was the person to oppose that bill, and to give a signal to the servants of the crown to resist it. He assigned his reason, viz. because he thought his excellency was entitled to the same confidence which had been reposed in the other viceroys, that is, the confidence, which the Marquis of Buckingham pathetically declared had been grossly abused. The police was another theme of his excellency's indignation; he had exclaimed, or had been said to have exclaimed, against the expence of that establishment. A committee was appointed to examine into its utility; and after a long and minute investigation, discovered that the turbulence and corruption of the police-men, were at least equal to the extravagance of the establishment. With that two-fold knowledge of its prodigality and its licentiousness, he defended the police establishment, and resisted a measure to repeal that bill; defending in parliament every measure, against which he was supposed to have exhausted his time in invective and investigation.

The park establishment was supposed also to have excited his indignation. A motion was made to disallow some of those charges, and resisted by all the strength of his government. He was on these subjects satisfied with a minute examination, a poor and passionate exclamation, and a miserable acquiescence. Some of these expences must have stopped, because they were for furniture and improvement, and were not annual expences; but the principle remained; the country was open to the repetition of the charge: and the Marquis had only to take credit for the ceasing of charges, which must for a time have stopped of themselves, but which, by his influence and resistance in parliament to motions disallowing them, might be renewed; but he not only continued the evils he found; he introduced a number; on the expences of his predecessor he introduced jobs of his own. He increased salaries in the departments, which he proposed, and was said to reform. He made by that increase certain places parliamentary objects, which before had not come into the sphere of what is called parliamentary corruption; and greatly increased the influence of the crown at the time he affected to reduce the expences of the nation. The disposition he made of some of those offices, was in favour of very worthy men. He would not say that one of them was not yet underplaced, but he did say, that his office ought not to have been raised to his merits, for his merits were his own, and of course during life; but the increase was perpetual; and the increase of salary would never want a pretence if this argument were admitted. You will easily have that species of œconomy, which does at least as much mischief as good, checks peculation, and promotes undue influence. He did not confine himself to the increase of salaries; he projected, if fame says true, a number of new offices to be created for the accommodation of friends, at the public expence, by dividing and splitting offices or boards, under that worst species of profusion, the mask of œconomy, laying the foundation of new salaries hereafter, and increasing undue influence for the present. But there was one of his projects he had actually carried into execution, the revival of an obsolete office, the second counsel to the commissioners: that office was the remnant of a wretched job, attempted eighteen years ago, and put down because impracticable and improper. The division of the boards of custom and excise, for extending the undue influence of the crown; that measure was put down; but the second counsel, a wretched remnant, was suffered for a time; and when the then counsel, Mr. Maunsel, died, his place also was discontinued. It thus remained on the establishment an obsolete unoccupied office, until it had been revived by the Marquis of Buckingham, no doubt, it will be said, for the purpose of saving. The office was to be a great saving to the public; he was to feed like the first counsel in the revenue. You are to have two counsel instead of one, to give opinions, and to receive fees in all revenue proceedings: but this was to be a great

scious of commanding no longer that docile majority, which they had so long kept steady in their ranks, and by a look or

saving. He was not at present to be consulted in the framing of the money bills; but this was a private transaction; and this was a saving, on the duration of which little dependance was to be had. He had stated particular instances of the expensive genius of the Marquis of Buckingham in the management of the public money: and in the course of one year, the year, in which even prodigal lord-lieutenants impose on themselves a reserve. But these particular instances were principles, bad principles: the attempt to increase the number of offices, was an attempt to increase corruption: the man guilty of that attempt was not pure. The revival of an obsolete useless office for a friend, was a bad principle; and if accompanied with extraordinary profession of public parsimony, was a detestable principle: hyprocrisy, added to extravagance! His great objection to the Marquis of Buckingham, was not merely that he had been a jobber, but a jobber in a mask! his objection was not merely, that his administration had been expensive, but that his expences were accompanied with hyprocrisy: it was the affectation of œconomy, attended with a great deal of good, comfortable, substantial jobbing for himself and his friends. That led to another measure of the Marquis of Buckingham, which was the least ceremonious, and the most sordid and scandalous act of self-interest, attended with the sacrifice of all public decorum; he meant the disposal of the reversion of the place of the chief remembrancer to his brother, one of the best, if not the very best office in the kingdom, given in reversion to an absentee, with a great patronage and a compensation annexed. That most sordid and shameless act was committed exactly about the time when that kingdom was charged with great pensions for the bringing home, as it was termed, absentee employments. That bringing home absentee employments was a monstrous job; the kingdom paid the value of the employment, and perhaps more; she paid the value of the tax also. The pensioner so paid was then suffered to sell both to a resident, who was free from the tax: he was then permitted to substitute new and young lives in the place of his own, and then permitted to make a new account against the country, and to receive a further compensation, which he was suffered in the same manner to dispose of. In excuse for that sort of traffic they were told, that they were not buying places, but principles: the principle of confining the great employments of that country to residents; a principle invaluable, they were told, to her pride and her interest. While they were thus buying back principles, and while the Marquis of Buckingham was protesting a disinterested regard for the prosperity of Ireland, in opposition to the principles and the professions, he disposed of the best reversion in Ireland to his own family; the only family in the world that could not, with decency, receive it, as he was the man in the world, that could not dispose of it to them. After that, Lord Buckingham was not to be called disinterested; call him any thing else; give him any appellation you please of ability or activity, but do not call him a public reformer; do not ridicule him by calling him a disinterested man.

Gentlemen had spoken about public inconstancy, and had dwelled on the rapid turn of the public mind, in despising now what a year ago it seemed to idolize; but let those gentlemen reflect a little. When a man in a high situation professed to be a reformer; when he exclaimed against the profusion and memory of his predecessor; when he taught the people to deceive themselves; enfeoffed himself in popularity; shook hands with the populace; when such a man agreed to no one constitutional or œconomic bill; on the contrary, resisted motions for disallowing extravagance, and bills tending to secure the country against future extravagance, and set up his own temporary regulations, his own contingent savings, and casual fractions of œconomy, in the place of laws; such a man must speedily forfeit the opinion of the public; but when the same man shall, to the crime of omission, add that of commission, shall increase the expences, of which he complained, on the principle which

nod had marshalled to every command, that issued from their bench.

be affected to reprobate; multiply undue influence, and create or revive offices merely for private gratification: and finally, shall attach the best office of the kingdom to his family, whilst he affects to attach the love of the public to his person: such a man could not be surprised at the loss of popularity; an event the natural consequence, not of public inconstancy, but of his own inconsistency; of his great professions and his contingent savings overbalanced by his jobbing; a teazing and minute industry ending in one great principle of œconomy, and tarnished by attempts to increase the influence of corruption, and by a sordid and indecorous sense of private interest.

Sir John (now Lord) Blaquiere, having had particular reason to be displeased at the marquis's scrutinizing spirit of œconomy, made a most angry and personal invective against the lord lieutenant. Mr. Curran spoke largely upon the question; but referred not to facts: he strongly opposed the address, as an address of delay, and improper in its time, nature and circumstances. He observed, that he found the appeal to the compassion of the public stronger than to their justice. He felt the reverses of human fate. He remembered this very supplicant for a compliment, to which he pretended only because it was no compliment, drawn into that city by the people harnessed to his chariot, through streets blazing with illuminations; and after more than a year's labour at computation, he had hazarded all on a paragraph, stating no one act of private or of public good, supported by no man that said he loved him, attested by no act, that said he ought to be beloved, defended not by assertion of his merit, but an extenuation of his delinquency. So much having been said of the Marquis of Buckingham's character and conduct as viceroy of Ireland in face of his secretary and all the supporters of his administration, historical justice demands, that I should lay before the reader all that was said in answer to it. Mr. M. Mason said Mr. Grattan had argued from two facts, which he supposed, but of which there was no proof; the pension to Mr. Orde and the reversion to Mr. Grenville: but of a third, viz. the appointment of a second counsel to the revenue, he could say, it was really œconomical, as revenue causes had so multiplied, that the expence of employing counsel not connected with the revenue was become enormous. Mr. Fitzgibbon maintained this appointment not only as an act of œconomy, but of absolute necessity; as one might be attending a trial at Derry, whilst the other was at Cork. Mr. Boyd spoke to the same effect. Mr. Corry admitted a large encrease of salary in his appointment (surveyor of the ordnance), but could at the same time shew some savings to the public in his department, which would fully justify whatever alteration had been made: the intention of the alteration was to place the management in the hands of men, who might be supposed above the little arts of plunder and peculation, which had before disgraced the department much to the public loss. He had ever opposed the extension of pensions, and opposition to that practice was one of the conditions, on which he had accepted of office: but he could not see, that the Marquis of Buckingham deserved censure because a bill to limit pensions had been opposed in his administration. The majority of the house stood pledged to oppose the bill: but the marquis had not added a pension to the list. The solicitor general assured the house, that the Marquis of Buckingham had always spoken honourably of his predecessor. The chancellor of the Exchequer reminded the house, that all the objections which had been made were either drawn from unproved assertions of past misconduct, or suggestions and conjectures of future impropriety: but he said from experience, that whenever the books should come under the inspection of the house, there would be ample proof of his excellency's attention to œconomy. Mr. Coote said, the soldiers had not been deprived of their allowance of fuel: some abuses in the distribution of that article indeed had been corrected; and his excellency spoke always most handsomely of the Duke of Rutland. Mr. Cuffe (now Lord Tyrawley) confirmed what had been said of the fuel. Mr.

If the nature of the Irish character be fairly considered, that they are a people of quick impulse, irascible, generous, unsuspecting, daring and intrepid, forming the wisest resolutions, but impatient of the delays necessary to bring them to maturity, and crown their perseverance with success: if it be considered, that the immediate prospect then before the eyes of the nation was a change of government, in every principle and feature differing from that of the Marquis of Buckingham, composed of those men, who had given their country freedom and a constitution in 1782, it will be no wonder, that all independent men in parliament should have risen unanimously against a government so little popular; and even, that many, who had been fettered to the pernicious system should have indignantly burst their trammels, and once more stood forward in support of Irish freedom. Pointed contrasts were drawn between the conduct of the two independent kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. The parliament of England had been convened, and the state of the nation boldly investigated in it. Ministers there dared not irritate the people; in Ireland, under the same exigency, they suffered every outrage, and that the Irish might not disagree from the British senate, it was not suffered to assemble. God had incapacitated their king, and the viceroy had incapacitated the other two estates; by virtue of what authority then did he retain his lieutenancy? It was, they said, a paradox in government, that the representative should continue when the power deputing had ceased. It was a new phœnomenon, that the shadow remained when the substance was no more. They insisted, that lieutenants of Ireland should regulate their conduct by the constitution of Ireland; and know no other standard; but they were in fact motionless puppets, until the string which actuated them was pulled from across the channel.

Secretary Hamilton said that he held his house in the Park as an appendage of his office: it was an establishment as old as James I. and every thing there had been conducted with frugality: the accommodation he possessed had been provided by parliament, and whilst his countrymen approved of it, he should never be ashamed of his possession.

Mr. Marcus Beresford agreed with Mr. Curran, that the administration of the Marquis of Buckingham exhibited a strong proof of the instability of human grandeur. But little more than a twelvemonth ago, he was introduced with the plaudits of the nation and of the senate. Those twelve months he had with the most sedulous attention employed himself for the benefit of the country, œconomizing her expences, and improving her finances. During these twelve months he had not done a single act to merit reprehension, yet such was the futile disposition of some and the party spirit of others, that an effort was made to withhold a trifling compliment, while little-minded-men could scarcely refrain from insulting a chief governor, by whose favour they hoped no longer to benefit.

After an amended and qualified address had been voted in the commons, Mr. Fitzherbert (now Lord St. Helen's) moved, that the house should on Monday (the 16th) resolve itself into a committee of the whole house to take into consideration the state of the nation.* As the evident design of this delay was to prevent the Irish parliament from coming to any resolution relative to a regency, before the determination of the British parliament could be proposed to them for their concurrence, it was strongly opposed, as derogatory to the independence of that kingdom, and to the dignity and credit of its parliament. Mr. Grattan, therefore, proposed that the house should meet on the next Wednesday; and his amendment after some debate, was carried by a majority of 128 to 74.

A majority of 54 against the minister was an unexpected thunder clap on the Treasury Bench: insomuch, that when the chancellor of the Exchequer moved for proceeding immediately upon the business of supply preparatory to the passing of the money bills, and was opposed by Mr. Grattan, they would not risk a division; though by the warmth, with which the attorney general argued for the propriety of the measure, it was an object, which government had much at heart.

The 11th of February, 1789, was the great day of contest upon the regency of Ireland: Mr. Grattan and Mr. Fitzgibbon took the lead on the opposite sides: the house being in committee on the state of the nation, after some preliminary conversation, in which the plan of the castle was candidly avowed by Mr. Fitzherbert, Mr. Grattan said, that the right honourable gentleman had stated the plan of the castle to be limitation and a bill. He proposed to name for the regency of that realm, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; in that they perfectly agreed and only followed the most decided wishes of the people of Ireland; they were clear, and had been so from the first, that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales ought, and must be the regent; but they were also clear, that he should be invested with the full regal power; plenitude of royal power. The limitations, which a certain member proposed to impose, were suggested with a view to preserve a servile imitation of the proceedings of another country, not in the choice of a regent, which was a common concern, but in the particular provisions and limitations, which were not a common concern, and which ought to be, and must be governed by the particular circumstances of the different countries. The bill, or instrument which

* 13 Journ. Com. p. 11. There might have been more truth than delicacy in what Mr. Browne (of the College) observed in this debate. 9 *Parl. Deb. p.* 30. "It was the interest of Lord Buckingham to defer the business of "appointing a controlling power over him. As long as the money bills went "on in their usual course, there was nothing to urge him to expedition to that "appointment; and he should expect every kind of trick and artifice on the "part of government, in order to obtain procrastination."

he called a bill, was suggested on an opinion, that an Irish act of parliament might pass without a king in a situation to give the royal assent, and without a regent appointed by the Irish Houses of parliament to supply his place. The idea of limitation, he conceived to be an attack on the necessary power of government; the idea of his bill was an attack on the King of Ireland. They had heard the castle dissenting from their suggestion. It remained for them to take the business out of their hands, and confide the custody of the great and important matter to men more constitutional and respectable. The lords and commons of Ireland, and not the castle, should take the leading part in this great duty. The country gentlemen, who procured the constitution, should nominate the regent. He should submit to them the proceedings they intended in the discharge of that great and necessary duty.

They proposed to begin by a resolution declaring the incapacity of the king, for the present, to discharge the personal functions of the regal power. It was a melancholy truth, but a truth of which no man entertained a doubt; the recovery of the sovereign, however the object of every man's wishes, was that uncertain event, on which no man would presume to despair or to decide. Having then by the first resolution ascertained the deficiency in the personal exercise of the regal power, the next step would be the supply of that deficiency: that melancholy duty fell on the two houses of the Irish parliament; whether they were to be considered as the only surviving estates capable of doing the act, or as the highest description of his majesty's people of Ireland. The method whereby he proposed these great assemblies should supply this deficiency, was address. There were two ways of proceeding to these august bodies perfectly familiar; one by way of legislation; the other by way of address. When they proceeded by way of legislation, it was on the supposition of a third in a capacity to act; but address was a mode exclusively their own, and complete without the interference of a third estate; it was that known parliamentary method, by which the two houses exercised those powers to which they were jointly competent; therefore, he submitted to them, that the mode by address, was the most proper for supplying the existing deficiency; and though the address should on this occasion have all the force and operation of law, yet still that force and operation arose from the necessity of the case, and were confined to it. They would not profess to legislate in the ordinary forms, as if legislation were their ordinary province; they proposed to make an efficient third estate in order to legislate, not to legislate in order to create the third estate, the deficiency being the want of an efficient third estate. The creation of such an estate was the only act that deficiency made

indispensable; so limiting their act they would part with their present extraordinary power the moment they should have exercised it, and the very nature of their act would discharge and determine their extraordinary authority.

But as the addresses of parliament, though competent on the event of such a deficiency to create an efficient third estate, yet would not and could not with propriety annex to their act the forms of law and the stamps of legislation, it was thought advisable, after the acceptance of the regency, that there should be an act passed reciting the deficiency in the personal exercise of the regal power, and of his royal highness's acceptance of the regency of the realm, at the instance and desire of the two houses of the Irish parliament, and further, to declare and enact, that he was and should be regent thereof during the continuation of his majesty's indisposition. The terms of the act would describe the powers of the regent; and the power intended was, the personal exercise of the full regal authority; and the reason why plenitude of regal power was intended by the address, and afterwards by the bill, was to be found in the nature of the prerogative, which was given, not for the sake of the king, but of the people, for whose use kings and regents, and prerogatives were conceived. They knew of no political reason, why the prerogatives in question should be destroyed, nor any personal reason why they should be suspended.

He had stated the method to be pursued, indeed the method almost stated itself; undoubtedly it was not the method pursued by Great Britain; but the diversity arose from obvious causes. The declaration of right was omitted in their proceedings; why? Because they knew of no claim advanced against the privileges of the people. A declaration of right in such a case, would be a declaration without a meaning; it would bespeak an attack, which had not been made, and would be a defence against no invasion: it would be a false alarm and hold out false signals of public danger, in times of perfect safety, confounding and perplexing the public mind; so that in the moment of real attack, the people would not be forthcoming. He objected to a declaration of right in Ireland, therefore, as bad husbandry of popular artillery. He objected to it also, as attempting to convey to posterity historic evidence against the constitutional principles of the second person in his majesty's dominions, without any ground or pretence whatsoever. For these two reasons he had not adopted the declaration of right, conceiving it would in that country be no more than a protestation against a claim, which had not been made, and therefore would be a false alarm and a false suggestion.

Their method differed also from that pursued by Great Britain, inasmuch as they gave the full exercise of the regal power;

whereas the parliament of Great Britain had imposed limitations; but he had assigned a general principle why limitations were omitted, and would add, that whatever reasons might have been supposed to exist in England for those limitations, they were not so much as pretended in Ireland. He had therefore thought it unnecessary and improper to enfeeble a government, which they professed to restore, as he thought it also improper to defend a constitution, which they acknowledged to be uninvaded. As the substance of their proceedings was different, the mode was different also, and it was impossible, even though they wished it, that the mode should be the same. The mode proposed by the Castle differed from Great Britain more, than that which he had submitted; that which he had submitted, departed from the model of England, but did not commit them with England, nor cast the least reflection on the wisdom of her measures. They concurred in the great object, the regent: in the proceedings necessary to form the regency, the deliberation of the two countries were governed by their respective circumstances. In the proceedings, which he had submitted, it was sufficient to affirm, that all the great objects, which could attract the care of a nation, were punctiliously attended to; first, as to their constitution in every stage of the business, they exercised the power of a free and an independent house of parliament; the incapacity of the king to the personal exercise of the regal power, they discussed and decided: the deficiency thereby declared, they supplied, and having supplied that deficiency, they proceeded to legislate, and give their own work the clothing and stamp of law. As to their government, they restored it, and restored it to all its energies, that the concern of the people for the indisposition of the king, might not be aggravated by a tottering and impotent administration of public affairs. They also manifested attachment to the royal family, not only by renewing the government in the person of the heir apparent, but by renewing it in a manner honourable both to Prince and people.

In that great measure he had not relied on his own judgment. He had had recourse to history, he had looked for the highest land mark in the British annals, and had found it in the period of the Revolution.

The address which would be moved, in part of its phraseology, was copied from an address voted by the convention parliament to the Prince of Orange, desiring him to take upon himself the conduct of public affairs. The idea of proceeding by address was taken also from those addresses, which declared the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen of Ireland; and the idea of an act was also taken from the same period; in the second session of the convention parliament an act passed,

containing the substance of the addresses last mentioned, and giving the whole the clothing and form of the law.

There were points, in which the Revolution bore a near resemblance to the existing period, as there were other points, in which it was not only different but opposite. The throne being full, and the political capacity of the king's existing, the power of the two houses could not be applied to that part of the monarchical condition; but the personal capacity of the king, or rather the personal exercise of the royal power being deficient, and the laws of the land not having, in the ordinary course of law, made provision for that deficiency, and one of the estates being incapable, it remained with the other two to administer the remedy by their own authority: the principle of their interference was established by the Revolution, the operation of that principle limited by the contingency, the power of the houses of parliament in the one case extended to remedy a defect in the personal and political capacities of the monarch; in this case it extended only to remedy a defect in the personal capacity, but in both cases it was the power of the houses of parliament called upon to interfere by their own authority when the ordinary course of law had made no provision, and where the three estates could not supply the defect. He had, therefore, had recourse to the precedent of the Revolution in the mode of supplying the existing deficiency.

Gentlemen had called that an important day; he would add to the expression: he would call it a proud day for Ireland; she had deserved it, she had struggled hard for her independency, and she was then disposed to make a most judicious use of it: it was not a cold, deliberate act, supplying a deficiency in the regal function; it was not a judicious, but languid nomination of a substitute for the exercise of monarchical power; that country annexed a passion to her proceeding, and kindled in love and affection to the house of Brunswick, and the effect of her exertions, and the great labour of years, in restoring her constitutional rights and privileges, she now gathered in a harvest, which she shared with her princes.

He should therefore move the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the "personal exercise of the royal authority, is, by his majesty's "indisposition, for the present interrupted."

The question having been put on the resolution, it passed without a division.

Mr. Conolly then rose and said, that on that melancholy occasion, which every gentleman in and out of office lamented, and none more sincerely than he did, it had fallen to the lot of the two houses to put into the kingly office a substitute for their beloved sovereign; and there seemed to be but one mind, which

was to make that substitute the illustrious person who had, of all others, the greatest interest in preserving the prerogative of the crown, and the constitution of the realm.

He entirely coincided in the plan Mr. Grattan had proposed, because he was convinced it was consonant to the constitution, and such as his royal highness, to whom he should then move an address, must necessarily approve. He hoped they would be unanimous on the occasion. He therefore moved the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an "humble address be presented to his royal highness to take "upon himself the government of this realm, during the con- "tinuation of his majesty's present indisposition, and no longer, "and under the style and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the "name of his majesty to exercise and administer, according to "the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers, "jurisdiction, and prerogatives to the crown and government "thereof belonging."

The motion was seconded by Mr. George Ponsonby.

Several of the former friends of government supported the address, when the Attorney General desired the clerk to read the act of the 4th of William and Mary, chap. 1. sect. 1. which having been done, he requested gentlemen to recollect they were not debating, whether they were to lay restrictions on the Prince of Wales, or not; but to consider, whether the address moved for were an instrument sufficient to convey to his royal highness the regal authority, and whether it were such an address as they ought to present.

Before he proceeded he would observe, that he was perfectly convinced what he should say would have no manner of effect on gentlemen, who formed the government on the other side of the house; for let them propose whatever address they might take into their heads, it would certainly be voted: and therefore he would not have risen to trouble the committee at all, if he had not been convinced, that the measures proposed were equally contrary to the common statute law of the realm, and criminal in the extreme.

He maintained, that the crown of Ireland and the crown of England were inseparably and indissolubly united; and that the Irish parliament was perfectly and totally independent of the British parliament.

The first position was their security; the second was their freedom; and when gentlemen talked any other language than that, they either tended to the separation of the crowns, or to the subjugation of their parliament; they invaded either their security or their liberty; in fact, the only security of their liberty was their connection with Great Britain, and gentlemen

who risked breaking the connection, must make up their minds to an union. God forbid he should ever see that day; but if ever the day on which a separation should be attempted, should come, he should not hesitate to embrace an union rather than a separation.

Under the Duke of Portland's government the grievances of Ireland were stated to be

The alarming usurpation of the British parliament.

A perpetual mutiny bill.

And the powers assumed by the privy council.

These grievances were redressed, and in redressing them they passed a law repealing part of Poynings'. By their new law they enacted, that all bills, which should pass the two houses in Ireland, should be certified into England, and returned under the great seal of England, without any addition, diminution, or alteration whatsoever, should pass into law, and no other. By this they made the great seal of England essentially and indispensably necessary on the passing of laws in Ireland: they could pass no act without first certifying it into England, and having it returned under the great seal in that kingdom insomuch that were the King of England and Ireland to come in person, and to reside in Ireland, he could not pass a bill without its being first certified to his regent in England, who must return it under the seal of that kingdom before his majesty could even in person assent to it. That if the house should by force of an address, upon the instant, and without any communication with England, invest a regent with powers undefined, he said, that when the moment of reflection came, it would startle the boldest adventurers in England; and then he reminded gentlemen of the language they held with England in the day they asserted their freedom: "Perpetual connection; common fortune; we will "rise or fall with England; we will share her liberty, and we "will share her fate." They then applauded the manly policy of England, but would not now condescend to receive information from her. Did gentlemen recollect the arguments used in England to justify the fourth proposition of the commercial treaty? Ireland, said they, having a parliament of her own, may think fit to carry on a commerce, and regulate her trade by laws different from, perhaps contradictory to, the laws of Great Britain. How well founded that observation was, they would prove, if they seized the first opportunity that offered of differing from Great Britain in a great imperial question; certainly if it be the scheme to differ in all imperial questions, and if that be abetted by men of great authority, they meant to drive them to an union, and the method they took was certainly more effectual to sweep away opposition, than if all the sluices of corruption were opened together, and deluged the country's representa-

tives; for it was certain nothing less than the alternative of separation that could ever force an union.

He would not yield to any man in personal respect and attachment to the Prince of Wales. No man could think of him more highly than he did; but he would manifest his respect and attachment to the Prince of Wales, by endeavouring to preserve entire the imperial crown, which in the course of nature would descend to him, and which they then were, by an act of criminal rashness, about to deprive of its best appendage. He would not insult the Prince of Wales by an address, which could not confer on him the shadow of royal power; he wished to invest him with substantial royal powers, which he might execute consistently with the laws, by which he was to govern. Would any man say, that they were now in full parliament? Was not his majesty, George the Third, to whom they had all sworn allegiance, living? and he hoped God in his mercy would soon restore him. Was not his lord lieutenant there in full authority? What had they then to do? As soon as it should be certified, that the Prince of Wales was invested with the authority of regent in England, but to pass an act to invest him with that authority in Ireland. Send that act to the prince regent in England; he would then have the command of the great seal of England, and return the act authenticated according to law.

His lord lieutenant might then, by his command, give the royal assent to it; and who would say that it would not be a law of the land? But suppose the Prince did not accept the regency in England; suppose their address should reach him before he was actually invested with royal powers in England, in what situation would you put him? They would call on him, in defiance of two acts of parliament, which made the crowns inseparable, to dethrone the king his father. They would call upon him to do an act now, at which hereafter his nature would revolt. They were false friends of the Prince of Wales, who should advise him to receive an address, that might give him cause to curse the hand, which presented it. He knew, that liberties indecent in the extreme had been taken with the name of that august personage. He knew it had been whispered, that every man, who should vote against the address, would be considered as voting against him, and treating him with disrespect; but if any man had had the guilt and folly to poison the mind with such an insinuation, he trusted to his good sense to distinguish his friends; he would trust to his good sense to determine, whether they were his friends, who wished to guard the imperial rights of the British crown, or they who would stake them upon the momentary and impotent triumph of an

English party. What matter to the prince, whether he received royal authority by bill or by address? Was there a man who would persume to libel him, and to assert, that the success of that measure would be a triumph to him?

There was a feature in the proceeding which, independent of every other objection to it, did in his mind make it highly reprehensible, and that was, that he considered it as a formal appeal from the parliament of England to that of Ireland. Respecting the parties, who made that appeal he should say nothing: but although there might be much dignity on their part in receiving the appeal, he could not see any strong symptoms of wisdom in it; because by so doing he should conceive we must inevitably sow the seeds of jealousy and disunion between the parliaments of the two countries; and though he did not by any means desire of the parliament of that country implicitly to follow the parliament of England, he should suppose it rather a wise maxim for Ireland always to concur with the parliament of Great Britain, unless for very strong reasons indeed they were obliged to differ from it. If it were to be a point of Irish dignity to differ with the parliament of England to show their independence, he very much feared that sober men in that country, who had estates to lose, would soon become sick of independence. The fact was, that constituted as it was, the government of that country, never could go on, unless they followed Great Britain implicitly in all regulations of imperial policy. The independence of their parliament was their freedom; their dependence on the crown of England was their security for that freedom; and gentlemen, who professed themselves, that night, advocates for the independence of the Irish crown, were advocates for its separation from England.

They should agree with England in three points:....one king, one law, one religion. They should keep these great objects steadily in view, and act like wise men, if they made the Prince of Wales their regent, and granted him the plenitude of power, in God's name let it be done by bill; otherwise he saw such danger, that he deprecated the measure proposed. He called upon the country gentlemen of Ireland; that that was not a time to think of every twopenny grievance, every paltry disappointment sustained at the castle of Dublin; if any man had been aggrieved by the viceroy, and chose to compose a philippic on the occasion, let him give it on the debate of a turnpike bill, where it would not be so disgraceful to the man who uttered it, and to those who would not listen to him, as it would be on the present occasion. He abominated the idea of restraining the prince regent in the power of making peers in that country, or in limiting him in the power of making grants on the narrow principles of suspicion and distrust. That was a question,

which rested upon very different ground in that country from that on which it had been taken up in England; and if gentlemen could reconcile to themselves a precedent for adopting in that country, a different form of executive government from that established in England, he had not the smallest apprehension that the powers, which might be committed to the Prince of Wales by the parliament of Ireland, would be abused by him.

The secretary of state said he lamented, that he was under the necessity of differing from those gentlemen, with whom he commonly acted, as to the mode suggested by them, of appointing a regent: he thought it should be done by an address, and that it could not be done by an act of parliament, though he agreed that an act of parliament might be proper to give the forms of law to the appointment of the two houses of parliament; but this was proper only because judges looked into the statute book, and not into the journals of parliament, for their direction in expounding the law; but he affirmed, that the lords and commons of Ireland, whether assembled in parliament or in convention, were fully competent to supply every deficiency in the supreme executive, from whatever cause such deficiency might arise.

A very long and violent debate ensued, the whole weight of which on one side fell upon the Attorney-General, who displayed extraordinary firmness and talent in opposing so powerful and confident a majority. Just before the close of the debate, Mr. Grattan endeavoured to recal the minds of gentlemen to the then posture of it. They had gained ground in the argument; the limitations were not defended: they were not, it was true, given up; they were alleged to be intended, and acknowledged to be indefensible; proposed, scouted, and adhered to; and in the contempt, into which that part of the plan of the castle had fallen, the vile insinuations of intended prodigality, and perverted bounty, (insinuations maliciously whispered against a great personage) had also fallen, and remained in the contempt they deserved. So far the plan stood condemned in the opinion of its principal supporters. Much personal satire and invective passed from both sides: and although it may be truly asserted, that no majority in the Irish House of Commons had ever cost so little to the country, it can not be dissembled that most, who had quitted their ranks on this occasion to vote for the address, speculated more confidently upon the future prospects under a new administration, than upon the chances of retaining the terms of their former engagements. About three o'clock the question having been put upon the resolution, it was carried without a division. During this debate some riots happened in the purlieus of the house, said to have been committed by gentlemen

of the College on some of the police men: several persons with arms having assailed the door-keepers, constables, &c. However the gentlemen of the College were acquitted of the charge by some of the members, who quitted the debate to enquire into the cause of the rioting.

On the 16th of the month the House of Lords met according to their last adjournment, when a motion was made for a further adjournment, (it being now the primary object of government to extend the Chapter of Accidents by gaining time) but was rejected. The Earl of Charlemont then moved for the address to the prince in the words of that, which had been voted in the commons, which with some amendment was carried by a majority of 19*. The address as amended, was as follows:

To His Royal Highness GEORGE Prince of WALES.
The humble Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS.

"WE, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal "subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons "of Ireland in parliament assembled, beg leave to approach your "royal highness with hearts full of the most loyal and affectionate attachment to the person and government of your royal father, to express the deepest and most grateful sense of the "numerous blessings which we have enjoyed under that illustrious "house, whose accession to the throne of these realms has established civil and constitutional liberty, upon a basis which "we trust will never be shaken; and at the same time to condole with your royal highness upon the grievous malady with "which it has pleased Heaven to afflict the best of sovereigns.

"We have, however, the consolation of reflecting, that this "severe calamity hath not been visited upon us until the "virtues of your royal highness have been so matured, as to enable your royal highness to discharge the duties of an important trust, for the performance whereof, the eyes of all his "majesty's subjects of both kingdoms are directed to your royal "highness.

"We therefore beg leave humbly to request, that your royal "highness will be pleased to take upon you the government of "this realm during the continuation of his majesty's present indisposition, and no longer; and under the style and title of "Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name and on behalf his ma-

* 6 Lords Jour. p. 233. The contents, with the proxies, being 45, and the non-contents 26, a protest was entered by most of the minority, which see in Appendix, No. LXXX. Protests are often the most authentic documents of the grounds upon which particular measures are supported or opposed.

"jesty, to exercise and administer according to the laws and "constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers, jurisdiction, "and prerogatives to the crown and government thereof be- "longing."

On the next day (17th) a message was received by the commons from the lords, that they had concurred with the commons in their address with the amendment, which the attorney-general endeavoured to convert to the purpose of delay, by proposing a conference upon it with the lords, and even by objecting to some grammatical inaccuracies in the wording of the amendment. It was however insisted upon by Mr. Ponsonby and others, that as the lords had agreed to the address upon the same principles as the commons, no delay should be permitted; the question therefore having been put upon the lords amendment, it was carried unanimously. On the 19th both houses waited upon the lord lieutenant with their address, and requested him to transmit it to his royal highness. With this request his excellency refused to comply; returning for answer, that under the impressions he felt of his official duty, and of the oath he had taken, he did not consider himself warranted to lay before the prince an address, purporting to invest his royal highness with powers to take upon him the government of that realm, before he should be enabled by law so to do; and therefore was obliged to decline transmitting their address to Great Britain.

Upon the return of the commons to their own house, and the answer of the lord lieutenant being reported to them, Mr. Grattan observed, that in a case so extremely new, it would be highly improper to proceed with hurry or precipitation; the house was called upon to act with dignity, firmness, and decision; and therefore, that due time might be had for deliberation, he would move the question of adjournment; which was put and carried without opposition.

On the day following Mr. Fitzherbert moved, that the lord lieutenant's answer should be entered on the journals.

Mr. Grattan said, he was satisfied to let the answer be entered on the journals, in order to make way for some resolutions, which he intended to propose, as necessary to carry the intention of the two houses into effect, and as a vindication of their honour and constitutional conduct.

The answer being entered on the journals, Mr. Grattan moved, "that his excellency the lord lieutenant having thought "proper to decline to transmit to his Royal Highness George "Prince of Wales, the address of both houses of parliament, a "competent number of members be appointed by this house, "to present the said address to his royal highness."

*This motion brought on a very warm debate, in which the attorney-general travelled again over the whole of his ground, but with no more effect than before: Mr. Grattan's motion was carried by a majority of 130 against 74.

Then Mr. Grattan moved, "that Mr. Conolly should attend "the lords with the said resolution, and acquaint them, that the "commons requested them to appoint members of their own "body to join with the members of the commons in presenting "the said address."

This also passed without any division; and Mr. Conolly went up to the lords accordingly.

The message received in reply was, that the lords had concurred in the resolution of the commons, and had appointed his Grace the Duke of Leinster and the Earl of Charlemont to join with such members as the commons should appoint to present the address of both houses to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Mr. Grattan then moved, "that the Right Honourable Tho-"mas Conolly, the Right Honourable J. O'Neil, the Right "Honourable W. B. Ponsonby, and J. Stewart, Esq. should "be appointed commissioners on the part of the commons for "the purpose of presenting the address to his Royal Highness "the Prince of Wales," and they were appointed unanimously.

These motions having passed, Mr. Grattan then moved, "that the two houses of parliament had discharged an indis-"pensable duty, in providing for the third estate of the Irish "constitution (rendered incomplete through the king's incapa-"city) by appointing the Prince of Wales regent of Ireland.

Mr. Grattan afterwards moved, "that it be resolved, that "his excellency the lord lieutenant's answer to both houses of "parliament, requesting him to transmit their address to his "Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, is ill advised, contains "an unwarrantable and unconstitutional censure on the pro-"ceedings of both houses of parliament, and attempts to ques-"tion the undoubted rights and privileges of the lords spiritual "and temporal and commons of Ireland." To which Sir Frederick Flood, though he had voted for the address, objected, believing that whilst his excellency acted erroneously, he still acted up to the best of his judgment: and the attorney-general moved the following amendment, "although that house "could not know the impressions of official duty, nor the obli-"gation of the oath under which his exellency felt himself "obliged to act, and although his Royal highness the Prince of

* 9 Par. Deb. p. 128. On this occasion Mr. Grattan would not speak, alleging after a division, that it was a time *for acting, not speaking*, 153. A list of the majority and minority may be seen in the Appendix, No. LXXXI.

" Wales were not yet invested with the powers of regent in " Great Britain." On the division, 78 were for Mr. Fitzgibbon's amendment, and 119 against it.

The motion was opposed principally on the ground of its being considered as the foundation of a vote of censure on the lord lieutenant; and after a long debate, the house divided; for the question 130, against it 71.

Captain Burgh also proposed as an amendment, to add the following words to the original resolution, " inasmuch as the " said lords and commons had proceeded to appoint his royal " highness, &c. illegally and unconstitutionally," which amendment was negatived without a division.

On the 25th Mr. Monk Mason reported from the committee of supply, that on the 25th of March, 1788, the debt of the nation was 2,240,204*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*; and when the resolution was read, that provided for the national debt, the annuities, and establishments, Mr. Grattan moved an amendment by inserting the words " two months, ending on the 25th of May, 1789." Upon this occasion, Mr. Brownlow, observed (as the fact was) that he was no party man, neither had he any ends to answer contrary to the welfare of the country, yet he thought it right to proceed with caution: and as it had been shewn that they had not time to investigate the accounts, that, in his mind, was sufficient ground for the amendment.

The lord lieutenant had thought proper to refuse transmitting the address of the two houses to the Prince of Wales; this had given cause for some difference and animadversion between his excellency and the two houses; the truth was, his excellency was at variance with the two houses, and it behoved them to take care of themselves. He should never forget the affair of Lord Townshend, who prorogued the parliament, and protested against their proceedings, for the commons exercising a right of originating bills of supply; a right in which lay the very essence of all their privileges. What Lord Townshend had done, Lord Buckingham might do, if they passed the supply for a year; nay he might, and perhaps would dissolve them, and then how could they look at their constituents, who would naturally say, you have deserved all this; for when we put our purse in your hands, you very foolishly let go the strings.

Mr. Griffith considered the two houses committed against, and in a state of warfare with the chief governor, and he could expect nothing less than a dissolution of parliament if the supplies were once granted for a year.

The attorney-general admitted, that (Mr. Brownlow) had fairly and openly avowed his reason for supporting a short money bill; it was to hinder the lord lieutenant from exercis-

ing an undoubted right of proroguing or dissolving parliament. He recollected the event referred to by the right honourable gentleman. He recollected Lord Townshend's proroguing the parliament; and he recollected when next they met, they voted him an address of thanks, which address cost the nation half a million of money. He hoped to God he should never again see such effects from party. He hoped to God he should never again see half a million of the people's money employed to procure an address from their representatives; he had ever endeavoured to defend the people, and ever should oppose measures, which might lead to an address that would cost them half a million.*

* This debate upon Mr. Grattan's motion for a short money bill, most intimately affects a point of modern Irish history beyond any other necessary for the annalist to ascertain. No man can be ignorant of the loud and frequent clamour that has been raised, particularly within these last 20 years, against the corruption and venality of the Irish government and parliament, to the account of which, many have laid an uniform system of oppression, coercion, and cruelty that have occasioned, rather than checked the late outrages and calamities of the nation. Whilst others have founded the necessity of union in the incorrigible inveteracy of these very evils. It will be impossible to form a right judgment upon this leading point, until certain facts are admitted or disproved. The author's duty is to supply his reader with the best evidence the nature of the case admits of. The singular coincidence of a falling and rising power acting at one time upon a body of 300 men, at no time famed for rigid inflexibility of principle, a majority made up chiefly of deserters from habits of ease and conveniency, to a promising standard of lucrative principle, a race of ingratitude for past and avidity for future favours, certainly produced an unprecedented opportunity for extracting truths, which might otherwise have lain for centuries smothered under the concordatum of interest, secrecy and combination. The Irish parliamentary debates taken, collected, and arranged by Mr. Giffard, are the chief resource a stranger has for matter upon the latter history of Ireland from the year 1781. If any bias can be supposed to have affected his pen, it will be concluded to have been on the part of government. This gentleman in the outset of volunteering was so conspicuously prominent in the cause of freedom, as to have attracted the notice and acquired the confidence, esteem, and intimacy of the Duke of Leinster: at that time his family was larger than his means, and the favours of his grace were more flattering than lucrative. His talents which were above mediocrity were noticed by government, and he was engaged at a handsome salary to report for the castle, and upon trial of his ability and fidelity to his employers was rewarded by a place in the customs. We have before remarked, that Lord Townshend had, at a very heavy expence to the nation, broken up an aristocracy, that before his time had monopolized the whole power of the commons and regularly bargained for terms with every new lieutenant for managing the House of Commons. Mr. Fitzgibbon (and no man knew better), now admitted, *that this manœuvre cost the nation upwards of half a million:* that is, that he had paid or granted so much to purchase that majority in parliament, by which he governed to the end of his administration. We further learn from Mr. Giffard's report of this debate, that Mr. Bushe observed, from what his right honourable friend (Mr. Fitzgibbon), had said, he almost imagined he intended to vote on the other side: for when he had said, that one prorogation and address had cost the nation half a million, he did not suppose he would run the risk of another. That prorogation had taken place for want of a short money-bill, which was the best reason against granting a long one on the present occasion: and as that prorogation cost half a million, as every article had

The committee of the two houses of parliament arrived in London on the 25th of February, 1789, and the day following presented their address to the Prince of Wales at Carlton-house. As the convalescent state of his majesty's health was at that time apparent, his royal highness, after returning his warmest thanks for the address, and expressing the satisfaction he received from the proof it afforded of their loyal and affectionate attachment to the person and government of the king, acquainted them with the fortunate change that had taken place. Within a few days, he hoped, that the joyful event of his majesty's resuming his government, would enable him to give them a final answer, and make it only necessary for him to repeat those sentiments of gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland, which he felt indelibly imprinted on his heart.*

risen, perhaps it would not be unreasonable to suppose a prorogation at the present day might cost a whole million, which expence might be cut off by a short money-bill. It is to be observed, that Mr. Bushe had some time before quitted the ranks of patriotism, and accepted a place under government. I find in another report of this debate, "that Mr. George Ponsonby rose to "express his indignation at the idea of placing parliament in the power of the "viceroy: he said, that it had already been stated, that a similar measure had, "on a former occasion, lost that country half a million of money, by which a "corrupt parliament had been laid prostrate at the feet of the viceroy. Were "they that House of Commons? Would half a million, or a whole million, "tempt them to swerve from the duty to their country," (*Dublin Evening Packet, 25th February, 1789*). Of this avowal, or boast, or taunt, or threat of parliamentary venality from the mouth of the attorney-general, we have this further evidence from Mr. Grattan, (in his answer to Lord Clare's speech, Dub. 1800. p. 18). "*Half a million, or more, was expended some years ago to "break an opposition; the same, or a greater sum may be necessary now:* so "said the principal servant of the crown. The house heard him: I heard "him: he said it standing on his legs to an astonished and an indignant nation; "and he said it in the most extensive sense of bribery and corruption. The "threat was proceeded on; the peerage was sold; the caitiffs of corruption "were every where; in the lobby, in the street, on the steps, and at the door of "every parliamentary leader, whose thresholds were worn by the members of "the then administration, offering titles to some, amnesty to others, and corruption to all."

* The following was the answer of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The address from the lords spiritual and temporal, and "commons of Ireland, which you have presented to me, demands my warmest "and earliest thanks. If any thing could add to the esteem and affection I "have for the people of Ireland, it would be the loyal and affectionate attachment to the person and government of the king, my father, manifested in the "address of the two houses.

"What they have done, and their manner of doing it, is a new proof of "their undiminished duty to his majesty, of their uniform attachment to "the house of Brunswick, and their constant attention to maintain inviolate "the concord and connection between the kingdoms of Great Britain and "Ireland, so indispensably necessary to the prosperity, the happiness, and the "liberties of both.

On the 24th of February, his majesty's disorder had taken so favourable a turn, that the chancellor informed the British House of Peers, that he had on that day attended his majesty by his express command, and had found him perfectly recovered. On the 2d of March, the speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland communicated to the house the letter which he had received from the delegates, with the Prince's answer to their address, which were ordered to be entered on the journals. The happy turn in his majesty's health worked a very happy change in the marshalling of the House of Commons. As the late gloomy prospect of a change in the Irish administration, had driven many gentlemen to the opposition benches, Mr. Grattan was willing to avail himself of the earliest fruits of their conversion: accordingly, on the 3d of March, 1789, he offered to the house a resolution which he thought absolutely necessary, from a transaction that had lately taken place. He thought it necessary to call the attention of the house to certain principles, which the gentlemen, with whom he had generally the honour to coincide, considered as the indispensable condition, without which no government could expect their support, and which the present government had resisted.

The first was a reform of the police: at present the institution could only be considered as a scheme of patronage to the Castle, and corruption to the city; a scheme which had failed to answer the end of preserving public peace, but had fully succeeded in extending the influence of the Castle.*

It had been thrown out on a former occasion, when he had intimated his intention of reforming the police, that the bill to be proposed would be as bad as that at present existing; but that assertion was not founded in truth. The bill, which he

"If, in conveying my grateful sentiments on their conduct, in relation to the "king, my father, and to the inseparable interest of the two kingdoms, I find "it impossible to express adequately my feelings on what relates to myself, I "trust you will not be the less disposed to believe, that I have an understand-"ing to comprehend the value of what they have done, a heart that must re-"member, and principles that will not suffer me to abuse their confidence.

"But the fortunate change which has taken place in the circumstance, which "gave occasion to the address agreed to by the lords and commons of Ireland, "induces me to delay, for a few days, giving a final answer; trusting, that the "joyful event of his majesty's resuming the personal exercise of his royal au-"thority, may then render it only necessary for me to repeat those sentiments "of gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland, which "feel indelibly imprinted on my heart."

* In this debate, Mr. Curran, perceiving that the opposite side of the house regained their spirits and deserters, complimented the prime serjeant on the recovery of his tongue: what the distress and depression of his friend and patron had not been able to produce, his return to prosperity had effected: the learned member was no longer tongue tied: mute during his disgrace, he was clamorous on his elevation. 9 *Parl. Debates*, p. 265.

would introduce, was intended to rescue the corporation of the city out of the court, and to make them responsible to the public for their conduct; to restore the peace and liberty of the city; and to guard against any abuse of power in those, to whom the guardianship of that peace and liberty should be committed. This bill had in the last session been stated as necessary, but had been resisted by Lord Buckingham's government; but it should now be soon introduced.

Another principle much desired, was to restrain the abuse of pensions by a bill similar to that of Great Britain. That principle, he said, Lord Buckingham had resisted, and his resistance to it was one great cause of his opposing his government. To this he would add another principle, the restraining revenue officers from voting at elections: this, he observed, was a principle of the British parliament, and it was certainly more necessary in Ireland, from what had lately taken place, where, by a certain union of family interests, countries had become boroughs, and those boroughs had become private property.

But the principle to which he begged to call the immediate attention of the house was, that of preventing the great offices of the state from being given to absentees: that was a principle admitted by all to be founded in national right, purchased by liberal compensation, and every departure from it must be considered as a slight to the nobility and gentry of Ireland, who certainly were better entitled to the places of honour and trust in their own country, than any absentee could possibly be; but besides the slight shewn to the nobility and gentry of Ireland, by bestowing places of honour, of profit, and of trust on absentees, the draft of money from this country, the institution of deputies (a second establishment unnecessary, were the principals to reside), the double influence arising from this raised the abuse into an enormous grievance.

He said, after the nation had recovered its liberty, one of the first objects was to bring home the great offices of the state: these had been taken away in an unjust manner, and in violation of native right, when the country was under oppression. He did not mean to enter into a question, whether too much was paid for bringing home great employments; he would not dispute the price, as it was the purchase of a principle; but the principle being once established, that it was wise and honourable in the nation to purchase home the great offices of the state: and this having been actually reduced to practice in instances of the chancellorship of the exchequer, the vice-treasurership, the clerk of the crown and hanaper, &c. it followed as a necessary consequence, that the granting away again great places to absentees, must be highly improper, and a gross violation of the principle purchased by the nation.

He then adverted to the reversionary patent granted to Mr. Grenville. Of that gentleman's merits in his own country he would say nothing; there could be no reason for granting him a great employment in Ireland, where it was most certain he never would reside; and therefore in condemning the grant, no one had a right to argue, that it was condemned as a grant to the lord-lieutenant's brother, but as a grant to a person that must necessarily be an absentee; it must be condemned as a slight, and an affront to the native resident nobility and gentry of Ireland.

He asked the house, were they ready to submit to such an insult? Were they ready to submit to have the principle, which they had purchased violated? Were they ready to return to that state of degradation and contempt, from which the spirit of the nation had so lately emancipated itself? If they were not, they would not hesitate to come to a resolution, asserting the principles, which they had purchased. He would submit such a resolution, worded in the most guarded manner, not attacking the prerogative of the crown to grant, but condemning the advice, by which the crown was misled to abuse that prerogative. He then moved the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That recommendations for the purpose of granting the great offices of this kingdom, or the reversion of great offices to absentees, are improvident and prejudicial, especially now as great annual charges have been incurred by making compensation to absentees for resigning their offices, that those offices might be granted to residents."

After a very violent personal altercation between Mr. Parsons and Mr. Grattan,* the latter gentleman resumed his argu-

* Scarcely had Mr. Grattan concluded his speech, than Mr. Parsons rose to speak; when he was interrupted by Mr. Grattan, who said, that if the honourable gentleman rose to second his motion, he would withdraw it. Upon which Mr. Parsons instantly launched out into a most infuriated Philippic against Mr. Grattan, and his whole political conduct. To this Mr. Grattan made the following reply: 9 *Parl. Debates, p.* 257.

"Sir, the speech of the honourable member has been so disorderly and extraordinary, that the house will permit me to make an immediate reply. He talks of simple repeal, he does not understand that question; he does not know whether that measure was right or wrong. He speaks of renunciation; of that he is equally ignorant. The merits or demerits of either question, or of both questions, surpass his capacity. He has arraigned my conduct, but his observations are as feeble as they are virulent. The member is a melancholy proof, that a man may be scurrilous, who has not capacity to be severe. He speaks of the public grant of 50,000*l.*; and he says, I got that for bungling, what the patentee was so fortunate to complete. He says so, but why he should say so, or on what grounds he talks, he is totally unable to explain; he repeats a sentence which he has heard, but the force or meaning, or foundation for the sentence, the member cannot set forth; the jingle of a period touches his ear; and he repeats it, and he knows not why. The calumny urged against me by the member, is not his own. (*Dublin Even. Packet.*) Mr. Higgins has said it better than the honourable gentleman; the

ment and said, that giving away the great offices of this kingdom to absentees, was taking away the property of this country, and

" Freeman's Journal has stated it better, and with much more ingenuity than " the honourable gentleman: but Mr. Higgins is a liar; the Freeman's Jour- " nal is a liar; it is not unparliamentary to say, that the authority from which " the gentleman draws his argument, is a liar, a public pitiful liar! He said, " he did not mean that the honourable gentleman was a liar, but that the paper " from which he had borrowed his authority, was a liar, a positive liar!" Here Mr. Parsons rose and stepped towards Mr. Grattan, made use of some words, which, for the honour of parliament, are not repeated. Mr. Grattan sat down. The house immediately called out, " custody! custody!" and the speaker ordered the galleries to be cleared: it was near two hours before order was completely restored.

The character of this Mr. Higgins, who died last year possessed of a fortune of about 40,000*l.* is highly illustrative of the system, which generated, fostered and pampered this species of reptile more frequently known in Ireland, than elsewhere: *ex uno disce plures.*

This man was known by the appellation of the *Sham Esquire:* he was a singular instance of what may be done in life by strict attention to private ends, without regard to the means, which so often retard the advancement of men of principle. Born of obscure parents, he rose through the successive stations of errand-boy, shoe-black, and waiter in a porter's house, to an attorney's clerk, in which situation his talents were not confined to the desk. His master's pleasures found an attentive minister in him, and he found additional profits in his master's pleasures He soon began to look for money and connections, and fixed his mind on the daughter of a very respectable and opulent citizen in Dublin, who was a Catholic: he procured an introduction to the family through a priest, whom he deceived, in declaring himself the only son of a gentleman of 3000*l.* a year; the nephew of a counsellor, and a member of the Irish parliament, whose presumptive heir, as having no children, he also was. He feigned a wish to conform to the Catholic religion, in which he had been christened, though educated a Protestant, thinking thereby to ingratiate himself with the family, and was received into the Catholic church. The imposture was soon detected, and Mr. Higgins confined to gaol, where he improved the only real knowledge he ever possessed, which was the lowest art of crown law. He afterwards became an attorney. He then attended gaming tabels and brothels. He drew great advantages by lending money to the unfortunate adventurers, and managing to defend or keep off prosecutions from the infamous supporters of those receptacles of iniquity. In his speculations towards advancement, he considered the command of a newspaper as an essential weapon both offensive and defensive. To attain this very necessary article, he insinuated himself into the acquaintance and confidence of the proprietor of a print, then in some degree of estimation, the Freeman's Journal. This gentleman was in very embarrassed circumstances. Mr. Higgins lent him 50*l.* and watching his opportunity when he thought his distress at the height, suddenly arrested him for the money: to procure his liberty, he was glad to transfer to his creditors the property of the paper for one fourth of its value.

This paper had hitherto been prominently conspicuous on the patriotic side of the question, and was therefore the more saleable a commodity in the hands of this new proprietor. He made his terms with the castle; and from that time forward his paper was the most subservient to, and therefore the most favoured by the minister. This man had the address, by coarse flattery and assumed arrogance, to worm himself into the intimacy of several persons of rank, fortune, and consequence in the country, who demeaned themselves by their obsequiousness to his art, or sold themselves to him for his unqualified enterprise in maligning their enemies, or bearing them out of difficulties or disgrace. This man, ready for every job for which he should be paid, under some natural suspicions that the return of the Marquis of Buckingham to

carrying it abroad. He asked, what claim had Mr. Orde for the pension of seventeen hundred pounds a year he had got on this establishment? What claim could any secretary have for either pension or employment? If the principle be admitted, that the giving away offices to absentees is injurious to the kingdom, then his motion could not be resisted.

The attorney general said, he should be extremely glad to see the whole patronage of the crown in Ireland bestowed upon the members of both houses of parliament, and he had no doubt if things went on a little longer in the train, in which for some time they had been, that object would be obtained.

A very warm debate ensued, in which Mr. Corry and some other gentlemen admitted the principle of the resolution, although they opposed its passing, because it was a censure on the Marquis of Buckingham. To get rid of the question, an adjournment was moved and carried by a majority of 115 against 106. Thus early had the old majority began to fall back into their former ranks. Still the superiority of votes bore no proportion to 200 and upwards, of which the former full majorities consisted. Mr. Grattan accordingly on the following day (4th of March) moved for leave to bring in *a bill for the better securing the freedom of election for members to serve in parliament, by disabling certain officers employed in the collection or management of his majesty's revenue from giving their votes at such election.* Mr. Beresford gave immediate notice, that he should oppose the bill through every stage, though he would not oppose the motion: and on the second reading of the bill the attorney general spoke thus:* "Sir, I say, that at this time "such an act would be peculiarly ungracious: and there is "another reason why I will not enter into a measure which pro-

assume the vice-regency of Ireland would not be attended by any particular demonstrations of joy, had hired a mob to wait his arrival, and had supplied a proper number of them with silken cords and harness to draw him in his carriage to the Castle, under the fastidious deceit of mercenary popularity and triumph. The opinion of Lord Chief Baron Yelverton upon this notorious character, seals the stamp of it to posterity. In Easter term, upon counsel having reminded his lordship in court, that the printer of the Freeman's Journal awaited the judgment of the court for a libellous paragraph on that court: the chief baron spoke thus to the counsel.

"If you had not mentioned the affair, the court would not have condescend-
"ed to recollect its insignificance, but would have passed it by as it has done
"every other paragraph, whether of praise or censure, that has appeared
"in that paper with the most supreme contempt. Let the fellow return to his
"master's employment; let his master exalt favourite characters; and if
"there be any mean enough to take pleasure in his adulation, let him con-
"tinue to spit his venom against every thing that is praise-worthy, honourable,
"or dignified in human nature. Let him not presume to meddle with the
"courts of justice, lest, forgetting his baseness and insignificance, they should
"at some time condescend to inflict a merited punishment upon him."

* 9 Gif. Parl. Deb. p. 278.

" perly modified might be useful at another time; there is, I " am well assured, at this moment, existing, an association under " hand and seal, to oppose the king's government, and to sup- " port the old Irish aristocracy; I would wish therefore to wait " for a cooler moment, when gentlemen shall grow ashamed of " such a measure."

A warm debate ensued, which turned much upon the personal character of the lord lieutenant, and the indelicacy of attempting to cramp the royal prerogative in the particular moment of his majesty's recovery. At the close of it Mr. George Ponsonby said, that a charge had been brought against an odious and offensive aristocracy. He would only say, that any assertion, stating faction to be at the bottom of the present business, was not founded in truth. For his own part, he released the right honourable secretary from every tie of honourable secrecy, and called upon him to say, if he had ever made a refusal of favour a ground of opposition to government. He called upon the treasury bench one by one, to declare in the same manner. [Here he paused for an answer; none having been given] he said, that after that he hoped he should hear no more random charges of faction and party. On this division there were for the attorney general's motion to postpone the bill to the 1st of May only 98, against it 130.

In the progress of the pension bill, it was singular, that the attorney general should oppose it, upon popular and patriotic grounds: the bill, said the attorney general, went to establish by law, first a pension list at the discretion of the minister, amounting to 80,000*l.* secondly, to leave a discretion with the two houses to address for whatever they might think proper as a further charge; and thirdly, to legalize the appropriation of the surplus of the hereditary duties to the purposes of pensions, which would put into the hands of the crown the immense sum of 260,000*l.* per ann. beyond the control of the commons, and must ultimately destroy the liberties of the country, by throwing into the hands of the minister a power to bias every election.

Mr. secretary Fitzherbert, in answer to the attorney general, said there was not a free country on the globe, in which a strong government was more requisite than in Ireland. By the tendency of the right honourable gentleman's arguments it appeared, he had property in that country; he however expressed some surprise at the different ground of argument he then adopted, on the subject of the bill, from what he had used the night before. Then he considered the measure as flying in the face of government; as robbing the crown of its prerogatives; as setting the liberality and curbing the necessary influence of the sovereign: he now held it forward, as placing an extraordinary

power and influence in the crown; taking it in this light, he thought the bill was the greatest compliment that parliament could pay to the sovereign. For his part, he could not see that dangerous tendency, which the right honourable gentleman had annexed to the measure of the bill, for in reality, it only gave his majesty a control over a part of that revenue, which was subject to both houses of parliament; and therefore if his majesty abused that power of control, it was in the power of parliament to counteract that abuse, by refusing to provide; this argument cut up by the roots the doctrine of the learned gentleman. He said, the measure did not go to meddle with the king's prerogative, but merely to set bounds to the system of expenditure, and prevent the ruin of the country.

He then took a view of the increase of the pension list, from the administration of Lord Essex, in the reign of Charles the Second, when it was only 3500*l.* a year, to the present, when it was rated at 103,000*l.* and hoped, if such moderation prevailed in such a reign as that of Charles the Second, a measure of limitation when it was 100,000*l.* more, would not be rejected in the reign of George the Third.

King Charles the Second, at his restoration, availed himself of the unsettled state of that country, by making a bargain with his subjects disgraceful to the monarch, and injurious to the liberties of the people. In exchange for tranquillity and settlement, he stipulated for an hereditary revenue. From this polluted source the disuse of parliaments, and the increase of pensions originally flowed; the latter at first in a small current. In 1669, the amount of those grants was but 3214*l.* and 10,000*l.* yearly having been proposed by the king as the limitation of grants, his representative, Lord Essex, objected to the largeness of the amount, and expressed his apprehensions, that their enormity might be a reason for not granting a supply to his majesty. He approved of a proposal, that they should be kept in a separate list, to the end, that if there should be any deficiency in the public revenue, it should fall on pensions in the first place; and in 1678, the Duke of Ormond received instructions from the king to that purpose. It appeared then, that the limitation, and the amount of pensions was an idea entertained on the part of the crown, and that the sum of 10,000*l.* yearly was, in the last century, thought an excessive charge. During this century, those grants had been the perpetual occasion of contests. In 1703, the committee of supply resolved, and the house agreed, that no less than nineteen of them were unnecessary branches of the establishment; and in 1707, several of them were voted to be struck off, and that no pension should be continued, except to a person resident in the kingdom. In the year 1717, the lord lieu-

tenant, in his speech from the throne, informed both houses of parliament, that his majesty had thought fit to lessen the civil list on the head of pensions, and had directed such rules to be observed as might annually abate the expence upon them. By the influx of wealth into the kingdom, arising from imports occasioned by a false credit, which had arisen after the peace in the year 1748, there was a large surplus in the treasury, which occasioned a contest in the year 1753, between the crown and the House of Commons. The ministers insisted, that the surplus could not be applied by parliament without the previous consent of his majesty, and that difference having occasioned an extraordinary prorogation of parliament, the removal from office of some of the principal men in the country, and great additional expence to the public by replacing them, for the sake of tranquillity, profusion was for a time connived at, pensions were lavishly bestowed, and the commons were still more forward than government in that political extravagance. But in 1757, they unanimously voted the increase of pensions to be a grievance, and the house with its speaker laid that, with several other strong resolutions on the subject, before the lord lieutenant, who, with whatever reluctance, was at length obliged to transmit those resolutions to be laid before his majesty. At that period, when the increase of those grants was unanimously impeached, they had amounted in the two preceding years to no greater a sum than 89481*l.* In the following session of 1759, they had increased to 106,285*l.* in the two years, and yet on a motion that the resolutions of the preceding session had the desired effect, with a view to give a negative to it, but twenty-five members could be found for putting that question. In the beginning of a new reign in 1761, the house was contented with an implied disapprobation by resolving, that those grants exceeded the whole charge of the rest of the civil establishment. In the following session of 1763, the national discontent on this subject became so general, that the lord lieutenant found it necessary to desire the attendance of the principal members of both houses at the castle, and there to make a solemn declaration, to a very numerous assembly of lords and commons, in his majesty's name, that pensions for years or lives should not in future be granted unless on the most extraordinary occasions. Since that period various modes of redress had been attempted by motions for addresses to the crown and for retrenchments. For some years past the present measure had been introduced, but clogged with extraneous matter, which would then be omitted. From that short history it appeared, that the increase of pensions had been condemned by government, and reprobated by the House of Commons; they had been the constant source of na-

tional contention, in which it had appeared, that neither lords lieutenants, nor even the House of Commons were to be always trusted with that power. What followed then? Regulate it by law. Such a law would be a great national acquisition. When the country gentlemen should be asked by his constituents what has the country gained by the law, he would answer, " Pensions " had arisen from little more than 3000*l.* yearly, to the enormous " amount of 103,000*l.* yearly. They were then limited to " 80,000*l.* with exceptions, of which every honest man would " approve. They had stopped the proud waves of prerogative, " and said, hitherto shalt thou go and no farther; they had " prevented the discredit of the nation by having a charge on " the people originate by a king's letter, signed by three lords " of the English treasury, persons unknown to the constitution " of Ireland. They had for ever prevented the return of that " disgraceful day, when the servants of the crown sat in sad " dejection, with their eyes fixed on the ground, without a word " to say in favour of administration, except this wretched apolo- " gy, it was not done by this lord lieutenant, you cannot say that " we did it. And finally, they had paid a just tribute of regard " and affection to their beloved princes of the illustrious house " of Brunswick."

He then adverted to a paper, which had been very improperly introduced into the debate, and very unjustly made the topic of the most severe animadversion. He had never seen the paper itself, but he had heard a copy of it read. He would inform the committee what the objects were, and what they were not. The objects were to support the only proper and constitutional mode of appointing a regent for that kingdom, and such other measures as should be the necessary consequence of that proceeding; to resist an attack intended to be made by administration against the vitals of the constitution, by letting in the third estate of another kingdom to legislate for Ireland; to resist those dangerous principles advanced by the advocates of that measure, and which were necessary to be maintained for its defence, namely, that the royal assent to Irish acts of parliament was given under the authority of the monarch of England, and not under the authority of the monarch of Ireland, and that the statute regent of England could rescind the appointment of a lord lieutenant of Ireland by the statute regent of that kingdom. The first extinguished the monarchy of Ireland, and the second enabled the regent of England to repel the force of the Irish statute. To resist those fatal innovations, to preserve the dearest rights of their sovereign by defending his great constitutional power of assenting to bills, to prevent the extinction of the crown, and to preserve the independence of the legislature of Ireland, several lords and gentlemen of the first rank and con-

sequence united to support the former, and to resist the latter measures, and to support such honourable men as concurred with them in that conduct, and in the defence of the constitution. Having mentioned what the objects of that paper were, he would state what they were not. They were not to oppose any government, or any chief governor; they were not to prescribe to his majesty what chief governor he should continue, or whom he should appoint or not appoint to that high office. There was no such presumption in the minds of those gentlemen. Their union was defensive: to defend the constitution. He would further declare, that it was no object of that union to obtain office, honour, or power for any man. If ever there were an honourable and constitutional engagement, that was one; if ever there were a great national party, without an atom of faction in it, that was one; and yet how unworthily had it been treated? One gentleman had called it a conspiracy against the state; another, the revival of the old aristocracy of Ireland; a third had termed it a disgrace to the kingdom, an illegal combination, and had politely put them in mind of the journeymen pinmakers, who were found guilty of a charge of that nature, and whipped at a cart's tail. Those shameful aspersions were industriously circulated in the public prints of both kingdoms. It was not his custom to use harsh language. He would content himself with saying that it was a natural progress for those men, who strove to degrade the constitution of their country to proceed to debase and vilify the first men in it; men who would be the pride and ornament of any kingdom in Europe. In talking of the royal assent, he affirmed, that it was the undoubted right of the King of Ireland to give it by himself or his commissioners in full parliament; that it was also the unquestionable right of the subject to have the royal dissent given in parliament. He thought that nothing but a positive express statute could deprive the subject of that right, and he knew of no statute. There was nothing to that purpose in Chief Baron Yelverton's act; a law which did great honour to its author. In respect to passing bills it had three objects; 1st. Their passing both houses before they were transmitted; 2d. To compel the lord lieutenant and privy council to transmit them; 3d. To prevent the alteration of them any where after they had left the two houses. These three objects had been obtained for the country by a short, clear, and decisive act; and to the man, who had obtained those great constitutional improvements he thought the kingdom highly indebted.

On the 14th of March the speaker and the House of Commons attended his excellency to the House of Peers, where he made the following speech to both houses.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"WITH the most heartfelt satisfaction I "take the earliest opportunity to inform you, in obedience to "the king's command, that it has pleased the Divine Provi- "dence to remove from him the severe indisposition, with "which he has been afflicted and that by the blessing of Al- "mighty God he is now again enabled to attend to the urgent "concerns of his kingdoms, and personally to exercise his royal "authority."

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I have submitted to his majesty's consideration the surplus, "which you have already granted for the immediate exigencies of "the public service, and the performance of the national engage- "ments; and I am commanded by his majesty to express his "perfect confidence in your readiness to make such further pro- "vision, as shall be necessary for the usual support of his ma- "jesty's government."

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have it particularly in charge from his majesty to as- "sure you, that the prosperity of his faithful and loyal people "of Ireland, from whom his majesty has repeatedly received "the strongest proofs of affectionate attachment to his sacred "person, will ever be near to his heart; and that his majesty is "fully persuaded, that your zeal for the public welfare will "enable him to promote, by every wise and salutary measure, "the interests of this kingdom.

"I cannot conclude this communication to you without ex- "pressing my fullest conviction, that his majesty's faithful par- "liament of Ireland does not yield to any of his subjects in "sincere and devout acknowledgments to Almighty God, for "the restoration of his majesty's health, and in fervent prayers, "that a long continuance of that blessing may secure to "his people the happiness, which they have constantly en- "joyed under his majesty's mild and auspicious govern- "ment."

Mr. Grattan having expressed his most heartfelt satisfaction in the joyful tidings of the happy recovery of their beloved sovereign, congratulated the house; that the speech from the throne was so worded, and the address so properly moved and seconded as to call for the most cordial unanimity. It was accordingly resolved, that the speaker of the house should attend his excellency with the address* to be laid before his majesty.

* 9 Parl. Deb. p. 318.

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

"The humble Address of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parli- "ment assembled.

When Mr. Connolly on the 20th of March communicated to the House of Commons his royal highness's answer to the address of both houses of parliament, Lord Henry Fitzgerald moved, that an address of thanks should be presented to his royal highness for his gracious answer; to which the attorney general objected, as a measure unprecedented: but it having been urged by the whole house, he explained, that he was ever tenacious of the forms of the house; and no man more anxious than himself to testify his respect to the prince. It was carried unanimously. On the next day Lord Henry Fitzgerald reported from the committee appointed to draw up the address of thanks to the Prince of Wales for his gracious answer, that they had drawn up an* address accordingly.

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

"We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the "commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, beg leave to lay before your "majesty our assurances of the sincere and cordial satisfaction, with which "we are penetrated on being informed from the throne, by your majesty's com- "mand, that it has pleased the Divine Providence to remove from your "majesty the severe indisposition with which you have been afflicted, and "that by the blessing of Almighty God you are now again enabled to attend "to the urgent concerns of your kingdoms, and personally to exercise your "royal authority.

"We assure your majesty, that we shall justify the confidence you en- "tertain, that we shall cheerfully proceed in making such provision as "may be necessary for the honourable support of your majesty's govern- "ment.

"We should be dead to every generous feeling, should we omit to acknow- "ledge your majesty's unceasing solicitude for the interests of Ireland, or to "second, by every salutary effort your benevolent wishes for the welfare of "your people.

"The numerous blessings derived to this kingdom from your majesty's au- "spicious reign, are deeply imprinted in our bosoms, and sensible as we are "of the inestimable value of these benefits, we beg leave to repeat to your "majesty upon this joyful occasion, our most sincere professions of respect "and attachment to your royal person, family, and government.

"We conclude these our fervent congratulations with devout acknowledg- "ments to the Almighty for this signal instance of his goodness, in restoring "our beloved monarch to the prayers of an afflicted people and our gratitude "for such a mark of the divine favour; is only equalled by the ardency "of our wishes for the continuance of your majesty's health, and that "your majesty may enjoy that invaluable blessing during a long and happy "reign."

* "TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS GEORGE, Prince of WALES.

"The humble Address of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parlia- "ment assembled.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

"We, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the "commons of Ireland in parliament assembled, beg leave to offer to your "royal highness our warmest thanks for your answer to our address.

"With hearts overflowing with the liveliest joy, we congratulate with "your royal highness upon the happy event of the king's recovery, and the "consequent reassumption of the exercise of his auspicious government; "an event highly pleasing to the subjects of the whole empire, but peculiarly

The speaker undertook to transmit the address to Lord Southampton; and then Mr. Secretary Fitzherbert moved to adjourn to the 13th of April. During this interval Mr. Hobart

"grateful to a nation so highly indebted to their most excellent sovereign "during the whole course of his reign; and we rejoice in the reflection, that "the father of his people is blessed with a son, who is likely, in the fulness of "time, to continue to his majesty's loyal and affectionate subjects of Ireland "the blessings of his government.

"Thoroughly conscious that nothing can add more to that esteem which "your royal highness has been pleased to express for the two houses of "parliament, than their loyal and affectionate attachment to the person "and government of the king, we will steadily persevere in those prin-"ciples of duty, loyalty, and affection, which have so happily recommended "them to the favourable opinion of your royal highness.

"We feel the highest satisfaction in finding that what we have done, and "our manner of doing it, have received your approbation, and that your royal "highness is pleased to consider our conduct as a proof of our undiminished "duty to his majesty, our uniform attachment to the House of Brunswick, and "our constant care and attention to maintain inviolate the concord and connec-"tion between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, which we consider "as indispensably necessary to the prosperity, the happiness and liberties of "both; and we beg leave to assure your royal highness, that from those princi-"ples we shall never depart.

"We are happy to find that your royal highness considers our just attention "to his majesty's royal family, and the provision made by us for preserving "the authority of the crown in its constitutional energy, as the most unequi-"vocal proofs which could be given of our affectionate loyalty to the "best of sovereigns, at the melancholy period when, by an afflicting "dispensation of Providence, his government had suffered an intermis-"sion, and his illustrious house was deprived of its great and natural pro-"tector.

"We have the justest reliance on the moderation of the views, and the "purity of the intentions of your royal highness, and we have the fullest "convictions in our minds, that any trust which could have the most distant "tendency to relax that provident vigilance and public jealousy, which ought "to watch over the exercise of power, would not have been acceptable to the "exalted sentiments of your royal highness, whose understanding and princi-"ples are rendered more valuable by the generous and affectionate heart "which animates their dictates.

"We can with the greatest truth most solemnly assure your royal highness, "that it is the ardent wish of the parliament and people of Ireland to continue "to cultivate the harmony and inseparable interests of the two kingdoms, "firmly convinced, that in their mutual perfect freedom they will find the "closest, as well as the happiest bond of their connection; and we offer our "warmest acknowledgments to your royal highness for your recommendation "to us to persevere in such a conduct, and consider your royal highness's re-"commendation, so worthy the high station in which you are placed, as an "additional proof of your attention to the welfare of both countries.

"We assure your royal highness, that if any thing could add to the exul-"tation of our minds at the happy event of the recovery of our most beloved "sovereign, it would be the pleasure, which we feel in reflecting, that the "heir to his majesty's crown inherits the virtues of his royal father; virtues, "which every part of your royal highnes's conduct, during the late melancho-"ly and trying occasion, has placed in the most illustrious point of view; and "the repeated marks of graciousness and condescension, with which your "royal highness has been pleased to honour the two houses of parliament, "must ever remain impressed in the most indelible characters of affection "and gratitude on the hearts of the people of Ireland."

was appointed to succeed Mr. Fitzherbert as secretary. When the house met, according to adjournment, Mr. Secretary Hobart informed the house, that he was commanded by his excellency the lord lieutenant to acquaint them, that his majesty had been pleased to return the following most gracious answer to the address of the house:

"GEORGE R.

"HIS majesty thanks his faithful commons "for their loyal and affectionate address, and for their assur- "ances of the sincere and cordial satisfaction which they feel "on the interposition of Divine Providence in removing "from him the severe indisposition, with which he has been af- "flicted.

"Nothing can be more satisfactory to his majesty, than "the disposition expressed by the House of Commons, cheer- "fully to proceed in making such provisions as are ne- "cessary for the honourable support of his majesty's govern- "ment.

"He receives with the greatest pleasure the acknowledge- "ments of the House of Commons, of their sense of the solici- "tude which his majesty can never cease to entertain for the "interests of Ireland, as well as their professions of respect and "attachment to his person, family and government.

"G. R."

It was ordered to be entered on the journals, and an address of thanks was voted. On the 15th, Mr. Grattan presented to the house, according to order, a bill for the better securing the freedom of elections of members to serve in parliament, by disabling certain officers employed in the collection or management of his majesty's revenues from giving their votes at such elections; which was received and read the first time, and then Mr. Secretary Hobart informed the house, that he was directed by his excellency the lord lieutenant, to deliver the following message to the house:

"NUGENT BUCKINGHAM.

"HIS majesty having appointed Thursday "the 23d of this instant April, to be observed as a day of public "thanksgiving to Almighty God, for that signal interposition "of his good providence, which hath removed from his majesty "the late illness, with which he had been afflicted; and a pro- "clamation having been issued by the lord lieutenant and the "privy council of this kingdom for the solemn observance of "that day, I intend to go to the cathedral of Christ Church to "attend divine service upon that occasion, and have given the "necessary orders for providing convenient places in the said "cathedral for the members of this house.

"N. B."

On the 21st of April several petitions from revenue officers and others were presented to the house against the bill then pending, which intended to deprive them of their elective franchise, upon which a very long and warm debate ensued. In vain were all arguments drawn from reason, law, and constitution urged by the supporters of the bill; in vain was the example of England set forth in pointed relevancy to that kingdom; in vain was it pressed upon the house, that the bill under their consideration, nearly in the same words, had passed that house with the entire consent of most of the members, who were now taught to exclaim against it, as an attack upon the rights of the people; that such a bill, with the consent and approbation of its present most vehement opponents, had passed the commons, had been transmitted under the great seal of Ireland, and returned under the great seal of England; which, though lost in the lords, had not been rejected upon its merits; but had shared the fate of the ministry, which had espoused it: that the people had then lost a good ministry and a good bill. The ferment occasioned in the commons by the late alarm had now nearly subsided: the re-establishment of the old system, and the disappearance of any immediate change in administration, had brought back most of the fugitives to their station, and upon the division there were found only 93 for the committal of the bill, and 148 against it.

On the 25th of April, Sir Henry Cavendish, chairman of the committee on the police accounts, delivered in their report,* upon which they had come to two resolutions: 1st, That it had appeared to them, that the police establishment been had attended with unnecessary patronage, waste and dissipation. 2d, That it was their opinion, that the peace and protection of the city of Dublin might be more effectually maintained at a less expence, and that the present system of the police establishment ought to be changed. And when the speaker put the question to agree to the first resolution, the attorney-general objected. The right honourable gentleman called upon the house to agree to a report founded on evidence from partial investigation, that was *ex parte* garbled or selected. He was strongly rebuked by Mr. Grattan, with the indecency of imputing to a most respectable committee, after a laborious investigation, the foul charge of garbling and selecting the evidence. A violent and intemperate debate ensued, in which nothing new occurred, but the ingenuity of dressing up former arguments: both sides insisting that experience confirmed their support of or opposition to the original measure: this had ever been a favourite object with govern-

* 9 Par. Deb. p. 394. This report which is singularly curious, is to be seen in the Appendix, No. LXXXII.

ment, and was vehemently supported by a majority of 132, against 78; and the report at the motion of the attorney-general was rejected.* The house having by this time been nearly marshalled into their former ranks, Mr. Grattan thought it useless to divide them on the second reading of the place bill, on the 30th of April; it was negatived without a division. The only subject particularly interesting to the history of Ireland, which came before parliament during the remainder of that session, was the subject of tithes; Mr. Grattan having presented to the house according to order, a bill to appoint commissioners for the purpose of enquiring into the state of tithes in the different provinces of that kingdom, and to report a plan for ascertaining the same: he followed up his motion with a very elaborate, instructive, and eloquent speech† upon this important national object. The house adjourned from the 8th to the 25th of May, on which day the lord lieutenant prorogued the parliament, and made a speech of a general nature, without a word of reference to any of the extraordinary circumstances of the session.

Certain it is, that no viceroy ever enjoyed a smaller share of popularity in Ireland, than the Marquis of Buckingham. Either the natural reserve or the hauteur of his character made him personally disrelished, even by his friends and supporters. In order to raise an appearance at least of popularity, his creatures procured (not without some difficulty) an address from the county of Westmeath, in which the bulk of his lady's property lay, and which superabounds with the name of Nugent. The example, however, was not followed up by other counties. The restoration of his majesty's health instantly brought back a majority of the late deserters to their ranks. But the viceroy's refusal to transmit the address of parliament was indignantly resented by those members of any independence or principle, who had joined in it. A most determined opposition was the consequence. The imperious mind of the viceroy once more triumphant in the return of his numbers to their posts, was still exasperated that the great popular leaders, chiefs of the clans and possessors of the natural interest of the country were restive to his dictates, and knit by a common principle into a closer and more formida-

* 9 Par. Deb. p. 424. When this debate was over and the division settled, Mr. Conolly said the gentlemen were perfectly consistent, in supporting a ruinous and expensive system of patronage, that they themselves had instituted, and that they were also consistent in now endeavouring to stigmatize the men, who had brought their dark, corrupt, system to light; men, who for honour, probity, and integrity, could not be excelled in his majesty's dominions. But he desired gentlemen not to exult; their exultation would be but of a short duration, as the law complained of must, from its enormity, ere long fall to the ground.

† It may be seen in the Appendix, No. LXXXIII. 9 Par. Deb. p. 464.

ble opposition, than he had hitherto experienced. His excellency lamented, that in spite of his avowed principles of œconomy, he was now compelled to resort to Lord Townshend's ruinous system of purchasing votes by retail, in order to break through this new combination of an Irish aristocracy. No bounds, no reserve, no decency, were kept in this new canvass for parliamentary influence: the market became overt, and the prices of boroughs, and pieces of boroughs, of votes and titles, and peerages were brought to as regular a standard, as bullion at the mint. Not a peerage, not an honour, not a place, not a pension was disposed of but immediately by government for parliamentary interest, influence, or engagements, varying by gradation from the price of a close borough to a vote upon a single question. Every place, office or emolument, that could be resumed by government, were granted out upon new terms for future services. The Duke of Leinster, Mr. G. Ponsonby, Mr. Fitzherbert and every person holding place, office, or pension at pleasure, were displaced or deprived for having joined in the address to the Prince of Wales. A creation of eight peerages took place, and numerous new appointments were made. It was objected to the Marquis of Buckingham's administration, that notwithstanding his boasted professions of œconomizing for the nation; he had encreased the pension list by 5000*l.* per annum, that by his splitting places, reviving dormant unnecessary employments, and encreasing salaries, he had burthened the nation with the additional perpetuity of 2800*l.* per annum, and had chiefly selected his own family connections and other strangers, some of low and mean degree, for the objects of his bounty, to the exclusion of well meaning and well qualified natives. Most certain it is, that the Marquis of Buckingham generally disliked the Irish, and was disliked by them.

The leaders of opposition had found it advisable, as has been observed, in order to consolidate their force into a common centre of union, to establish a new political society under the denomination of the Whig Club: an institution highly obnoxious to the castle: they adopted the same principles, were clad in the same uniform of blue and buff, and professedly acted in concert with the Whig Club of England. At the head of this club were the Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Charlemont, Mr. Conolly, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Forbes, both the Messieurs Ponsonby, Mr. Curran, and a number of leading members of opposition in both houses. It was a rendezvous and round of cabinet dinners for the opposition. Here were planned and arranged all the measures for attack on the ministry. Each member had his measure or his question in turn: the plans of debate and manœuvre were preconcerted, and to each was

assigned that share of the attack he was most competent to maintain. This club aided by the assistance of some of the popular newspapers, continued to announce its days of dining, to proclaim its sentiments in the shape of resolutions, or announce them obliquely in the shape of anonymous paragraphs. Their speeches generally retailed with point, virulence and acrimony, always turned upon the prolific chapter of government and parliamentary abuses, were calculated to work upon the passions more than to guide the sober reason of the multitude.*

* It has of late years unfortunately been so prevailing a rage on both sides of the leading political questions, to attribute to their antagonists false motives, views, and grounds for their conduct, that the historian, who supports the principles of either, will be naturally discredited by those readers, who happen to differ from him in opinion: it is not his duty to adjudge the conduct of the actors in those scenes, which he has undertaken to retail and faithfully to represent. The late Earl of Clare in his speech for the union (p. 59) has left the following portrait of the Whig Club of Ireland. "The better to effectuate "the great national objects of a limitation of the pension list, an exclusion "of pensioners from the House of Commons, a restriction of placemen, who "should sit there, and a responsibility for the receipt and issue of the public "treasury, a Whig Club was announced in a manifesto, signed and counter-"signed, charging the British government, as James I. has since been charged, "with a deliberate and systematic intention of sapping the liberties, and "subverting the parliament of Ireland. All persons of congenial character "and sentiment were invited to range under the Whig banner, for the estab-"lishment and protection of the Irish constitution, on the model of the "Revolution 1688; and under this banner was ranged such a motley collection "of congenial characters, as never before were assembled for the reformation "of the state. Mr. Napper Tandy was received by acclamation, as a states-"man too important and illustrious to be committed to the hazard of a ballot. "Mr. Hamilton Rowan also repaired to the Whig banner. Unfortu-"nately, the political career of these gentlemen has been arrested; Mr. "Tandy's by attainder of felony, and an attainder of treason; Mr. Hamilton "Rowan's by an attainder of treason. The Whig secretary, if he does not "stand in the same predicament, is now a prisoner at the mercy of the crown, "on his own admission of his treasons; and if I do not mistake, the whole "society of Irish Whigs have been admitted, *ad eundem*, by their Whig "brethren of England. In the fury of political resentment, some noblemen "and gentlemen of the first rank in this country stooped to associate with the "refuse of the community, men whose principles they thus held in abhor-"rence, and whose manners and deportment must always have excited their "disgust."

Mr. Grattan has left the following sketch of it. "The work complains of "the Whig Club. The minister was the author of it. His doctrines and his "half million were the authors of it. But clubs of this kind are only pre-"served by violence. That violence did happen. An attack was made on "the rights of the city, a doctrine was promulgated, that the common council "had no right to put a negative on the lord mayor, chosen by the board of alder-"men, except the board itself should assent to the negative put on its own "choice, this doctrine was advanced by the court, to secure the election of the "mayor to itself; in the course of the contest, a minister involved himself in a "personal altercation with the citizens: with Mr. Tandy, he had carried on a "long war, and with various success; he was now involved in an altercation "more general, in the compass of his wrath, he paid his compliments to "the Whig Club, and that club advanced the shield of a free people over "the rights of the city, and humbled a minister in the presence of those "citizens, whose privileges he had invaded, and whose persons he had calum-"niated."

Such in truth has generally been the system of taking an ungenerous advantage of the Irish character. A people of quick impulse, ardent sympathy, and inconsiderate resolution, was always ready to anticipate rather than check any plan, that summoned their action or intrepidity.

The public thanksgiving for the king's recovery was attended with every solemnity, that the nature of the case would admit, on the 23d of April, 1789, in the cathedral of Christ's Church: and on different days, particular services were performed, in every church and chapel throughout the nation. A most solemn high mass was performed, with a new grand *Te Deum*, composed on the occasion by the celebrated Giordani, in the Roman Catholic chapel of Francis-street. And as a happy instance of the increasing liberality of the times, several of the first Protestant nobility and gentry assisted at it.* On the 5th of May, a most superb gala was given at the castle in commemoration of the happy recovery of his majesty: but none of those gentlemen were invited to partake of it, who had voted

The contest between the minister and Mr. Tandy, to which Mr. Grattan referred, was as follows: Mr. Tandy at the head of a party of the common council, opposed the election of one Alderman James to this office of lord mayor for the ensuing year, though the choice were almost a matter of course in the order, if not magistrates seniority. Mr. Tandy's opposition was founded upon a charge of his being the slave and creature of the castle. After a long contest which lasted all night, Mr. Tandy succeeded in the rejection of Alderman James, and in the choice of Alderman Howison in his room. This produced an appeal to the lord lieutenant and privy council, to whose ultimate approbation the choice of the chief magistrate was subject. Lord Fitzgibbon (then lately promoted to the seals) presided as chancellor. Mr. Tandy and his chosen alderman attended, with Messrs. Ponsonby and Curran, as their council. Alderman James had the Recorder and Dr. Duignan. The matter was solemnly argued. The council chamber was thrown open as a public court, and extremely crowded with citizens. Several personal asperities passed between the chancellor and Mr. Curran: and some coarse satire was attempted by Dr. Duignan against the scowling eyes, and haggard looks, sallow complexion, and factious principles of Mr. Tandy. The castle looking upon Alderman James as the victim of their cause, strongly espoused his interest: but the law laid down by Mr. Ponsonby, was so clearly decisive, that all that was attempted, was to send the parties back to a new election, which was again decided in favour of Alderman Howison, which was finally confirmed by the lord lieutenant in council. This event gave triumph and exultation to Mr. Tandy as a patriot, a second Lucas, and he afterwards commanded a strong influence in the common council.

* The Catholics, who had received more favours from his present gracious majesty, than from all his predecessors collectively, since Henry II. were gratefully sensible of the favour of God in restoring the health of their beloved sovereign, and were prominently conspicuous in returning their solemn thanks to the Deity. So illustrious an assemblage had never met in a Catholic place of worship in that kingdom since the reformation. Besides the principal part of their own nobility and gentry, there were present on the occasion the Duke of Leinster, the Earls and Countesses of Belvedere, Arran and Portarlington, Countesses of Carhampton and Ely, Lords Tyrone, Valentia and Delvin, Mr. D. La Touche and family, Mr. Grattan, Major Doyle, Mrs. Jeffries, Mrs. Trant, and several other persons of the first distinction.

for the address. A marked sign of reprobation was put on their heads: and so strongly was the spirit of party kept up, that in the list of toasts drank after dinner at the castle, the Prince of Wales and Duke of York were purposely omitted.* The extraordinary zeal and exertions of the attorney-general on this late as well as former occasions in support of government, were rewarded with the great seal of Ireland, which had become vacant by the death of Lord Lifford: and he became the first Irish chancellor appointed by England.

The Marquis of Buckinghatn was little satisfied with his situation in Ireland; for although he had regained a majority in parliament, he never more experienced any share of that popularity, which was sincerely shewn to him on his first acceptance of the viceroyalty in Lord Shelburne's administration: the spirit of party ran so high, and the chief governor grew daily so unpopular, that to avoid personal outrage, in the month of June he secretly took shipping* for England, and never more returned to Ireland. On the 30th of June, 1789, the new chancellor Lord Fitzgibbon and Mr. Foster the speaker were sworn in lords justices. After so much party difference and dissension in the capital, it was not to be expected, that the peace and tranquillity of the provinces should be encreased. The wretch-

* Immediately after the health of the king and queen had been drank, that of Mr. Pitt, as *the friend of Ireland*, was given with three times three. These minute circumstances are noticed, because in Ireland no small importance is annexed to such festive ceremonials, as it has been observed, 1 vol. p. 310. The system of creating disunion amongst the different branches of the royal family, was not confined to Ireland. England gave the example. Even the unfortunate affair between the Duke of York and Colonel Lenox afforded fresh matter for family jealousy and difference. The delay of introducing his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence into the House of Lords arose from that execrable spirit of disunion. That young prince, who graced his exalted rank by a close attention to his professional duties, superadded to his native and acquired endowments, a characteristical warmth of family affection and domestic sympathy. It was proposed that his royal highness should be introduced to the House of Lords by the Duke of Richmond. He modestly and naturally observed, that he had two brothers in the house. It was notwithstanding urged, that he must be introduced by the Dukes of Richmond and Chandos. His royal highness finding his two brothers proscribed replied, that he had two uncles in the house, by whom he wished to be introduced: this was not admissible: the Duke of Richmond was still insisted upon, and his royal highness declined the ceremony, till a sort of compromise was agreed to by substituting the Duke of Montague for the Duke of Richmond.

To these marked attempts at mortifying and humiliating the Prince of Wales, Mr. Grattan alluded in a speech upon this viceroy's administration in the following words, (10 Par. Deb. 16.) "Some of those members having "committed in Ireland excesses far beyond those which falsehood presumed "to prophesy, to disparage the second personage in these dominions."

* His excellency took shipping from Mr. Lee's elegant villa at the Black Rock. It was observed by Mr. Charles O'Neale, in a debate, 10 P. D. p. 118, that if he had not taken a back-stairs departure from that kingdom, he would in all probability have been greeted on his retreat in a very different manner from what he had been on his arrival in Ireland.

ed and restless poor in Munster began once more to break out into new disturbances. Whilst they expected redress, the country remained quiet: but after the rising of the parliament and the failure of Mr. Grattan's motion for an investigation of their grievances, the disturbances recommenced, and it was found necessary to encrease the military force in those districts, that manifested the most disposition to riot.

The unhappy differences of the *Peep of Day Boys* and *Defenders* so far from being composed or settled had considerably increased, both in extent and rancour since the last year: and it is a lamentable truth, that their enmity was fomented by many of the superior orders, for the diabolical purpose of breaking up the union of the Protestants and Catholics, which had been effected by serving together as volunteers, and was one of the effects of that system, which the government appeared most to dread. Reports were industriously set afloat, and greedily credited by most Protestants of the county of Armagh, who long had been pre-eminent amongst their brethren for their zealous antipathy to Popery, that if Catholics, who had obtained arms, and learned the use of them during the war, were permitted to retain them, they would soon be used in erecting Popery on the ruins of the Protestant religion. Where the flame of fanaticism once takes, it is scarcely to be extinguished but by extermination. The defenders had long and frequently complained, that all their efforts to procure legal redress against the outrages committed upon them by the *Peep of Day Boys* were unavailing: that their oppressors appeared to be rather countenanced, than checked by the civil power; and that the necessity of the case had driven them into *counter-combina-

* The form of the oath and rules of the defenders, said to have been found and sent to government by the Dean of Raphoe during the administration of Lord Buckingham, shews how far they were at this time organized.

THE OATH.

I A. B. of my own free will and accord, do swear to be true to one another, will assist one another abroad and at home, and there are none to be admitted without the consent of the committee appointed by the said body; and they must in all things be under subjection to the said committee in all things that are lawful, and not otherwise; and all words and signs to be kept secret from all that are not concerned or forfeit this oath, and we are to meet once a month where the committee thinks proper, and we are to spend what is agreeable to the company; and any person giving a lawful reason for his absence, he is not to be under censure; and all persons entering must be under all rules and regulations appointed by the said committee; and as in our former oath we are bound to his majesty King George III. and his successors to the crown, so for this present year 1789 we promise faithfully the same obedience, and also while we live subject to the same government.

Rules to be observed.

1st. There is no defender to strike one another upon any account; or if they do, to be excluded the company as long as the committee thinks proper.

tions to defend their lives and properties against these uncontrolled marauders. Whilst these petty, but fatal internal hostilities were confined chiefly to the county of Armagh, it appears, that the defenders had generally remained passive according to their first institution and appellation: and that they only became aggressors, when they afterwards were compelled to emigrate from their country. Their hostility was now at its height; government sent down two troops to quell them, but above fifty on both sides had been killed in an affray before the horse arrived. Tranquillity lasted, whilst the troops remained. But it was impossible, that a large assemblage of men, void of education, prudence, or control, should long remain together without mischief.

A very important change had taken place within the last ten years in the political sentiments of the Irish nation. The American contest for liberty had roused Ireland to think more practically and firmly upon her own civil rights: the fatal misconduct of the British ministry of that day had made them an armed people, and they shortly after became an independent

2d. There is no person to come to the monthly meeting drunk; or if they do, to pay sixpence, and to be excluded for three months.

3d. There is no person on any account to swear or speak loud in the company, and for every oath they are to pay what the committee thinks proper.

4th. There is no person that formerly belonged to another body (that is to say, a strange body) to be accepted without a line from the body he formerly belonged to.

5th. There is no person to let any one know who belongs to their body, but those who went under the obligation.

6th. There is no body of men to go to a challenge without leave of three of the committee at least.

7th. There is no body to get a copy of these without the leave of the grand master appointed by the general year's meeting, or deputies appointed by the said grand master, or his committee.

8th. Let no person know no words or signs without being concerned, and they are not empowered to give or make known by either words or signs or tokens any that may hereafter come forth, or make it known to any company or body but ourselves, or our body.

9th. There is no defender to make himself known as a defender after being excluded, under fear of perjury; and each man continuing six months from this day must find a gun and bayonet, with other necessary accoutrements, or be excluded at the option of the committee.

Given under our hands, from the Grange committee to the committee of Barrickarnan, body of defenders No. 1, for the county of Louth.

We, the committee of No. 18, do certify the bearer, Michael Moor, that he has gone through the rules and obligations of a brother defender; and at his request he desires to be discharged that he may join your body.

Given under our hands, at Dumbanagher, this 24th day of April, 1789.

EDWARD BRADLEY,
OWEN BRADLEY,
PATRICK LEES,
DANIEL M'GOVERAN, Sec.

N. B. Michael Moor's certificate was signed by fifty-one members in addition to the above, who were present, and members of Lodge 18.

nation. The fruition of recently acquired possessions is ever keener than the enjoyment of those, which have attended us from the cradle. The late civil advantages, which had been acquired either by assertion or concession were firm steps to the Irish to ascend to the perfect level of that constitutional freedom, which was the boast of Great Britain, but from which it still appeared her policy to exclude her sister kingdom. The most complete legislative independence, that could either be demanded or admitted, never would destroy the subordination of the Irish cabinet and administration. Hence the baneful source of Irish infelicity, and the imperious necessity of an incorporate union, in order to eradicate every fibre, from which the most puny sucker of that deleterious system could revive. Notwithstanding all the declarations, repeals, and renunciations on our part, it was physically impossible, that Great Britain should ever have considered the independence of the two kingdoms as perfectly reciprocal: and it appears, that in proportion to the efforts of Ireland to establish that reciprocity, was the jealous preponderance of Great Britain exerted to defeat it. Lord Buckingham's administration was an eventful æra in the latter history of Ireland. The declaration of American independence, and its successful progress to stability, had not a little contributed to that stupendous revolution of France, which had hitherto exhibited a fair and plausible appearance to most lovers of civil freedom: these examples stimulated the youthful vigour of regenerated Ireland to perfect their work, which they considered as left undone, whilst Great Britain enjoyed a constitutional advantage, of which Ireland was bereft. The contest between the Marquis of Buckingham and the parliament had disjointed and loosened the pre-existing parties, and the recovery of the sovereign had hitherto only brought back to their ranks those, who openly professed to give their services for pay. A more numerous and formidable opposition had arisen out of the question upon the regency, than the castle ever more expected to experience. The nation was generally with the minority, which comprised all the great popular interests of the kingdom: a race was run between those, who commanded any means of strengthening their respective parties both in and out of parliament: on one side patronage and influence were extended through the revenue, through the police and every other conduit, which was connected with the castle: on the other side the spirit of 1782 was revived in the volunteer corps, the Whig club encouraged, and the unpopularity of the late administration exhibited through the nation in the liveliest colours.

Though the Earl of Westmoreland succeeded the Marquis of Buckingham in the government of Ireland, yet it was ob-

served by several of the opposition members, that it was but a continuance of the former administration, under a less unpopular head:* the secretary and most other servants of the crown were continued in office. He met the parliament on the 21st of January, 1790, and his speech turned merely on the common topics. The whole of this session was but a series of fruitless contests for the great points, which the patriots contended they were entitled to by the constitution, and had pledged themselves to their country to persevere in pressing upon the government, until they should be granted.

On the second day of the session, as the address was moved for, †Mr. Grattan, though he did not mean to oppose the address, felt it incumbent upon him to avail himself of the earliest opportunity in the session to mark his disapprobation of the measures of the late administration, and to prove to the full conviction of that house, that they had been *ill governed.* He then went into a detail of those grievances, which the country had to lay at the door of the Marquis of Buckingham: he first touched on the increase of the pension list,‡ and then of the

* So Major Doyle expressed himself, 10 Parl. Deb. p. 233. "The same "measures were continued by the present viceroy, as if some malicious "device had shot into him the spirit of his departed predecessor, and that the "castle of Dublin was only the reflected shadows of the palace of Stowe."

† 10 Parl. Deb. p. 7.

‡ This being mere matter of account, I extract it from the papers laid before parliament. Append. to the 13th vol. Journ. Com. p. 271.

A list of all Pensions placed on the Civil Establishment during the Period of the Marquis of Buckingham's Administration, with an account of the total Amount thereof.

Fitzherbert Richards, Esq.	400
James Cavendish, Esq.	150
Harriet Cavendish	150
Lionel, Lord Viscount Strangford	400
Robert Thornton, Esq.	300
Right Honourable Thomas Orde	1700
Duke of Gloucester	4000
Georgina, Viscountess Boyne	500
Lady Catherine Marlay	300
Honourable Rose Browne	300
Walter Taylor	300
Francis D'Ivernois	300
David Jebb, Esq.	300
Lady Catherine Toole	200
Thomas Coughlan, additional	200
William, Viscount Chetwynd, additional	200
Charles, Viscount Ranelagh, and Sarah, Viscountess Ranelagh, his wife, and survivor	400
Lucia Agar, Viscountess Clifden, and Emily Anne Agar her daughter, and survivor	300
Sir Henry Mannix, Bart.	500
Sir Richard Johnstone, Bart. and William Johnstone, Esq. his son, and survivor	800
Sarah Hernon	70

encreased expence in the ordnance department, the latter of which he made amount to 1500*l.* besides 600*l.* pension to an officer* on the staff. Then after having amplified in detail

Elizabeth Hernon	70
Henry Loftus, Esq.	300
Diana Loftus	300
William Colville, Esq.	600
	13,040

* When he came to reflect on the extent of official abuses, which the Marquis of Buckingham undertook to reform and correct, great praise must be given to the resolution of any man, that would undertake the invidious though necessary function. Mr. Corry, whom he appointed surveyor of the ordnance, gave the following detail of his lordship's conduct in the outset of his reformation of that department, 10 Parl. Deb. p. 230. The first the public knew of the faults of the officers of the ordnance board, was the taking possession of their offices; but how different was this appearance from the real fact? It is customary for the ordnance board on the arrival of a new lord lieutenant, to make to him a return of the stores and ammunition in the arsenals and magazines of the kingdom. This return had been made to Lord Buckingham when he was first here lord lieutenant in 1782; a like return was made to him upon his second coming. Lord Buckingham was too much in the habit of examining papers, not to observe by the difference between those two returns, that some extraordinary peculation must have taken place; this was enough to direct his attention to the subject; but so far from proceeding with precipitation, he examined a variety of papers, which took up a great part of his time, from January to August, and having fully discovered the peculation, he wrote a letter to the persons concerned, desiring them to call a board, and, if possible, explain and justify their conduct. They did call a board, and thus their guilt being fully proved, Lord Buckingham, well knowing the scene of forgery that was then acting, like a wise and vigorous minded man, took, as it were by storm, the different offices; if he had not, his fame would indeed be gibbeted, and not as now, without foundation. Within twelve hours from the time Lord Buckingham took possession of the ordnance office, an attempt was made to rob it.

It was natural, after the discovery of peculation, to examine whether there was any radical defect in the constitution of the department; it was found there was none, it was established in wisdom. What then was to be done? Not to alter the constitution of the department, but to put men of character and responsibility into the several offices.

As to the nobleman at the head of the ordnance, the slightest glance of suspicion never fell upon him, his ill health made him so frequently absent, that it was impossible for him to scrutinize as Lord Buckingham did. The great misfortune of the office was, that several officers were absent, and those who attended in general, were under the control of the person who was chiefly guilty. Of that person, who in private life was a man extremely amiable, who has expiated his crime with his life, and to whom, if we cannot extend pardon, yet we cannot refuse pity, I would not speak at all, if not compelled; but being called upon, I must speak as truth demands and justice requires. That person came from Woolwich a private artificer, he was made a surveyor of the ordnance, with a salary of 450*l.*

Fair perquisites	150
Comptroller of the elaboratory	150
For a clerk	40
	790

Yet he was not satisfied with this, but threatened he would go back to England, to prevent which he was made a commissioner of barracks, 400*l.*

upon every act of the late viceroy, he summed up his charges in the following impressive manner.* "Such has been the "conduct of your reformer. This was the man; you re- "member his entry into the capital, trampling on the hearse of "the Duke of Rutland, and seated in a triumphal car, drawn "by public credulity; on one side fallacious hope, and on the "other many-mouthed profession; a figure with two faces, one "turned to the treasury, and the other presented to the peo- "ple; and with a double tongue, speaking contradictory lan- "guages.

"This minister alights; justice looks up to him with empty "hopes, and peculation faints with idle alarms; he finds the "city a prey to an unconstitutional police; he continues it; he "finds the country overburthened with a shameful pension list; "he increases it; he finds the House of Commons swarming "with placemen; he multiplies them; he finds the salary of the "secretary increase to prevent a pension; he grants a pension; "he finds the kingdom drained by absentee employments, and by "compensations to buy them home; he gives the best reversion "in the country to an absentee, his brother! He finds the go- "vernment at different times had disgraced itself by creating "sinecures, to gratify corrupt affection; he makes two com- "missioners of the rolls, and gives one of them to another bro- "ther; he finds the second council to the commissioners put "down because useless; he revives it; he finds the boards of "accounts and stamps annexed by public compact; he divides "them; he finds the boards of customs and excise united by "public compact; he divides them; he finds three resolutions; "declaring, that seven commissioners are sufficient; he makes "nine; he finds the country has suffered by some peculations in the "ordnance; he increases the salaries of offices, and gives the places "to members; to members of parliament."

The next attack upon the minister was made on the 1st of February, when Mr. Grattan, after having desired several resolutions to be read from the Journals once more, went over his old ground, and in a stupendous stream of oratory† arraigned

Now as to the peculation, instead of 6 or 8000*l.* look at the documents and you will see, that in the space of time, which Lord Buckingham examined, about ten years, the defalcation on musquets and bayonets was upwards of 20,000*l.* In the article of gunpowder issued, but not accounted for, 9000*l.* defalcation in gunpowder 26,000*l.* The excess of the profit on gunpowder in four years, bought from Irish manufactures, over what it might be bought for from English, 17,000*l.* Besides these discoveries Lord Buckingham has discovered how 800*l.* a year may, and will in future be saved to the nation in the issue of powder to the several regiments: yet these are things that gentlemen affect to make light of, and blame Lord Buckingham, where he had so much merit.

* 10 Parl. Deb. p. 15.

† In speaking of the undue influence of the crown, and the non-responsibility of the Irish minister, he thus expressed himself (10 Parl. Deb. p. 61)

the whole system of the late administration, so stedfastly supported by the present. He then moved, "That the resolutions "of this house against increasing the number of the commis- "sioners of the revenue and dividing of the boards, be laid be-

"The advocates for undue influence, who have appeared in England, have "admitted it to be a defect, but a defect that would mix with the constitution: "the ministers of Ireland have made that defect the only engine of their go- "vernment; our ministers have picked up from the British constitution no- "thing but the most corrupt part of her practice, and that they have carried "into the most daring excesses. No constitutional bills to heal: no popular "bills to pacify. The currency, the pure poison unmixed, unquenched, "unqualified; or if qualified, tempered only with revenge. On this principle "did the ministers take into their venal and vindictive hand the table of pro- "scriptions, on this principle did they remove, not because the place was un- "necessary; they have made unnecessary offices; on this principle did they "deprive, not because the pension list was overburthened; they have aug- "mented that list, but because the placemen so removed and the pensioner "so deprived had voted against the will of the minister, in questions wherein "that minister was pronounced to be unconstitutional, and convicted to be "corrupt. On the same principle did the ministry try the paltry arts of di- "vision, holding out the aristocracy to the people, as the old accomplice of "the ministers, and to the country gentlemen, as the monopolizers of emolu- "ments, as if by the spoil of the aristocracy the minister could bribe away the "independency of the country gentlemen, and rob the people of that small, "but respectable support, and sink that body into the herd of the castle. On "the same principle did the minister attack the dignity of the peerage, "by the sale of honours, and the dignity of this house, by the application "of the money to purchase for the servants of the castle seats in the "assembly of the people. On the same principle did they attack the pu- "rity of this house, by the multiplication of office, and division of estab- "lishment.

"I will not say the ministers went into the open street with cockades "in their hats, and drums in their hands; but I do say they were as public, "and had as openly broken terms with decorum, as if they had so open- "ly paraded in College Green, with their business lettered on their fore- "head.

"Such has been their practice, and such practice has been defended! "Merciful Heaven, defended! We have been taught to believe the Irish "viceroy is not to be affected in his situation by the sense of the people of "this country.

"Here you will stop to consider and demand why all this? Why this at- "tack on Ireland? The minister will tell you what caused, but I will tell you "what contributed. It was impunity, impunity. You have no adequate re- "sponsibility in Ireland, and politicians laugh at the sword of justice, which "falls short of their heads, and only precipitates on their reputations. Sir, "this has never yet exercised herself in the way of vindictive justice, in the "case of Strafford, she was but an humble assistant, and yet in this country "we have had victims, the aristocracy at different times has been a victim, "the whole people of Ireland for almost an entire century were a victim; but "ministers in all the criminal successions....here is a chasm, a blank in your "history. Sir, you have in Ireland no axe, therefore no good minister. Sir, "it is the misfortune of this country, that the principles of her constitution "have not yet become entirely the maxims of all those, who take the lead in "her government. They have no public mind, their maxims are provincial, "and this misconception of our situation is not a little assisted by a prudent "sense of their own interest. They know that Ireland does not punish: they "see that the British court does reward. This will explain why the Irish "court prefers a strong corrupt government to a good sound constitution."

" fore his majesty, with an humble address, that his majesty " will be graciously pleased to order to be laid before us the " particulars of the representations in consequence of which two " new commissioners of the customs had been added, notwith- " standing the resolutions of this house; and also that his ma- " jesty will be graciously pleased to communicate to his faithful " commons, the names of the persons concerned in recommend- " ing that measure."

Mr. Conolly seconded the motion, and indignantly confessed he was ashamed of himself, when he saw his name inrolled in an assembly, that could first censure, and then support the Marquis of Buckingham; and if he could judge by the complexion of the house, was still determined to sanction his proceedings: he remarked, that the two additional commissioners were not only added to the original number, in despite of the resolutions of that house, but they were added for the purposes of corruption, coercion, and revenge.

The motion was vehemently opposed by Mr. John Beresford, the head commissioner of the customs, and more ably by Sir Hercules Langrishe,* who had been longer employed in the collec-

* This gentleman in the course of his argument palliated though he did not deny the substance of the charges made by the opposition. He spoke a very intelligible language. " As to the occasional expences of the present time, " as particularly alluded to, I shall only say, I hope I never was either the " preceptor or pupil of corruption, nor the advocate of prodigality. I am sure " I never shared in the one in order to practise or palliate the other; yet with " every conviction on my mind of the duty of government to observe œconomy, " I must say, that critical occasions sometimes occur, in which the most pure " and perfect minister can scarcely adhere to it. I am afraid that the recol- " lection of those who hear me cannot furnish an instance of strong dissensions " between the crown and the parliament, in which, through the progress of " accommodation, some public expence has not been incurred. These ideas " may not, perhaps, be justified on abstract reasoning: but from the nature " and habits of man, the fact is unavoidable; and if it be unavoidable, I think " it is pardonable; and I believe it is unavoidable, because it never was " avoided. No! whilst human affairs are administered by human creatures, " human passions will interpose, and the governors and governed will act un- " der their impulse; but it is the purpose and the principle, the motive and " the magnitude that decide the venality of the action, and that a critical emer- " gency may vindicate occasional expence from systematical prodigality. I " know very well nothing can justify corruption; the constitution that recog- " nizes influence in the crown, rejects corruption, and though I admit that in- " fluence may appear, I utterly deny that corruption does. I appeal to the " experience of some years, if, on great and interesting occasions, there has " ever been wanting a sufficient share of public virtue to assert the rights and " maintain the interests of this country; neither do I think it very prudent to " suggest contrary notions to the people, whose peace and prosperity depend " on their obedience to the laws they have made. They will not be fond to " drink of the stream, if you tell them the source, from which it flows is cor- " rupted; suffer them to feel that they are happy, that they are free, that they " are masters of their property, and secure in their persons, and that it is un- " necessary for them to feel the parallel or follow the example of a neighbour- " ing people that has been referred to; a people, who have been long bending

tion of the revenue, than any other member of that house. He entered into an elaborate disquisition of the origin, nature, union, and division of the boards of excise and customs, and limitation of the number of commissioners under different statutes, and strongly contended for the total dissimilarity between the periods of 1771 and 1790. The Attorney General and some few other members also opposed the motion. The debate was carried on with great violence till towards two o'clock in the morning, when upon a division there appeared 80 for and 135 against the motion.

The next effort of the opposition was Mr. Curran's motion, "That an humble address should be presented to his majesty, "praying that he would order to be laid before that house, the "particulars of the causes, consideration, and representations, "in consequence of which the boards of stamps and accounts "had been divided, with an increase of salary to the officers; "also, that he would be graciously pleased to communicate to "that house the names of the persons who recommended that "measure."

He prefaced his motion with a speech of much point and ability. The board of accounts had been instituted in Lord Townshend's administration; it came forward in a manner rather inauspicious, it was questioned in parliament, and was decided in the house by the majority of the five members who had received places under it; born in corruption, it could only succeed by venality! It continued an useless board, until the granting of the stamp duties in Lord Harcourt's time; the management of the stamps was then committed to it, and a solemn compact was made, that the taxes should not be jobbed, but that both departments should be executed by one board; so it continued, till it was thought necessary to encrease the salaries of the commissioners in the Marquis of Buckingham's famous administration, but then nothing was holden sacred.

He brought forward that motion, not as a question of finance, not as a question of regulation, but as a penal enquiry, and the people would now see, whether they were to hope for help within these walls. He rose in an assembly of three hundred persons, one hundred of whom had places or pensions; in an assembly, one-third of whom had their ears sealed against the

"under slavery and oppression, and are now engaged in a bold effort to obtain "what they peaceably and perfectly enjoy already. They contended for equal "laws and ascertained rights; they had them. They fought for liberty; they "enjoyed it; and long might they enjoy that first of human blessings, unim-"paired by power on one hand, and undisturbed by groundless suspicions on "the other; and long might the parental vigilance of the right honourable "member superintend and protect it; let his constitutional jealousy be ever "awake, let it be scrupulous, but let it be temperate, let it be severe, but let "it be practicable."

complaints of the people, and their eyes intently turned to their own interest; he rose before the whisperers of the treasury, the bargainers and the runners of the castle: he addressed an audience, before whom was holden forth the doctrine, that the crown ought to use its influence on the members of that house.

He rose to try when the sluices of corruption had been let loose upon them, whether there were any means left to stem that torrent.

The debate broke out into great intemperance from both sides: the division upon the motion was 81 in support, and 141 against it.*

Whatever may have been the merits or demerits of the police bill, certain it is, that it was most vehemently supported and opposed by the contending parties, with more than ordinary expressions and means of recommendation and reprobation. In order to give more sanction to the measure, his majesty was advised to mark his personal approbation of their efforts to uphold and improve that system of policy, in his answer† to the address of the commons, selecting as it were this alone out of several objects comprised in the address.

‡On the 11th of February, a fresh attack was made upon the ministry, who acted during the whole session upon the defensive. Mr. Forbes called the attention of the house to some particular branches of the public expenditure, in order to prepare the minds of gentlemen for the consideration of the two

* In the course of this debate, a ministerial member (Mr. Moore) had made and repeated his declaration, that against a desperate party, combined to seize the crown, he, if he were a member, would think himself justified in employing all the influence of the crown, for the crown's protection. But the attorney general thought it prudent to rebut the imputation made at his concurrence in this opinion. 10 Par. Deb. p. 123. "Sir, said he, I never did insinuate in any way that we should obtain majorities by corruption: such a sentiment never entered into my mind. I trust, Sir, that on my own account, I need not make this declaration; to those who know me, it is unnecessary; but I think it necessary to explain, that no such declaration was made on the part of government, otherwise I know, that it would be put into the newspapers, and be industriously propagated through the country, that government had broached such doctrines, doctrines, which I believe, the gentlemen with whom I act, reject and abhor."

† 10 Par. Deb. p. 135.

The KING'S Answer to the Address of the House of Commons.

"GEORGE R.

"His majesty has received with great satisfaction, the dutiful and loyal address of his faithful commons; the assurances of their attachment to his majesty's person, family and government, and the disposition which they express to provide for the exigencies of the public service, and to uphold and improve that system of policy, which has been attended with such beneficial consequences to his majesty's faithful subjects in Ireland, are highly pleasing to his majesty.

"G. R."

‡ 10 Par. Deb. p. 190.

measures, a place bill and a pension bill, which he proposed to introduce in the course of some few days. He then expatiated at large upon every topic that had been agitated during the course of the session, and concluded with the following motion. "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, stating, "that having taken into our consideration the income and ex- "penditure of the nation, we find ourselves obliged to lay be- "fore him certain abuses and misapplications of a considerable "portion of the public revenues; that the list of pensions on the "21st of January, 1789, appears to have increased to the sum "of 101,000*l.* exclusive of the military pensions, which amount "to 6,500*l.* a sum nearly equal to half the charges of the civil "establishment; that the pensions placed on the civil and mili- "tary establishments since the 24th of February, 1784, exclu- "sive of those granted in lieu or exchange of former pensions, "amounted to 29,800*l.*; 12,313*l.* of which have been placed on "the establishment since December, 1787; that the amount of "pensions on the civil establishment has increased since the "25th of March, 1784, in the sum of 16,000*l.*; that many of "those pensions have been granted to members of this house, "during the pleasure of the crown, in violation of the princi- "ples of the constitution, and honour of the House of Com- "mons; that a number of new and additional salaries, in "the nature of pensions, had of late been annexed, not only to "old offices, which had become obsolete and useless, but also to "lesser offices, mostly sinecure, or hitherto considered of so in- "significant a nature, as to entitle the holders of such offices to "very small salaries; that an addition of 300*l.* per annum, has "been lately granted to the salary of the customer of Kinsale, to "commence from the 29th of September, 1789; and a further "addition of 200*l.* payable on a contingency, both for the life "of the present possessor; an office which has been for years "considered as useless and obsolete, to which no duty whatso- "ever is annexed, nor any attendance required; that an addi- "tion of 400*l.* per annum has been lately granted to the salary "of comptroller of the pipe, though 53*l.* 10*s.* has for years been "considered as an adequate compensation for the discharge of "the duties of that office. That an addition of 150*l.* per an- "num has also been lately granted to the barrack-master of "Dublin. That the persons to whom those additional salaries "have been granted, are all members of this house. Humbly "beseeching his majesty graciously to interpose, to restrain the "progress of a system of expence, which must soon induce a "necessity of resorting to new loans, and of imposing new "taxes."

The motion was seconded by Mr. Conolly. Each debate grew warmer than the preceding. Many coarse personalities

were substituted for argument. The opposition not only upbraided the gentlemen of the treasury benches with being bought and hired to vote against their own convictions and the welfare of their country, but they taunted them, with the want of ability and talent, as well as of honour and honesty. This was highly resented by the attorney-general, who strongly charged his opponents with imperious turbulence, and overbearing, for no other purpose than to attain that power, which they could not behold enjoyed by others without envy. To which Mr. Forbes replied: he said, that he was not ashamed to declare, that he preferred the man, who contended for power rather than place; he was not ashamed to confess, that he wished for and ambitioned the possession of power, which might enable him and his friends to effectuate beneficial measures for the country, and obtain a pension, place, and a responsibility bill, and other salutary measures, in support of which, gentlemen, with whom he had the honour of co-operating, had publicly and solemnly pledged themselves. He said, he should ever prefer men who contended for such a power of serving their country, to a set of men who, regardless of principles, characters, and measures, were the indiscriminate supporters of any and every description of men, whom an unforeseen occurrence of circumstances, the confusion of times, or the coalition of parties, might enable to take possession of the government.

* On this occasion the opposition encreased: there being upon the division 92 for the address, against 136, that opposed it.

* In the course of this debate, Mr. Monk Mason in defending the pension given to Mr. Orde as an usual thing, undertook to prove to the house, by an historical detail of the secretaryships, that so far from such grants being unprecedented, he should clearly prove to the house, that with the single exception of Mr. Fitzherbert, (that amiable man, whose departure from this country they all regretted) the secretary of every permanent administration, for these last forty years, had been invariably rewarded for his services in that station, at the expence of that kingdom: he had no doubt, that the practice was of more ancient date, but should confine himself to that period, which had fallen within his own experience.

He should therefore begin with the year 1749, in the administration of Lord Harrington, whose secretary, Mr. Weston, obtained as his reward, the office of alnager, for a term of years.

Mr. Weston was succeeded by Lord George Sackville, the son and secretary of the Duke of Dorset, who was appointed clerk of the council.

Lord George was succeeded by General Conway, the late clerk of the hanaper.

General Conway was succeeded by Mr. Rigby, the late master of the rolls.

Mr. Rigby was succeeded by Mr. Gerard Hamilton, whose office of chancellor of the exchequer, they had purchased from him, at the expence of a pension of 2,500*l.* a year for a number of lives.

Mr. Hamilton was succeeded by Lord Beauchamp, who, if he were not misinformed, derived some considerable emoluments from that country, though not in his own name.

No character of an individual ever was more material to the interests of a kingdom, than that of Mr. Grattan to those of Ireland. Of the unrivalled powers of his mind, there never were two opinions. If these sheets have fairly (though faintly) recorded his exertions in favour of his country, up to the year 1782, it is presumed, that the judgment of the whole British empire upon his public conduct up to that period, will be in strict unison with that of his country, which then rewarded his fidelity and talents with a patriotic donation of 50,000*l.* From that great epoch in Irish history, no character has ever been more variously represented than that of Mr. Grattan. A man covered with the most honourable trophies of a grateful country, must in the jarring conflicts of political convulsions stand exposed to the shafts of ambition, fear, jealousy, envy and revenge. The spirit of party rose to an unprecedented height under Lord Buckingham's administration, and Mr. Grattan. uniformly opposed the principles and measures of that system. One part of the nation supported and looked up to him with enthusiasm

Lord Beauchamp was succeeded by Lord Frederick Campbell, a nobleman of too high rank to desire any reward from that country, for the short time he resided in it; but his successor under the same administration (Lord Macartney) was rewarded for his services, by the government of the Castle of Toom, with a salary of 1500*l.* a year.

Lord Macartney was succeeded by the right honourable gentleman on the second bench, who derived some advantages from his services in that station; though perhaps, not adequate either to his own merit, or Mr. Mason's good wishes.

The right honourable gentleman was succeeded by Sir Richard Heron, who held an employment in the port of Cork, worth 800*l.* a year.

From the time of Lord Buckinghamshire, till the arrival of the Duke of Rutland, the government of that country was continually changing; their secretaries were merely birds of passage; but Mr. Orde, who obtained the pension in question, as a reward for his services, which he well deserved, resided in that kingdom for three years, in times of difficulty and confusion; devoting the whole of his attention, and even sacrificing his health, to an anxious desire, not only of promoting the present welfare of that country, but that of the rising generation also.

A very short, but singularly emphatical speech of Mr. O'Neil in this debate ought not to pass unnoticed. "10 Par. Deb. p. 210. He thought it wholly "unnecessary for gentlemen on the other side, to adduce a single argument "upon any question, while they had an omnipotent number of 140 to support "them. On the subject of influence, the denial of it, he said, was ridiculous, "as there was not a lady then sitting at tea in Dublin, who, if she were told "that there were 120 men in that house, composed of placemen and pensioners, "would not be able to say how the question would be decided, as well as "the tellers on the division. He said the very first act in every session of "parliament, which was the bill of supply, went to raise the interest for a "million and a half of money for ministers to divide amongst themselves. I "do say, and I say it prophetically," continued he, "that the people will "resist it. The members of this house bear but a small proportion to the "people at large. There are gentlemen outside those doors, of as good "education and of as much judgment of the relative duties of representation, "as any man within doors, and matters are evidently ripening, and will shortly "come to a crisis."

as the grateful and faithful servant, the true friend and ablest advocate of his country. The other part (the less numerous and the more opulent) considered and represented him as a factious ingrate, a secret and dangerous enemy, and little short of an avowed traitor to his king and country. As he headed the most determined opposition ever made against the Irish government, his conduct has been scrutinized with censorious scrupulosity. He was the founder and promoter of the Whig Club of Ireland: and from his proposal, did the members pledge themselves to each other, not to accept offices under any administration, that would not support, until they obtained for the people, a pension bill, a place bill, a responsibility bill, and a bill to prevent the revenue officers from voting at elections. In this debate upon Mr. Forbes's motion, Mr. Grattan in reply to some observations made from the treasury bench on the subject of party, distinctly disclosed the objects, which he and his friends professed to have in view.*

* 10 Par. Deb. p. 216. We have been called, said he, the tail of a British faction; by whom? By those, or the followers of those, who owe their livelihood, or their first elevation to what they call that British faction: by those who have received 1, 2, or 3000*l.* a year from that British faction; whose numerous families have been fed by that British faction; or whose introduction into political life was first due, and the consequences, therefore, in some degree, to be attributed to that British faction. There is not one gentleman in the present Irish administration who is really confidential, that is not bounden by the closet relationship or the greatest political pecuniary obligations to that British faction; nor is there any one of them or of those, who act under them, that would not be the humble servant of that British faction, if the keys of the treasury were once more in their hands; nor is there any one of them, who would not, and does not now, for his private interest, personally and privately court that British faction. When such men revile that body, and instigate their friends, and followers and retainers, to revile that body, such men do not acquit themselves of the charge of party, but convict themselves of the basest ingratitude and vilest adulation; they prove themselves willing to offer their wretched incense to whomsoever shall be in power; to those from whom they now receive wages, and therefore fawn on, at the expence of those, from whom they did receive wages, from whom they are ready to receive wages, but from whom, at this particular moment, they receive wages no longer; and therefore such men are not above party, but so very mercenary and menial as to be below faction. Just so, the coachman who drives the minister; he serves secretary after secretary, he is handed down from master to master, and he enquires not into the principles of any, but receives wages from all; and his justification is, that he is a servant: but should he, servant as he is, like some of you, revile these masters who have paid him, then he would be a faithless hireling, and not an honest servant.

Sir, I will tell gentlemen, what description of party is beneficial; a party united on public principle, by the bond of certain specific public measures, which measures cannot be carried by individuals, and can only succeed by party.

I will state some of ours, a pension bill, a place bill, a repeal of the present Dublin police bill, a responsibility bill, that is, a bill requiring the acts of the executive power to be signed by certain officers resident in Ireland, who shall be with their lives and fortunes, responsible to this kingdom in the measures and expences of government; also a bill to preserve the freedom of election,

The next plan of attack fell to the lot of Mr. George Ponsonby, who after he had gone over the old course of popular grievances, finished with this observation, that as they had declared from the opposite benches, that they would avow and defend every measure of Lord Buckingham, there was little hope of his succeeding in his motion, though he had observed that the transcendant abilities of Mr. Grattan had, on the last debate, encreased the number of those, who voted on their side of the house. His motion was: To represent to his ma- "jesty, that his faithful commons having taken into considera- "tion the growth of public expence in the last year, could "not but observe many new and encreased salaries, annexed "to offices granted to members of this house, no fewer in num- "ber than fourteen; that so rapid an increase of places, to- "gether with the number of additional pensions, could not but "alarm the house; and though they never could entertain a "doubt of his majesty's affection and regard for his loyal king- "dom of Ireland, yet they feared, that his majesty's servants "might, by misinformation, so far have abused his majesty's "confidence, as to have advised such measures for the purpose "of increasing influence."

Mr. Grattan seconded the motion; which after a warm debate till one o'clock was negatived by a majority of 146, against 87.

by disqualifying revenue officers; and further a total demolition of the new charges created by the Marquis of Buckingham. These are some of the measures which we, if we should have power, are pledged to the public to carry into specific execution. I read them the rather, because *litera scripta manet*, the public hears and will record.

These are some of our measures: I now turn to administration, and call upon them to state their measures; what bills for the public good? State them; come forth; I pause to give them time to consider. Well, what are they? Not one public, constitutional, or wise regulation, there they sit under the public eye; a blank, gutted, excavated, and eviscerated of any one single, constitutional, or œconomic bill, principle or project for the good of the community.

Sir, I will give these gentlemen of administration, on this topic of party, the greatest advantage they can in their situation receive. I will draw a veil over the past, and forget the specific services which we have performed, and those which we are pledged to perform for the good of the country. I will also forget the injuries, which they and their abettors have at different times inflicted, and are this hour inflicting on the community; let us start as it were anew, set name against name, and we will beat them down by character.

I have submitted a description of a party which I conceive to be a public benefit. I will state to you a description of a party which I conceive to be the public curse; if party it can be called, which is worse than a faction, and nothing more than an impudent phalanx of political mercenaries, coming from their little respective offices to vote for their bribe and vapour for their character, who have neither the principles of patriotism, nor ambition, nor party, nor honour: who are governed not by deliberation, but discipline; and licking the hands that feed, and worshipping the patron that bribes them. Degraded men, disgraceful tribe! When they vote for measures, they are venal when such men talk against party, they are impudent.

Not only the actual opposition given to the system of government by Mr. Grattan was displeasing to them, but the perseverance and powerful talents, with which he now kept up an aggressive warfare, rendered him personally obnoxious in proportion as he became formidable to his opponents. On no occasion during the session did he press the ministers more closely, than on the 20th of February, when he opened upon them a new battery, for which they had not been prepared. He rose unexpectedly in the house, and without any preface thus accosted the chair.

* "SIR,

"WE persist to combat the project to govern this country by "corruption. We have hitherto contended against those parts "of the system, which proceeded to undermine the constitution, "without an apparent breach of the law, and therefore, might "impose on the public as a government by law; such was the "addition of two unnecessary commissioners; such were the "unnecessary salaries for four officers of the stamps: such were "the additional salaries to four officers of the ordnance; such, "in short, the creation of fourteen new parliamentary places, "and of eight or nine parliamentary pensions, in the course of "less than twelve months. These measures import their own "criminality, and bespeak on the part of his majesty's minis-"ters, a design to govern this country by sapping the founda-"tion of her liberty. They called upon us to disallow them, "they called upon us to withdraw our confidence from the "ministers by whom they were imposed; but they went no "further. They did not appear to be accompanied with any "overt act, whereby the criminal designs of their authors could "be substantiated by evidence enough to punish their persons; "they were good reasons for dismissing the ministers for ever "from his majesty's councils, but not grounds for personal "punishment.

"But there is another part of this project, wherein his ma-"jesty's ministers have not only attempted to undermine the "constitution, but have actually broken the laws; for that part "of the project, we conceive his majesty's ministers to be "impeachable. Sir, the sale of honours is an impeachable "offence; the crime speaks itself. But to take the point out of "doubt, I will state to you a case; the Duke of Buckingham, "in the reign of Charles I. was impeached on thirteen articles, "and the ninth article was the sale of honours; the very crime, "of which the ministers of Ireland have been guilty. He "was impeached for the sale of a peerage to Lord Roberts for "10,000*l.*

10 Par. Deb. p. 264.

"The House of Commons in support of the impeachment, "stated the heinousness of perverting the ancient and honoura- "ble way of obtaining titles of honour. They urged the crime "of taking away from the crown, the fair and frugal way of "rewarding great and deserving servants. They stated the "crime of shuffling promiscuously and confusedly together, "those of inferior alloy, with those of the purest and most "generous metal. They urged, that it was a prodigious "scandal to the nation, and that for such offence, precedent "there was none, and then they call for justice on the head "of that man, who by making honour saleable, had rendered it "contemptible.

"But there is a circumstance in the offence of the Irish mi- "nistry, which is not to be found in the case of the Duke of "Buckingham; they have applied the money arising from the "sale to model the House of Commons; this is another im- "peachable offence; that minister who sells the honours of "one house to model the representation of the other, is im- "peachable for the last offence as well as the first; he makes a "wicked, and scandalous, and illegal use of the prerogative "of the crown, in order to destroy the privileges of parliament. "He makes the two houses of parliament auxiliary, not to sup- "port, but to contaminate one another. Thus he is a conspira- "tor against the legislation; attacking it in both houses of "parliament, and poisoning the two great sources of the law. "But this practice corrupts also the dispensation of justice "as well as the fountains of the law; the sale of a peerage, "is the sale of a judicial employment of the highest judicial "situation; a situation, whose province it is to correct the "errors of all other courts; such a sale goes against the com- "mon law, and against the spirit of every statute made on the "subject.

"I say the present ministers of this country cannot govern "Ireland, they cannot govern Ireland for England; I do not "call corruption government, not the carrying a question at the "loss of their money and character. They have then pro- "cured for British government, neither character sufficient to "command respect, nor revenue sufficient to pay the establish- "ment; but then they have gotten other strength, they have "gotten the support and good will of the nation. No, the loss "of the nation's good will is synonymous with the loss of repu- "tation.

The independent country gentlemen never can support a "minister who practises extravagance and professes corruption; "supporting such a minister they would be country gentlemen "no longer, they would be the servants of the castle out of "livery. They must see and despise the pitiful policy of

" buying the country gentlemen, by an offer to wrap them up in " the old cast-clothes of the aristocracy. A clumsey covering " and a thin disguise, never the object of your respect, fre- " quently the subject of your derision; the country gentleman " must recollect how seldom he can procure even an audience " from that bench, except when he artificially deserts his " cause and his country. Place him on his native hills, and " he is a protection against the storm; transplant him to " the hot-bed of the castle, he degenerates and becomes a weed.

" As to the aristocracy, I will not say you have alienated " every member of that body; but I do say, you have alienated " as great, as respectable, and as formidable a part of that body, " as ever stood in the phalanx of opposition; and you have not " only given them every personal provocation, but every public " topic, and every public provocation to raise on their side, the " interest, the feelings, and the voice of the community. You " have not, however, left yourselves without some part of the " aristocracy of the country, but that part you have endeavoured " to leave without any kind of reputation, by directing against " the aristocracy of Ireland in general, the whisper of your " castle, and the scurrility of your press, reducing all men to the " level of your own reputations. Thus, the result of your " project has been to render British government in this country, " as feeble and contemptible, as the tendency of your project " is to render the Irish constitution corrupt and dependant. " For the sake of both nations, therefore, we oppose it; but " how defeat this project? Certainly not by a plan of self-de- " fence. It is a maxim of war, that the body that is ever " attacked, and only defends, must finally be subdued, it is then " on a principle of self-preservation, that we resort to the good " old method of impeachment. We have long disputed about " this pension and that place, until inch by inch we are driven " into our trenches by a victorious enemy. It is now necessary " to change our system of action, and to come forth with the " power of the constitution to punish the enemies thereof. We " call this house, whose foundation the minister now undermines, " to witness that we are compelled to this, and that these men " have, by a multiplication and repetition of plunder, prodi- " gality, corruption, insult, outrage and misdemeanours, brought " forth at last the reluctant justice of the nation. The great " influences, which the philosopher tells you are necessary to " bind together the moral system are wanting here. The in- " fluence of opinion, of future and sublunary punishment: the " two first the minister disregards; be it our province to intro- " duce into this region the last, that his majesty's ministers may " be sensible there is a vindictive justice, and that there is in " this country a power competent to inflict that justice upon

" them. Gentlemen come over to this country for a livelihood, " and they find servants who, like themselves, look to govern- " ment for nothing but a livelihood, and this alliance, that does " not include an idea of public care or duty, they call an admi- " nistration; but it is our task to interrupt this venal commerce " by impeachment. Had the people of England only condemned " ship money, they had done nothing. No, they brought forth " to public punishment the projectors, they exhibited the male- " factor at the bar of the nation. The injuries you have suf- " fered, demand a spectacle of that kind; a state offender kneel- " ing at the bar of the lords, and impeached in the name, and on " the behalf of the commons of this realm. I therefore move " you,

" That a select committee be appointed to inquire, in the " most solemn manner, whether the late or present administra- " tion have entered into any corrupt agreement with any person " or persons, to recommend such person or persons to his ma- " jesty as fit and proper to be by him made peers of this realm, " in consideration of such person or persons giving certain sums " of money to be laid out in procuring the return of members to " serve in parliament, contrary to the rights of the people, incon- " sistent with the independence of parliament, and in violation of " the fundamental laws of the land."

This very severe and pointed attack was resisted by the chancellor of the exchequer for want of evidence to ground any specific charge upon: simple assertion and common fame were totally insufficient: therefore, to the crime alleged, they pleaded not guilty, and put themselves upon their country to be judged by their actions. The prime serjeant found the motion of so extraordinary a nature, of such alarming magnitude and novelty, and introduced in so strange a manner, that no man could, consistently with the principles of justice, or the dictates of his conscience accede to it. When the attention of the house was bespoken for that day, gentlemen, according to the usual course of parliamentary proceedings, requested to know the intended subject of debate; all information was withholden, and a general reference made to the former debates. If the minister in either country should introduce a proposition of so much novelty without a previous information, there would be stronger ground than common fame to suspect an intention to surprize the house: if the measure be so self-evident, why had it been kept back, and introduced after five days preparation, with a reference to several authorities to support its propriety? And among others, one from the inauspicious reign of Charles I.; a reign, in which the other house of parliament was voted useless, and which terminated in the sacrifice of the king to hyprocrisy and faction. If any better authority could be produced, the honourable mem-

ber would have recurred to it: but even that precedent, as cited, did not go so far as to say, that the House of Commons of that day, instituted a committee to fish for evidence, whereon to ground an accusation: a species of proceeding, in his judgment, inadmissible.

A very severe debate ensued, about the close of which, Mr. Grattan rose to reply; he was indignant, that it should have been said in debate, that the facts rested upon his simple assertion. "Will you," said he, "rest it on that? Will you maintain it is only a simple assertion? I do not assert only, that, I "have heard it commonly said, and specially stated, the sums, "the persons, the circumstances; but I said I never heard it "out of these walls denied. It is a crime as generally known, "and as publicly reported, as any thing, which is not yet re-"duced to special conviction; it is a crime we offer to prove; "we come here to arraign the ministers of the crown. I will "read the charges which I make against them." He then read the following paper.

"We charge them publicly, in the face of their country, with "making corrupt agreements for the sale of peerages, for doing "which, we say they are impeachable; we charge them with "corrupt agreements for the disposal of the money arising from "the sale, to purchase for the servants of the castle, seats in "the assembly of the people; for doing which we say they are "impeachable; we charge them with committing these offences, "not in one, nor in two, but in many instances, for which com-"plication of offences, we say they are impeachable; guilty of "of a systematic endeavour to undermine the constitution in "violation of the laws of the land. We pledge ourselves to "convict them. We dare them to go into an enquiry. We "do not affect to treat them as other than public malefactors. "We speak to them in a style of the most mortifying and humi-"liating defiance. We pronounce them to be public criminals. "Will they dare to deny the charge? I call upon, and dare the "ostensible member to rise in his place, and say on his honour, "that he does not believe such corrupt agreements have taken "place. I wait for a specific answer." After some pause, Mr. Secretary Hobart replied, that if he could think the right honourable gentleman had any right to ask him the question he had proposed, and were he alone concerned in it, he should find no manner of difficulty in answering him; but as it was a question, which related to the exercise of his majesty's undoubted prerogative, it would ill become him, upon the investigation of an individual, to say what were the reasons, which had induced his majesty to bestow upon any person those honours, which the crown alone could constitutionally confer. As to the charge

that had been made, he could not avoid expressing some surprise, that gentlemen were not sufficiently alarmed by common fame at the end of Lord Northington's administration, to bring forward such a charge then. Common fame certainly did then report, that peerages had been notoriously granted in return for seats in the Commons House of parliament; yet the right honourable gentleman and his friends were in the confidence of that administration, and must be presumed to be informed of the fact. On which, Mr. Conolly remarked, that his right honourable friend had asked a plain, unequivocal, direct question, and the house was to judge whether he had received an intelligible and satisfactory answer. The division was 144 against, and 88 for the motion.

Another strong attack was made on the system of the new police, in a very heated debate, that arose upon the order of the day (24th February) for going into a committee on the bill to continue an act passed in the 27th year of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for the better execution of the law and pre-"servation of the peace within counties at large."

*When Mr. Forbes moved the place bill to be read a second time, he shortly observed, that to expatiate on the necessity of the bill before the house would be idle, when it was recollected, that no less than one hundred and four persons, holding places or pensions, were members of that house. If authority were necessary to justify the bill, authority was not wanting; for more than fourscore years Great Britain had experienced its beneficial effects; it was a principle annexed as part of the conditions of placing on the throne the family of Brunswick; it was a principle interwoven with the revolution, and considered as essential to the preservation of the people's liberty; and if these reasons were not sufficiently strong, he would add one more: since the last session of the Irish parliament, no less than fourteen new places had been created, and bestowed upon members of that House of Commons.

The chancellor of the exchequer expected the honourable gentleman would have urged some new or strong argument for adopting so strong a measure as a total change in the principles of their government. The honourable gentleman had said, that they had the example of England before them; but in England tenfold precaution was necessary, because in England the patronage of the crown was ten times greater than it was in that country.

The heat of this debate exceeded that of any one of the session†, and the opposition was the largest, viz. 96 against 143.

* 10 Par. Deb. p. 329.

† In this debate Mr. Grattan held the following strong language. 10 Par. Deb. 340. "Sir, I cannot avoid observing, that in this day's debate, gentle-

Another very long and interesting debate took place upon the legality of issuing FIATS for levying unascertained damages. One Magee*, the printer of a paper, whilst under a criminal prosecution at the suit of Mr. Higgins, was confined to gaol upon different *fiats*, signed by Lord Clonmel, to the amount of 7800*l.* He had petitioned parliament; a committee had been appointed, and Mr. George Ponsonby moved," that it was the

" men on the other side of the house have adopted a certain tone of power, I " presume in consequence of a very indecent and disorderly interposition on " the part of one, who does not belong to this house, though he has lately " interfered in its proceedings. Sir, I am not uninformed to what length that " person went within these walls, even during the debates of this house; it " seems to me somewhat strange, that gentlemen on the other side should " dwell so much on the necessity of parliamentary decorum, when they " have been evidently spirited up by an interposition, which in itself was the " grossest violation of parliamentary decency. Sir, I have been told it was " said, that I should have been stopped, should have been expelled the com- " mons, should have been delivered up to the bar of the lords for the expres- " sions delivered that day.

" I will repeat what I said on that day: I said that his majesty's ministers " had sold the peerages, for which offence they were impeachable. I said " they had applied the money for the purpose of purchasing seats in the " House of Commons for the servants or followers of the castle, for which " offence I said they were impeachable. I said they had done this, not in one " or two, but in several instances, for which complication of offences I said " his majesty's ministers were impeachable, as public malefactors, who had " conspired against the common weal, the independency of parliament, and " the fundamental laws of the land; and I offered, and dared them to put this " matter in a course of inquiry. I added, that I considered them as public " malefactors, whom we were ready to bring to justice. I repeat these " charges now, and if any thing more severe were on a former occasion ex- " pressed, I beg to be reminded of it, and I will again repeat it. Why do you " not expel me now? Why not send me to the bar of the lords? Where is " your adviser? Going out of the house I shall repeat my sentiments, that his " majesty's ministers are guilty of impeachable offences; and advancing to " the bar of the lords, I shall repeat those sentiments, or if the tower is to be " my habitation, I will there meditate the impeachment of these minis- " ters, and return not to capitulate, but to punish. Sir, I think I know myself " well enough to say, that if called forth to suffer in a public cause, I " will go farther than my prosecutors, both in virtue and in danger."

* 10 Par. Deb. p. 363. One *fiat* for 4000*l.* was issued against him on the affidavit of Mr. Daly, the manager of the Dublin theatre, who swore, that certain malicious paragraphs had appeared in Magee's newspaper, in consequence of which he had suffered damages to the amount of 4000*l.*; particularly, that his four daughters and one son had suffered that loss in their future prospects in life by the representations made in that paper that he gained a livelihood by gaming. Another *fiat* had issued for 800*l.* on an affidavit of one Brennan, who estimated his loss at that sum for having been accused of keeping a house of reception. A third issued for 1000*l.* on the affidavit of Miss Fanny Tracey, (the residuary legatee of Mr. Higgins) who swore, that she believed she had suffered to the amount of that sum by an insinuation in that paper, that she was better acquainted with a certain gentleman, than she ought to be. And a fourth had issued for 1000*l.* on the affidavit of Mr. Higgins, that his character (quod vide, p. 256, vol. 2. in a note) had suffered to that amount, from certain malicious insinuations contained in Magee's papers. Magee's case was taken up very warmly by the public, and this failure in parliamentary relief, in which he had been very sanguine, tended to encrease the unpopularity of government.

" opinion of the committee, that the issuing writs from courts " of justice in actions of slander or defamation, where the sum " of damages could not be fairly ascertained, and holding " persons to special bail in excessive sums thereon, is illegal " and subversive of the liberty of the subject." The motion, however, was lost by a majority of 125 against 91.

Similar divisions after long and heated debates, determined the fate of the responsibility and pension bills. In the debate of the preceding evening, the gentlemen of the opposition had been called up from the treasury bench, with an air of authority, to account for their very extraordinary conduct, during the whole of that session of parliament. It certainly was an unpleasant session to the minister. On the 6th of March, Mr. Curran rose to make his promised motion; which he prefaced with a long and animated speech. In answer to the recent call from the opposite treasury benches, he said, on their conduct he was not afraid to appeal solemnly to the sense of the people, at the eve of a political dissolution, when the members of the house were about to be refunded to the great mass of the people, and to give an account, whether they had been remiss in their parliamentary vigilance, slumbered upon their posts, or betrayed the passes of their constitution. He said, gentlemen on his side of the house had been accused of invective: it was not their wish to shield, but scourge venality. He decried the invective, that could call a blush into the cheek of virtue or innocence; but the invective complained of, was the last resource, which God had left to injured virtue, and he gloried in the name of being one of its dispensers. No man, he said, could be blamed for want of character or talents; he blamed not ministers for inability to defend, but for inclination to destroy. They had been charged with vindictiveness: but did they not, while trampling on the liberty of the press on one side, employ it for the purposes of vilification, misrepresentation, and scurrility on the other? He then called upon the country to witness, that he and the friends with whom he acted, were solemnly pledged to each other never to resign the project, which he had held up against corruption; and though he might never again rise in that house, though it might not be their fate to see the perfection of that constitution, which they hailed on its return to life, they would never relinquish their efforts in its support. He had the satisfaction to reflect, that in those countries where liberty was extinguished, it had never given way, but when the corruption of the prince had combined with the vices of the people for its subversion. But he thanked Heaven that country was blessed with a virtuous and patriotic prince, attached to the freedom and happiness of his people, and the spirit of the people was yet unbroken: even in the capital, where corruption sat like an

Incubus upon the public heart, and sucked the vital blood of the constitution, the indignation of the people was manifest against the conduct of their rulers. He called upon the representatives of the people to join him in an address to his majesty; in a supplication to that king, whom all revered, not as from an humble arm of the British empire, but as from a great and independent kingdom, to free them from those measures, which rendered that country a scandal to the name of British liberty. He concluded his speech by moving the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That an humble address be presented to the king, to inform his majesty, that having taken into consideration the growth of expence and influence in that country, it appeared on a comparative view of the public charges of 1789, with those of 1784, exclusive of the charges for bounties and parliamentary grants, and including the charges in collecting the revenue, that there had been in 1789, an increase of expence of 183,000*l.* That the civil list within that period, had increased 31,000*l.* of which the increase of the pension list was 16,000*l.* besides 14,000*l.* which had ceased, and was supplied within the same period: so that in the course of five years, not less than 30,000*l.* a year in pensions had been granted on the civil establishment alone, besides an encrease in military pensions, and in charges on other establishments in the nature of pensions.

That the expence of collecting the revenues has, since Lady-day, 1784, increased 105,000*l.*

That the increase of expence of collecting the hereditary, additional, and stamp duties, had increased 73,000*l.* without including additions made since March, 1789, by adding two members of parliament to the revenue board, and making nine commissioners of revenue instead of seven, the number to which the commissioners were in 1773, reduced by public agreement; and also, without including new salaries, given in the persons of five members of parliament, to stamp officers, for discharging a duty which was formerly annexed to the board of accounts by public agreement, and executed without any distinct salary, and without complaint.

That this encrease of 73,000*l.* could not be justified. That the new taxes, particularly those on malt and tobacco, were no excuse for such an encrease, inasmuch as the tax on malt produced not more than 27,000*l.* net, and that the late excise on tobacco was not attended with any encrease of revenue.

That that expence was the more censurable, because the collection of the revenue was already loaded with many unnecessary charges, particularly great salaries to officers of customs who did no duty, and with other sinecure offices which were in fact pensions, given to individuals for political

considerations, without any view to the collection of the revenue.

That the encrease of the revenue since 1784, after paying drawbacks and bounties, appeared to be a sum not less that 168,000*l.* but by the encrease of expence in collecting the same, was reduced to a net sum of about 67,000*l.* so that after deducting the charge of 32,000*l.* for the post-office, his majesty's government paid 73,000*l.* for getting net to the treasury 67,000*l.*

That they were sensible of the blessings of his majesty's reign, and the improving the state of the agriculture and commerce of the country, but must consider the same as the result of a free constitution, recovered under his majesty's auspices, and not of the ability or virtue of his present ministers; on the contrary, that their plans of expence, if not immediately checked, would deprive them of those blessings, inasmuch as the public expence exceeded the public income in a sum of not less than 70,000*l.* after allowing for a payment of 34,000*l.* made to government that year for New Geneva, which was a casual resource, and would not again recur; so that their annual expence then was in a course of exceeding their annual income in a sum of more than 100,000*l.* notwithstanding the new taxes.

That in the two last years, ending Lady-day, 1789, after striking off fictitious charges, they had encreased the debt of the nation 113,000*l.* notwithstanding a surplus of the loan duties in that period, to diminish the funded debt, and the continuation of those new taxes, which were granted in confidence of preventing the accumulation of any debt whatsoever.

That this house having before them the returns of those articles of revenue, in which the health and comforts of the people were particularly concerned, could not but observe, that the regulations affecting the breweries, appeared not only to have been fruitless, but in a great degree pernicious, inasmuch as the inland excise on beer and ale, for three years previous to July, 1789, produced not less than 390,000*l.* whereas the said excise for the three years, ending 1790, produced 266,000*l.* which was a falling off in the latter period of 124,000*l.* so that the breweries had been almost extinguished by the present regulation, and instead of giving the people a wholesome and necessary liquor, the regulations of his majesty's ministers had extracted a pernicious income from the sale of spirits, at the expence of the morals and health of the lower class of the people.

That this house having taken into consideration the growth of influence, begged leave to inform his majesty, that within the last year, the new salaries and additional places created for members of that house, together with new or revived offices for the same, amounted to a number not less than fourteen, and

there was also a considerable number of pensions granted to members of that house or to their connections, within the same period, and that the joint increase was so considerable, as to comprehend a number which, when taken from one side and added to the other, was not less than that majority, which had, in the course of that session, usually decided the great questions between the people and the minister.

That when they looked at the progress of influence within the last twenty years, they found, that the number of revived or new places and salaries created within that period, and then in the possession of members of that house, was not less than forty, a number which exceeded all the counties in Ireland, and that they could not but observe, that the number of placemen and pensioners, then members of that house, were not less than 108. That to that they were to add a number of persons expecting both reversions and honours; and that they could not avoid informing his majesty, that they had but too strong reason to apprehend, that the ministers of the crown had grossly abused the prerogative, by virtue of which his majesty had been wont to confer honours on the subject, and they apprehended, that his ministers had entered into various agreements for the purpose of procuring improper and corrupt returns into that house by the sale of the honours of the other.

That they were most apprehensive for the safety of their liberties; inasmuch as the attempts of actual influence had been accompanied by positive declarations, and his majesty's faithful commons had been informed, that in order to defeat a resistance made in parliament to the will of the minister, certain great portions of public money had been expended, to which most alarming confession they could annex no meaning other than that the government of that country formerly had, in breach of trust, misapplied the public treasure under the names of place, pension or salary, to induce individuals to betray the community for such corrupt considerations.

That even the particular sums so expended had been specified and confessed; and that such corrupt and desperate practice alarmed them the more, because it had not transpired as a crime to be punished, but had been openly avowed as an instrument of government to be again resorted to.

That such exercise of influence had not only been confessed, but defended on a principle most offensive to the feelings, and derogatory from the condition of his majesty's subjects of Ireland.

That when they sought the same securities and provisions for the liberties of the people, which Great Britain had adopted against the corrupt influence of the minister, they had been told, that such provisions, however proper in Great Britain,

were not calculated for the meridian of Ireland; for that the government in that country should be stronger than the government in Great Britain, and of course the influence and authority of the people of Ireland comparatively weaker in the balance of the constitution.

That such wild and unconstitutional distinction, construing the people of Ireland out of the benefit of equal liberty, to introduce among them a superior degree of corruption and profligacy, called forth from his majesty's faithful commons of Ireland, the warmest protestations, and they did protest against it accordingly. And they further did, in the name, and on behalf of the people of that realm, claim and challenge an equal inheritance in the blessings of the British constitution, and an equal right to secure those blessings by every wise and salutary law.

That they begged leave further to inform his majesty, that personal as well as political liberty was in danger; that the subject had been imprisoned against law, by being holden to arbitrary and excessive bail. The declaration of rights, calculated to secure him against such oppression, had been disregarded and violated; the liberty of the press attacked, and the hopes of the nation in her grand inquest of correcting such mischiefs blasted by the interposition of his majesty's ministers protecting from injury those illegal and arbitrary proceedings, which they could not presume to justify.

That they had ventured to lay the above particulars before his majesty, most humbly imploring his majesty's royal interposition, to guard their country against those dangers, which then threatened the independence of parliament, and the liberties of the people."

This was the last attack made by the patriots during the session: despairing of being able to carry any question whatever against a majority, which had remained so steady in their ranks, they resolved to perpetuate to posterity the real grounds of their opposing the late system of government, by recording them in the form of an address on the journals of that house. The debate was kept up with heat and acrimony till 4 o'clock on the Sunday morning; when upon the question of adjournment, the house divided 141 against 90.*

The parliament was prorogued on the 5th of April, 1790, and the viceroy informed them in his speech from the throne, that as the important objects, which had engaged their attention during the session, had been accomplished, he had great pleasure in signifying his majesty's approbation of the zeal they had shewn for the public interest; and the dispatch, with which they had concluded the national business.

* 10 Parl. Deb. p. 421.

In vain had the patriotic side of the House of Commons exerted their talents, and played all the powers of their batteries upon the ministerial phalanx: although a majority had been long secured, additional force was found requisite either to gain fresh proselytes or strengthen the wavering. A numerous creation of peers took place; and the parliamentary interest of the castle was thereby unquestionably increased. The very nature of the different questions, which had been pressed upon the ministers during the session, necessarily engaged and roused the feelings of the people out of doors. The Whig club, which was most obnoxious to government, was regularly attended by the most popular characters: it increased in numbers, and attention to the ends of its institutions. A northern Whig club was formed at Belfast, and Lord de Clifford placed in the chair. This gave fresh umbrage to the castle: and the newspaper contests for and against the club exceeded all moderation. Most of the volunteer corps, which kept up any share of their original spirit, identified themselves in a manner with it, as their beloved General Lord Charlemont was a constant attendant. Besides the late creation of peerages, the recent collation of so many places and pensions upon members of parliament, and the rejection of every popular motion made in the commons, which were felt or treated as public grievances affecting equally every part of the nation, a particular ground of discontent attached itself to the metropolis. The police bill was execrated by all, except those, who received under it emolument, patronage or power. One of the grand objections against it, was, that it served as an instrument for encreasing the power of the castle in the corporation. It was therefore proposed by some of the popular party, that a test should be subscribed by the mayor and aldermen not to accept of any place under the police; which they were so far from agreeing to, that they entered into an engagement, that no man should be elected or eligible to the board of aldermen, who should have signed any declaration or test whatever. The repeated failure of Mr. Alderman James in his election to the mayoralty by the exertions of Mr. Napper Tandy, who was at that time very popular in the city, brought the mayor and aldermen and the common council to an open and violent rupture.

The different extraordinary movements on the Continent, gave rise to strong rumours of war: and the temper of the people of Ireland eagerly seized that opportunity of reviving and encreasing the corps of volunteers. Several offers were made to government to raise regiments of Roman Catholics. The progress of the French revolution, which at this time was spoken of by many of the first statesmen, politicians and philosophers,

with sympathy and admiration, became a favourite topic with the Irish: they had so recently obtained their own civil freedom and independence, that they were forward in sympathizing with others in pursuit of a similar object. The Belfast papers were conspicuous for their panegyrics on the French struggle against despotism, and their ardent efforts to attain a free constitution. That revolution had not yet exhibited any of those symptoms, at which a fair advocate for liberty should faulter. For some time the government of Ireland began to dread the pruriency of civil freedom throughout the kingdom, and particularly in the province of Ulster. They sought the corrective in coercion and severity. Many then judged, that a lenient system would be more efficient. In this year the Irish government gave a strong illustration of the pliancy of the human mind to time and circumstance. That sympathy, which had induced Lord Buckingham to countenance, cherish and reward the emigrant democracy from Geneva, had now turned into disgust and horror. The secretary* openly announced the intention of government to abandon their intention to carry the project of a colony at New Geneva into execution. Fortunately for the country this sudden change in the sentiments of the castle turned out a saving of 33,000*l.* so much out of the 50,000*l.* having remained unapplied: it was carried to the credit of the nation.

Notwithstanding the present prevalence of the popular political opinions out of parliament, the influence of the castle prevented any great change in the return of members to the new parliament. The dissolution took place on the 8th of April, 1790, and the new parliament was summoned to meet at Dublin on the 20th of May, but before that time was further prorogued to the 10th of July, when it met for dispatch of business.

During that short session, which lasted only to the 24th of the month, little occurred worthy of notice. When Mr. Secretary Hobart moved, that Mr. Foster should again take the chair in that assembly, Mr. Conolly moved as an amendment, that the name of the Right Honourable William Brabazon Ponsonby should be inserted: but the house did not divide, and Mr. Foster was re-elected, accepted and complimented by the lord lieutenant; who then made the following speech to both houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I HAVE it in command from the king, "to acquaint you, that his majesty some time since received

* 10 Parl. Deb. p. 137.

" information, that two vessels belonging to his majesty's sub-
" jects, and navigated under the British flag, and two others,
" the description of which is not hitherto sufficiently ascertained,
" had been captured at Nootka Sound, on the north-west coast
" of America, by an officer commanding two Spanish ships of
" war; that the cargoes of the British vessels had been seized,
" and that their officers and crews had been sent as prisoners
" to a Spanish port. His majesty in consequence of this trans-
" action, and of the communications which had passed on the
" subject between his majesty and the court of Spain, directed
" his minister at Madrid to claim such full and adequate satis-
" faction, as the nature of the case evidently required. And his
" majesty having also received information that considerable
" armaments were carrying on in the ports of Spain, judged it
" indispensably necessary to give orders for making such prepa-
" rations as might put it in his majesty's power to act with vigour
" and effect in support of the honour of his crown, and the inte-
" rests of his people.

" His majesty entertains the strongest desire for the mainte-
" nance of peace, on just and honourable grounds, and he has
" directed me to assure you, that no proper steps shall be omit-
" ted by him, which may conduce to this object: but if unfor-
" tunately his majesty's endeavours should not be successful,
" he has the fullest reliance on the cordial and effectual support
" of his parliament of Ireland, in the prosecution of such mea-
" sures as may eventually become necessary for the honour of
" his crown, and for the protection of the essential rights of all
" his subjects, and the common interests of the empire.

" Convinced that the same regard for his majesty's royal
" person, family and government, which have at all times dis-
" tinguished his subjects of this kingdom, will be equally mani-
" fested upon this occasion, I entertain no doubt of my being
" authorized to convey to his majesty, the fullest testimony of
" your attachment, loyalty and zeal."

When Sir Henry Cavendish, who had recently quitted the opposition, moved for the address to the lord lieutenant, he complimented the nation upon their tranquillity and happiness rather beyond what the existing circumstances then warranted. He thought it unnecessary to enter into any panegyric on the personal merit, or government of the viceroy: both were felt, and spoken of every where he went to: and the peace, happiness, and tranquillity of the country, were the best proofs that its government was well administered.

Mr. G. Ponsonby congratulated the right honourable baronet on the sudden discovery he had made in the merits of the present administration; and he lamented, that his own discernment did not allow him the happiness of altering his opinions

of administration under the auspices of Lord Westmoreland's government.

If the address moved, meant merely to convey the usual empty compliments to his excellency for complying with his duty in communicating his majesty's sentiments to the house, he had no objection: but if it were intended to convey a tittle of approbation to those measures, which the right honourable baronet and himself had so uniformly and so recently opposed together, he should be against it. He declared he never would give his approbation nor his support to the present or any other administration, but upon the condition of their acceding to the specific measures, which he and his friends had formerly avowed on the close of the last parliament.

The purpose of convening the parliament was to obtain a vote of credit: accordingly the chancellor of the Exchequer moved, *for a vote of credit for 200,000*l.* to be applied by the lord lieutenant towards the expence of government. Mr. G. Ponsonby, Mr. O'Hara, and Mr. Grattan objected to the generality of the application: they contended, that the application of the grant should have been specified: they all concurred in admitting the interest of the two countries as inseparable; and Mr. Grattan reminded the house, that in the French war in 1778, there had passed a vote of credit for 300,000*l.* for putting the country in a state of defence, and that in January, 1779, there was not a shilling in the Treasury, and government was obliged to borrow 50,000*l.* from a private gentleman, to pay the army. After such a precedent he wished the motion to be specific; to which the chancellor of the Exchequer assented.

On the 24th of the month his majesty's answer to the address of the commons was communicated to the house, which was strongly expressive of his satisfaction at their determination to support the honour of his crown, and the common interest of the empire, at that important crisis: the parliament was then prorogued, and did not meet for the dispatch of business, till the 20th of January, 1791. In the Autumn, Mr. Secretary Hobart went over to England, as it was generally presumed, to concert the plan of the next parliamentary campaign with the British cabinet. It was also rumoured, that the Irish government having in the widest plenitude adopted the principles and system of Lord Buckingham's administration, the right honourable secretary had also much consultation with that nobleman. Lord Westmoreland in the mean time was not inattentive to the means of acquiring popularity, the want of which in his predecessor he felt very strongly operating upon his own government. In a country excursion for nearly nine months

* 11 Parl. Deb. p. 9.

he visited most of the nobility through the kingdom: his excellency and his lady on all solemn occasions appeared clad in Irish manufactures: and though apparently trifling, the permission to represent the favourite Beggar's Opera, which had been prohibited during the severe government of Lord Buckingham, gained him no small share of public favour.

Lord Westmoreland's speech from the throne, on the meeting of parliament on the 20th of January, 1791, contained nothing extraordinary beyond a communication, that the differences with the court of Spain had been brought to a happy termination. On the next day, when the address which had been voted to the throne was read, Sir Richard Musgrave objected to that paragraph of it, which expressed the thanks of the house for continuing their present administration; he lamented, that addresses passed and were generally considered mere matter of form and unmeaning adulation. An assent to that address, would be a virtual sanction to the last, and an express approbation of the present administration; both of which he strongly deprecated. He concluded a virulent speech with a sarcastic observation, that the happy selection of able and wise senators on the other side of the house so well arrayed and disciplined, proved that there was wisdom and energy at the helm. Mr. Grattan had on the preceding day dissented from the corresponding paragraph in the address to his excellency.

The business of this session differed very little from that of the last before the dissolution. The patriots appeared rather to have lost, than acquired strength by the new election. Their number did not at any time during the course of this session exceed fourscore. But their resolution to press all the questions, which they had brought forward in the last parliament appeared more violently determined than ever; insomuch, that Mr. George Ponsonby in replying to Mr. Cook,* assured him, that the hope he had expressed of gentlemen on his side of the house not bringing forward those measures, which they had done for some sessions past, was a lost hope, for that nothing but the hand of death or success should ever induce them to give up their pursuits. A singular parliamentary phenomenon ought to be noticed about the commencement of this session. Mr. D. La Touche had moved, that it was the opinion of the house, that the excessive use of spirituous liquors was highly injurious to the health and morals of the people; which he intended to follow up with a motion, for a committee to take the subject into consideration. Mr. Secretary Hobart and Mr. Grattan both instantly rose to second the motion. But the former having first caught the eye of the speaker, the latter expressed his pleasure to see the right honourable gentleman shew any activity in

* 11 Parl. Deb. p. 384.

any case, where the country was to be benefited: he should be always happy to give him the way; let the country receive the benefit, and his be the applause.

On the 3d of February Mr. George Ponsonby made his promised motion, which was seconded by Mr. Grattan to the following effect: that a select committee be appointed, consisting of members of that house not holding any employment, or enjoying any pension under the crown, to examine whether any, or what advantages have arisen to this kingdom from the appointment of two additional commissioners of the revenue; from the separation of the board of stamps and accounts; from the granting 500*l.* a year additional salary to the surveyor of the ordnance; 250*l.* a year additional salary to the principal storekeeper of the ordnance; 250*l.* a year to the clerk of the ordnance; 200*l.* a year additional salary to the clerk of the delivery of the ordnance; 600*l.* a year pension to General Hale, in lieu of his resigning his employment of lieutenant general of the ordnance, in order to facilitate the succession of the present possessor: 400*l.* a year additional salary to the clerk of the pipe; 400*l.* a year additional salary to the customer of Kinsale; and 150*l.* a year additional salary to the barrack master of Dublin; and that they do report their opinion thereon to the house.

This was met by a motion for adjournment; and after a long and warm contest, ended in the first division of the session; in which there were 72 against, and 132 for the adjournment. Immediately before the division, Mr. G. Ponsonby remarked, that it was evident, the administration did not mean to meet the questions of difference between them by reasoning and agreement, but by that very corruption and influence the minority were warring against, namely, *dead majorities*. On the 7th of February, Mr. Grattan moved a string of resolutions relative to the revenue, out of which he concluded, that upon a fair average since the year 1785, when the new taxes were granted, the increase of the revenue had given to government the annual increase of 153,000*l.* and that government had exceeded her own estimates, on the faith of which the new taxes had been granted, in the annual sum of 115,000*l.*; from whence he established these deductions; that the people had kept faith with government, and that government had broken faith with the people. The chancellor of the exchequer and Mr. Monk Mason, contended, that the statements were unfairly made by Mr. Grattan: and that whatever increases had been made in the annual expenditure, were occasioned by parliament, and not by government. The resolutions were negatived without a division.

*On the next day Mr. Grattan moved the following resolutions:...."That a select committee be appointed to enquire in "the most solemn manner, whether the late or present administration have entered into any corrupt agreement with any "person or persons, to recommend such person or persons to "his majesty, for the purpose of being created peers of this "kingdom, in consideration of their paying certain sums of "money, to be laid out in the purchase of seats for members "to serve in parliament, contrary to the rights of the people, "inconsistent with the independence of parliament, and in direct "violation of the fundamental laws of the land."

It was seconded by Mr. Curran: much strength of oratory was employed in support of the motion; but it shared the usual fate of rejection by a majority of 135 to 85. And in order to give all possible eclat to this charge of selling the peerage, and prostituting the price thereof to the purchase of seats in the House of Commons, Mr. Curran moved the following resolution, in which he was seconded by Mr. Grattan, viz. "That "a committee be appointed, consisting of members of both "houses of parliament, who do not hold any employment, or "enjoy any pension under the crown, to enquire in the most "solemn manner, whether the late or present administration "have directly or indirectly, entered into any corrupt agree-"ment with any person or persons, to recommend such per-"son or persons to his majesty, for the purpose of being created "peers of this kingdom, in consideration of their paying "certain sums of money, to be laid out in the purchase of seats "for members to serve in parliament, contrary to the rights "of the people, inconsistent with the independence of par-"liament, and in direct violation of the fundamental laws of "the land."

The ministerial members on all these occasions loudly complained of the reiteration of the old charges even without new arguments to support them; they strongly insisted that no particular facts were alleged, much less proved; and that general fame, surmise and assertion, were no grounds for parliamentary impeachments, or any other solemn proceedings in that house. Mr. Grattan, before answering the objections advanced against

* In this debate, Mr. Denis Brown, a very staunch supporter of the administration, amongst other matters observed, (and no answer was attempted to be given to the observation) that when the gentlemen on the opposite side of the house were in confidence and acted with government under Lord Northington, a certain person was ennobled, and returned two Castle secretaries into that house in part payment of his honour. How could those virtuous gentlemen know of such a transaction, and not follow it up with an impeachment? He defied contradiction: but wondered, that any men representing peers in that house, or set in purchased seats, should be so forward to agitate that question. 11 Parl. Debates, p. 162.

the motion, adverted to the general dull and empty declamation uttered by the advocates of a corrupt government against the defenders of an injured people.

Four times had those advocates told them, they had brought this grievance forth, as if grievances were only to be matter of public debate when they were matters of novelty; or as if grievances were trading questions for a party or a person to press, to sell and to abandon; or as if they came thither to act farces to please the appetite of the public, and did not sit there to persevere in the redress of grievances, pledged as they were, and covenanted to the people on these important subjects. They had been told their political budget of grievances was small. But the creation of divers peers for money to be laid out in the purchase of divers seats for ministerial dependants, and the appointment of fifteen new parliamentary places or salaries admitted to be for the purpose of buying a majority, even if they were the only crimes of the government, composed no scanty political budget of corruption and iniquity. Generally in these debates, the same arguments on both sides were repeated with increased acrimony, and determined by the same divisions.

Scarcely was any question more vehemently debated during the session, than Mr. Grattan's motion for an Irish East-India trade, which was, that the committee of trade should enquire, whether any legislative provisions were then existing, the continuance of which might prevent that country from receiving the full benefit of her free trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan. The motion was seconded by Mr. W. Brabazon Ponsonby. This was a favourite object of speculation at this time with the most opulent of the Irish merchants: but government, it seems, wished not to be drawn into a dispute or contest with the English East-India Company. The whole question was, whether, after having obtained a free trade, Ireland were to be restrained from the exercise of it in the Eastern hemisphere, out of tenderness, deference, or fear of the East-India Company: for whom, Mr. Grattan observed, the Irish cabinet was then an agent. At three o'clock the question was put, and lost by a majority of 147 against 86.*

* In this debate, Mr. Cook had complained of some illiberal reflections made upon him as an Englishman, which brought up Mr. Conolly. He was sorry, he said, such illiberality could be supposed to prevail in that house, having experienced the greatest attention and civility in the English House of Commons, where he had sat above 22 years, whenever he troubled it upon Irish affairs, although he spoke in a very awkward and unintelligible manner. He said, that there was no danger from the eloquence of an Irishman, a Burke, a Barry, or a Sheridan, that in the English House of Commons any thing could be accomplished that could militate against the constitution or trade of

The police bill had been petitioned against by several public bodies; and on the 4th of March Mr. Grattan again introduced it to the consideration of the house. After having proved by the experience of a number of years, that no institution was more obnoxious to the citizens; that no institution could be more extravagant; and that no institution could be less productive of advantages to the public; it remained for the wisdom of the house to correct the system, which had neither answered the ends of public peace, of private protection, or of any necessary œconomy. He would therefore propose a resolution, carrying on it no edge that could injure, no severity that could offend any man; but which, without imposing any humiliation, might be adopted, even by those, who had originally voted for the police, or who had since supported it. He then moved,

"That the establishment of the police in the city of Dublin, "had been an experiment attended with considerable expence, "without producing adequate advantages: and that it was then "necessary to establish a guard under the direction of the dif-"ferent parishes, and subject to the superintendance of the lord "mayor."

If that motion were not resisted, he should follow it up with another, for leave to bring in a bill to give it effect. Mr. Mason said, he for one would certainly oppose it, as he thought it utterly unfounded. Immediately Mr. Grattan entered upon a most vehement invective against the measure.* The mo-

England: nor could he suppose the eloquence of any Englishman there could injure that kingdom; it was of the Irish, and not of the Englishmen that he was afraid in that house. In the latter end of last parliament, a place bill, a pension bill, a responsibility bill, had been refused to that kingdom, by a majority of Irishmen, although the kingdom of Great Britain had shewn by experience the necessity and use of such laws: and he had in that house declared himself ashamed of having his name enrolled in such a society. That if he could guess, by the complexion of the house that night, it would soon be guilty of a self-denying ordinance in respect to its foreign trade, although the sister country did not pretend to deny the right of that kingdom to trade uncontrolled to those parts, where no British settlements were established. If that were the case, as there was no other mode established, by which a member could quit that house, he must wish to be called to its bar, and expelled. The British House of Commons consisted of 558 members, 67 only of which were placemen, and no pensioners could sit, nor placemen, unless originally chosen as such, or upon getting a place, on being re-chosen. In their house, consisting of 300 members, 110 were placemen or pensioners. They had adopted the whole power of the privy council before the repeal of Poynings' law, and literally appeared to be determined not to let any law pass that was not agreeable to the English minister or to the English merchant; and that therefore he was seriously in earnest in his wish to be expelled from a society that he conceived to be acting in direct contradiction to the constitution and trade of Ireland.

* 11 Parl. Debates, p. 263. Ministers had, he said, resorted to a place army and a pensional magistracy: the one was to give boldness to corruption in parliament, and the other to give the minister's influence patronage in the city. Their means were, this police establishment: the plan they did not

tion met with its former fate, having been rejected by 135 against 87.

The 15th of March was the day appointed for the second reading of the bill "to disable any person who shall have in his "own name, or in the name of any person or persons in trust "for him, or for his benefit, any office or place of profit what-"soever under the crown, created after a certain time, [the "year 1788] from being chosen a member of, or from sit-"ting or voting in the present, or any future House of Com-"mons."

And when Mr. Forbes rose to second it, Mr. Mason said, that having opposed this bill every session for thirty years he would not weary the house with fresh arguments against it: his decided opinion was, that the influence of the crown was barely sufficient to preserve the constitution, and to prevent it from degenerating into the worst of all possible governments, a democracy. Another gentleman on the same side of the house, thought government must have a majority to support them in their necessary measures, and to extinguish the squibs that were thrown against them; and the cheaper that majority was procured, so much the better for the country: and being arraigned by Mr. G. Ponsonby for using such unconstitutional language, he repeated it, and added, if they had not, they must cease to govern. The bill was lost by a similar majority. The division of the Irish House of Commons was not precisely formed upon the principles which divided the parliament of Great Britain: for on this night, Mr. C. O'Neile, who was one of the most forward in the opposition in Ireland, paid many handsome compliments to Mr. Pitt, whom he believed to be as honest a minister as ever governed England: but he must say, that he prescribed a very different mode of conduct to his deputies in that kingdom. Equally violent and equally unsuccessful were the four remaining attacks made by the gentlemen of the opposition: viz. Mr. Grattan's motion for the encouragement of the reclaiming of barren land: on the first reading of the pension bill: the second reading of the responsibility bill; and Mr. G. Ponsonby's motion respecting *fiats* for levying unassessed damages upon the parties *affidavits* of their own imaginary losses.*

entirely frame: they found it. A bill had shewn its face in the British House of Commons for a moment, and had been turned out of the doors immediately: a scavenger would have found it in the streets of London; the groping hands of the Irish ministry picked it up, and made it the law of the land.

* 11 Parl. Debates, p. 359. This motion was, "That it is the opinion of "this committee, that the Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, in "ordering a *capias ad respondendum* to issue against John Magee, on the affida-"vit of Richard Daly, marked 4000*l.* acted illegally."

Mr. G. Ponsonby entered into an able disquisition of the law of actions on tort, liquidated, and uncertain damages, which rest with a jury, and special

The year 1791 brought the political fever, then raging on the continent to a crisis alarming to the British empire, and particularly to Ireland. No wonder, that a country, which had so lately obtained a constitution for itself, should find extensive subject for reflection upon the revolutions and new constitutions of France and Poland. The sympathy, which several of the armed corps and other public bodies exultingly expressed with the assertors of civil freedom in those countries, was obnoxious to government, and it became the system of the castle to affix a marked stigma upon every person, who countenanced or spoke in favour of any measure, that bore the semblance of reform or revolution. Even the ardour for commemorating the æra of 1688, was attempted to be damped; the word *liberty*

and excessive bail. The debate was very long, and not very interesting to others than lawyers. The question was of the highest consequence to the liberty of the press and of the subject. It had been worked up more into a party question, than probably it otherwise would have been, on account of the two persons principally concerned, viz. Francis Higgins, the proprietor and conductor of a government newspaper, and John Magee, the printer and editor of an opposition newspaper. The motion was vehemently opposed by the attorney and solicitor general, and prime serjeant: and ultimately rejected by a majority of 125 against 65. The leading facts upon which the motion was bottomed, were according to Mr. G. Ponsonby's statement: that in that case, Magee, the printer, had most grossly abused the noble lord himself in his paper; it was therefore incumbent on his lordship to proceed with the most guarded circumspection, that no enemy might attribute his severity to personal motives: his conduct should have been such as the law, in its strictest sense, would warrant and justify. But what was his lordship's conduct? Instead of proceeding with that caution, and that disregard to vulgar abuse, which would have done him honour, he granted against Magee one fiat at the suit of Daly for 4000*l.* one fiat at the suit of Higgins for 2000*l.* one fiat at the suit of Tracy for 1000*l.* and one fiat at the suit of Brenan for 800*l.* making together a sum of 7800*l.* and this at a time when the man was under a criminal information in his own court.

Magee after many delays and long imprisonment, was brought to trial upon Daly's fiat of 4000*l.* In this trial a variety of newspapers and letters, not alleged in the original affidavit, were allowed to be read as evidence against him; yet after all, twelve honest men, upon their oaths, awarded Daly but 200*l.* damages, the twentieth part of the fiat for which he was thrown into jail. If any proof of the enormity of the proceedings was wanting, here it was: Magee had offered 500*l.* bail, which was refused, not by Lord Clonmel alone, but by the whole court: he did not, however, want to criminate the other judges, nor would this criminality justify the chief justice: no partnership in wrong can produce innocence: he would therefore take no notice of them, but confine himself to the chief justice alone, and his charge against him was, that he had illegally deprived a freeman of his liberty.

This was no question of party. He did not take it up as measure of opposition; every man knew, that before he was fixed on that side of the house, he declared he would follow it up: therefore let it not be considered as a question of party; the true motives, on which he urged it were stronger than any party motives could be; a regard for the laws and liberties of the country; a regard for the most invaluable blessings the subject could possess; personal liberty; a blessing, without which all earthly blessings were vain and useless.

always carried with it suspicion, often reprobation. As all the efforts and struggles of the opposition in the late sessions of parliament, were for the attainment of those rights, which principally form the freedom of the British constitution, the assertors of them were branded with the now odious term of democrats, and holden out by government as factious disturbers of the old constitution, with a view to introduce the new fangled principles of revolutionary doctrines. In proportion to the progress of the French revolution to those scenes, which at last outraged humanity, were some efforts in favour of the most constitutional liberty resisted in parliament, as attempts to introduce a system of French equality. Such was the general panic, such the real or assumed execration of every thing, that had a tendency to democracy, that comparatively few of the higher orders through the kingdom retained, or avowed those general whig principles, which two years before that man was not deemed loyal, who did not profess.

Mr. Burke by his book on the French revolution, published in the year 1790*, had worked a stupendous change in the public mind, and the few in the upper walks of life, who did not become his proselytes, merely retaining their former principles, were astonished to find their ranks thinned and their standard

* The political change of the public mind about this period, was evidently productive of the most unprecedented system of strong and coercive measures, known since the Revolution within the British empire. A very decided majority both within and without the parliament of Great Britain favoured that system: in Ireland the people more generally resisted its introduction and influence than in Great Britain. Mr. Burke had the merit, if merit it were, of causing the great defection from the Whig Party: he and his friends, who went over to government on that occasion, were the most forward and zealous in holding out the dwindled phalanx of opposition, as enemies to their country and constitution. The fervor of the new converts for proselytizing their old associates was unbounded; the old leaders of the court party triumphantly indulged in the easy decomposition of their opponents: both concurred in stamping the few, who steadily retained their principles with all the odium, contempt and malevolence, that ingenuity could affix to the new terms, Jacobins and Democrats. From thenceforth a new and sable tinge was thrown upon every attempt in parliament to urge any popular measure, that would lately have been considered patriotic and constitutional. It is not a little remarkable, that the first time Mr. Burke publicly avowed his new creed, and seceded from the opposition, was on the occasion of Mr. Flood's motion in the British House of Commons for enquiring into the state of the popular representation in parliament. Much as Mr. Burke had formerly inveighed against the want of confidence and sympathy between the constituents and representatives in Great Britain, yet evidently at this time they were perfectly identified, when compared with the relations of the people and the parliament in Ireland. That publication of Mr. Burke's gave occasion to Mr. Payne's *Rights of Man*. A book fatally calculated to seduce and poison the minds of an irritable and empoverished people, emerging from what they considered a state of oppression and slavery, into the possession of a free constitution, to the right of which their title had been acknowledged, but of the enjoyment of which, they had as yet been insensible.

deserted by some of their most zealous leaders and supporters, who of course carried off with them the numerical strength of the party.

The change of political sentiment in Ireland did not keep pace with that in Great Britain. The defection from the ranks of opposition in parliament was comparatively trivial: and the general disposition of the people to civil liberty appeared to be sharpened by the encrease of coercion and intimidation. Some ill-minded and artful demagogues availed themselves of the popular fever, which had never totally abated from the year 1782, the pernicious doctrines and conclusions of Mr. Payne, artfully mixed up with the most popular truisms were circulated at the lowest price, distributed *gratis*, and imbibed with insatiable avidity: the castle-gates were trebly barred against concession and indulgence: it was published, that every effort towards their attainment at a time so critically awful, would be deemed hostile, and a future bar, even to seasonable application.

It may appear singular, that several years had now gone over, since Ireland had become independent in her legislature, and free in her trade; that the great body of the Irish people, who were still oppressed with a grievous code of penal statutes, should have attempted no public measure to be admitted to the enjoyment of that constitution, which their countrymen so triumphantly boasted of having asserted and obtained. The voice of the nation had been loud and unanimous for universal toleration, and indiscriminate participation of civil rights by every Irishman. Publications were circulated upon the tendency of the Catholic religion, to render its followers loyal, dutiful, and peaceable subjects; pastoral instructions were published by the Roman Catholic bishops through their dioceses, and read in all their chapels to dehort their congregations from imbibing the pernicious doctrines so sedulously attempted to be spread amongst them, and to enforce subordination, peace, and loyalty in their conduct.*

The Catholic body had not altogether remained inactive or inattentive to their concerns: the most liberal and friendly declarations in their favour had been made by the different bodies of volunteers; and out of respect to those gentlemen, who had so disinterestedly espoused their cause,* they held back an

* In this year, 1791, the author in his *Case Stated*, (p. 19.) professed an opinion, which his observation and experience have since confirmed, that circumstanced as the Irish are, their strict observance of the Catholic religion is supereminently calculated to preserve them from anarchy and confusion, and keep them docile, quiet and loyal. "*It is in this, and this above every thing* "*else, in which under Providence we shall find an antidote against the poison thus* "*traitorously attempted to be spread amongst them.*"

* Although several of these opinions, have appeared in the foregoing pages; yet there was one declaration made by a Protestant bishop, to which

application to parliament on their own behalf, lest it might interfere with those great, national, and popular questions, which the Catholics had annexed particular influence, which ought not to have been omitted.

Bill of Rights' Battalion.

At a meeting of part of said battalion, at Ballymoney, on the 24th of December, 1783, the following resolutions having been unanimously agreed to, received the approbation of the remainder of the battalion, at Ballycastle, on the 26th of December.

Resolved, That the present crisis of the nation, united to the voice of our duty as freemen, dictate to us, and we are determined to pursue, such a line of conduct, as, founded in truth, animated by firmness, and guided by moderation, is the most likely expedient to stem the torrent of corruption at home, and resist usurpation from abroad.

Resolved, That as public men and public measures ought always to be open to animadversion and candid discussion, so the approbation of either has reciprocally a happy tendency to awe the profligate, and embolden the virtuous.

Resolved therefore, That the following address be presented from this battalion, by a deputation thereof, under arms, to the Earl of Bristol, Lord Bishop of Derry, for his truly laudable exertions in favour of the rights of mankind, and a parliamentary reform.

"To the Right Honourable Earl of Bristol, Lord Bishop of Derry, for
" his truly laudable Exertions in Favour of the Rights of Mankind, and a
" Parliamentary Reform.

"To the Right Honourable the Earl of Bristol, Lord Bishop of Derry.

" The Address of the Bill of Rights' Battalion.

" My Lord,

" HAVING with the eye of silent approbation viewed " your conduct in every stage of its progress, at the grand national con- " vention of volunteer delegates, we are impelled by those generous senti- " ments, that actuate the breasts of Irishmen, to offer your lordship this ad- " dress as a mark of our esteem and gratitude.

" Ingratitude, my lord, is not of Irish origin, though some of Hibernia's " detested sons, Mammon's bond slaves, now basely spurn the parent, by " whose fostering hand they rose.

" We see with indignation and concern, the treatment which the wise, " spirited, and salutary resolutions of the volunteer convention have receiv- " ed. But we trust, the virtuous efforts of an united people, under the auspices " of your lordship and your respectable colleagues, will yet cleanse the Au- " gean stable, the stalls of venality and corruption, the effluvia of noisome and " putrid boroughs.

" The gloomy clouds of superstition and bigotry, those engines of disunion, " being fled the realm, the interests of Ireland can no longer suffer by a di- " versity of religious persuasions. All are united in the pursuit of one great " object, the extermination of corruption from our constitution; nor can " your lordship and your virtuous coadjutors, in promoting civil and religious " liberty, be destitute of the stable aid of all professions.

" Permit us to assure you, that as freemen, freeholders and volunteers, " our exertions to effectuate the grand work of reform already begun, " shall be as strenuous as the aim is important. And that we are, with un- " feigned gratitude and respect, your lordship's most faithful friends,

" Signed by order of the Battalion,

" John Orr, Sec."

In consequence of the above resolutions, a deputation from the battalion, consisting of eighty rank and file, headed by their lieutenant colonel, waited

the patriots in parliament had pledged themselves to their country to persevere in till obtained. Several sessions had

on his lordship the 14th instant, at Downhill, and presented their address under arms; to which his lordship was pleased to give the subsequent reply:

"GENTLEMEN,

"WHEN you acknowledged the services of your fellow-citizens in the county of Antrim, in the late struggle for liberty, you rewarded their toils in the coin most valuable to virtuous men: and your approbation of their efforts, in some measure, consoled them for want of success.

"But when you step forth from your own county to hail the individual of another, unknown to you but by his honest endeavours, and unconnected, except by that kindred spirit, which seems now at length to pervade the whole mass of citizens, and like a Promethean fire, to animate an hitherto lifeless lump, the satisfaction excited in his mind, by the applauses of men, who have a right to approve what they dare to support, can be known only to those, who are conscious of deserving what they are fortunate enough to receive.

"Where the conscience of a patriot bears testimony to the truth of the panegyric, and the sincerity of the panegyrist's praises ceases to be adulation, they then become the wholesome food of a manly mind, and nourish that virtue they were at first intended only to approve.

"But gentlemen, those who dare assert their own rights, should rise above the mean policy of violating those of others.

"There is in this island a class of citizens equally respectable, and infinitely more numerous, than those who have hitherto oppressed them.

"Men, who have long crouched under the iron rod of their oppressors, not from any dastardly insensibility to their shackles, not from any unmanly indifference to the unalienable rights of men; but from a pious dread of wounding our common country through the sides of its tyrants.

"Men, in whose hearts beats at this instant as high a pulse for liberty, and through whose veins pours a tide of as pure blood and as noble too, as any that animates the proudest citizen in Ireland.

"Men, whose ancestors at the hazard of their property, and with the loss of their lives, obtained the first great Bill of Rights, and upon which every other must be founded, the Magna Charta of Ireland.

"Men, whose ancestors in the midst of ignorance, could discriminate between the duties of a religionist, and the rights of a citizen; and who enacted those elementary and never obsolete statutes of premunire, which for centuries have been an irrefragable monument of their sagacity in distinguishing, and their fortitude in severing their duty to the church of Rome, from their dependance on its court.

"Men, the undegenerate progeny of such virtuous ancestors, who with a firmness worthy of our imitation, and still more worthy of our gratitude, have endured those very outrages from their country, which their forefathers spurned at from its sovereign; and who, under a series of accumulated wrongs which would heighten the disgrace of human policy, if they could be paralleled in its annals, have, with a fortitude as unexampled as their oppression, allowed every thing dear to the human heart to be wrecked, except their religion and their patriotism, except their acquiescence to the will of an inscrutable God, and their affection to a mistaken and deluded country.

"But gentlemen, the hour is now come, when sound policy, as well as irresistible justice, will compel those who demand their own rights, to support their claim by a restitution of those of their fellow citizens.

gone over in fruitless efforts to attain those points. The patriots, who, almost to a man, were favourable to the claims of the Catholics, declined bringing them before parliament; because the very circumstance of their being moved from the opposition bench, would be a sure ground of rejection. The Catholics could not but observe, the indisposition of government to concession daily increase: and the day of remonstrance and redress vanish behind the cloud of rigour and coercion, now assumed necessary to be exercised upon the people.

On the 11th of February, 1791, a meeting was convened at Dublin of the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland, at which the different resolutions and instructions from various parts of the kingdom to the committee were read; upon which they came to the following resolution. "That the several "papers then read, containing resolutions and instructions from "that city, and from the principal cities and towns in Ireland, "be referred to a committee of eight, who should report thereon "to the committee, on Friday the 18th instant:" on which day, the general committee met, the Earl of Fingal being in the chair, Resolved, "that the report of the committee of eight, on the "resolutions and instructions transmitted to them from the "different parts of the kingdom be received;" and the report was to the following effect:

"Your committee having, in obedience to your directions, "carefully perused the resolutions of the Catholics of Ireland, "report, that said resolutions contain the most unequivocal sen- "timents of loyalty to our most gracious sovereign, George the "Third, of love for our country, and obedience to its laws, and "the most humble hope of being restored to some participation "of its excellent constitution.

"That your Catholic brethren refer, with confidence, to the "numberless proofs they have given of fidelity in times the "most perilous, when rebellion raged in the bosom of Britain, "and when foreign invasion threatened our coast, and to that "alacrity with which all descriptions of our people took the "oath of allegiance; and they rely that their scrupulous obser- "vance of such sacred obligation will no where be doubted, "when it is considered, that if they took those oaths required by "law, they would thereby become entitled to all the rights of "citizens.

"When Ireland must necessarily avail herself of her whole internal force "to ward off foreign encroachment, or once more acquiesce under those en- "croachments, the better to exercise anew the tyranny of a part of the com- "munity over the dearest and unalienable rights of others.

"For, one million of divided Protestants can never, in the scale of human "government, be a counterpoise against two millions of united Catholics. But "gentlemen of the Bill of Rights' battalion, I appeal to yourselves, and sum- "mon you to consistency. Tyranny is not government, and allegiance is due "only to protection.

"That, with all humility, they confide in the justice, liberal-
"ity, and wisdom of parliament, and the benignity of our most
"gracious sovereign, to relieve them from their degraded
"situation, and no longer to suffer them to continue like stran-
"gers in their native land; but thus have the glory of shewing
"all Europe, that in the plenitude of power, strength, and riches
"of the British empire, when nothing they grant can be imputed
"to any motives but those of justice and toleration; that, at
"such a period, they deign to hear and relieve their oppressed
"and faithful subjects, and to unite them for ever to their coun-
"try, by every tie of gratitude and interest; and that they will
"shew to all Europe, that humble and peaceful conduct, and
"dutiful application, are the only true and effectual methods for
"good subjects to obtain relief from a wise and good govern-
"ment.

"That our Catholic brethren therefore desire, that applica-
"tion may be made for such relief as the wisdom and justice
"of parliament may grant; and they hope to be restored, at
"least, to some of the rights and privileges which have been
"wisely granted to others who dissent from the established
"church; that they may be thus enabled to promote, in con-
"junction with the rest of their fellow subjects, the present and
"future happiness and strength of their country.

"That our said Catholic brethren direct, that such application
"be immediately made, and continued, in the most submissive
"and constitutional manner, for a mitigation of the restrictions
"and disqualifications under which they labour.

"Resolved, that this meeting do agree with, and adopt, the
"report of their committee, and that a committee of twelve be
"appointed to carry the same into execution.

In obedience to the above resolution, a petition was prepared, though not presented, to parliament for the reasons mentioned in that report. It was impossible, that the disposition to civil liberty, which from the first institution of the volunteers had pervaded all ranks of persons throughout the kingdom, should have remained inactive upon the great mass of the community, who were Catholics. So little prominent notwithstanding were they as a body, in bringing forward their own claims, that it had been frequently questioned at public meetings in the North, whether or no they were sincere in the cause of liberty. Fatally however for their cause, the *anti-gallomania* which in Great Britain had produced such convulsive effects upon political, social, and even domestic ties and connections, was there productive of new ground of discord in the Catholic body. About threescore of the principal country gentlemen in conjunction with the Earl of Fingal, Lord Kenmare, and some of the digni-

fied and other clergy, had in this year seceded from the Catholic committee, from an apprehension, that most of the city orators, who had taken a lead in it, were connected with some of the high flying patriots of the North, and not wholly unfriendly to the principles of the French revolution. Hence the Catholic body was divided into an aristocratic and a democratic party. Such at least were the two divisions of the Catholic body considered and represented to the public; and unfortunately for the cause of the body at large, the grounds of the division were urged by the respective partisans with considerable virulence and acrimony. Several leading gentlemen of the Catholic committee, had formed political intimacies with some gentlemen at the bar of great abilities, and staunch advocates for all the popular questions that had lately been brought before parliament; among whom the honourable Simon Butler, a brother of the late Lord Mountgarret, Theobald Wolfe Tone, and Todd Jones were the most forward. These gentlemen appearing earnest in their pursuit of freedom for themselves and others, assured the gentlemen of the committee of the liberal and cordial disposition of their northern friends and associates, to co-operate with them in the glorious object of obtaining the emancipation of three millions of their countrymen, and they easily persuaded them, that an union of their interests for this great object must ultimately succeed. These gentlemen proffered their services to the Catholic committee, and published in their own names, some very able and strong arguments for the repeal of all their restrictive laws against the Roman Catholics. These publications contained language more bold and decisive than had hitherto ever been adopted in urging the claims of that body; some also of their own body followed the example of these Protestant gentlemen, and publicly spoke a language, which had before never come from the mouth or pen of any one of the Catholic persuasion in Ireland. It would be needless to remark how obnoxious such gentlemen and their writings were to government; and it is necessary to presume, that the castle must have intimated to those gentlemen of the Catholic body, upon whom they had a more immediate influence, how offensive to government this connection and union between the Catholics and Dissenters were, and hence arose that secession from the committee, which we shall afterwards notice.

The Irish nation had been for some time in the habit of reading and canvassing all political topics, and there is no question, but that the public mind was much opened, and the people out of parliament generally disposed to support the Catholic claims.

Upon these grounds the committee had come to a resolution of availing themselves of the earliest opportunity of applying

to parliament* for redress. They appointed twelve gentlemen to take without delay such steps, as they should deem expedient for that purpose. These gentlemen accepted the trust; but after having repeatedly met, two of them differed in opinion, with regard to the propriety of coming forward at that particular period, and declined complying with the direction which they had received.

* Although the petition, which was prepared for this purpose, never were actually presented to parliament, a copy of it is subjoined, in order to shew the nature and extent of the Catholics' expectations at that period.

" To the Right Honourable and Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, in Parliament assembled,

" The humble Petition of the Catholics of Ireland,

" SHEWETH,

" THAT a century has now nearly elapsed since several " laws, highly penal in their effect, were passed by the legislature of this " country, excluding the Catholic inhabitants thereof from numberless privi- " leges and advantages enjoyed by the rest of their fellow subjects.

" That whilst the consequences of those laws were felt in their severest " operation, the loyalty of the Catholics of Ireland was unshaken, and their " conduct uniformly marked with that respect and submission due to legisla- " tive authority.

" That your petitioners beg leave humbly to suggest to this honourable " house, the laws of which they complain were passed in a season of animosity, " at the close of party contention, and as the penalty of political opinions, " which it is universally admitted do not at this day exist; that they were " continued, as having been deemed necessary to secure the succession in the " august House of Brunswick, to which none of their fellow subjects are more " warmly attached.

" That every danger to that succession is now removed, and that even if it " were otherwise, they have lately bound themselves to their beloved sove- " reign, and their country, by the most awful and sacred obligation; an obli- " gation to which your petitioners refer with the greater confidence, as if " oaths were lightly estimated by Catholics, they might long since have enti- " tled themselves to the full rights of citizens.

" That some years since, the parliament of this kingdom was, in its wisdom " and humanity, pleased to remove part of the restrictions, under which your " petitioners lay; and that this indulgence, far from producing any ill effects, " has only served to strengthen the loyalty of your petitioners, and contribute " to the growing prosperity of the empire.

" That by the laws still in force, the Catholics of Ireland, though entitled " through the benevolence of parliament to purchase lands, are precluded from " almost every opportunity of improving the natural advantages of talents and " connections; and that when inclination, or any other circumstances, has dis- " qualified them from commercial pursuits, they are under the cruel necessity " of becoming exiles from their families and country, and seeking that situa- " tion in foreign states which is denied them in their native land.

" That your petitioners feel a conscious pride in being able to offer their " past, as a pledge of their future good conduct, and humbly beg leave to insist, " that men sincerely and warmly attached to the constitution of their country, " even when they were the objects of its censure and severity, are not likely to " become less anxious for its preservation from being admitted to a fuller par- " ticipation of its blessings.

" Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray, that this honourable house will " take the premises into consideration, and grant to your petitioners such re- " lief as to its wisdom, justice, and humanity shall seem meet.

" And your petitioners will ever pray."

From a desire of procuring unanimity, it was thought prudent to submit the subject again to the consideration of the general committee. At a meeting convened for that purpose, a gentleman who declared himself commissioned by Lord Kenmare to communicate his sentiments to the committee, gave notice of his lordship's disapprobation of the measure, and of his determination not to co-operate in it, although his lordship had never attended at any of the meetings, in which the measure had been discussed, and the Earl of Fingal, who, on that night filled the chair, appeared to acquiesce in Lord Kenmare's opinion. The reason, however, for laying before parliament the situation of the Catholics, and humbly soliciting a relief from some of the severe restrictions, under which they laboured, appeared conclusive to the meeting; and the former resolution of an immediate application to the legislature was again adopted by a very great majority.

On the 18th of April the committee met once more, and delivered in their report, which fully accounted for their reasons for suspending their application to parliament, and was to the following effect.

"In compliance with your instructions, the first object of the "attention of your committee was, to prepare a petition to par- "liament, expressive of those sentiments of loyalty and sub- "mission to the laws of their country, so strongly marked in "the resolutions transmitted from different parts of the king- "dom. We were aware of the unfavourable conclusions, which "those of our fellow subjects, whose minds, from political or "religious prejudices, were less prepared to meet our wishes, "must naturally draw from the disunion of any of our mem- "bers, however small their numbers might be, or inconsidera- "ble their consequence, when compared with that of the Ca- "tholic body at large. Anxious to obviate this inconvenience, "we endeavoured, by every measure not inconsistent with the "line of conduct pointed out to us by this general committee, to "procure the co-operation of the two noble lords.

"For this purpose your committee employed the mediation "of our respectable prelate, whose virtues and amiable charac- "ter entitled him to the confidence of all parties; and with "gratitude they acknowledge the kindness of his prompt and "zealous, though ineffectual interference.

"After consuming a considerable time in fruitless negocia- "tions, your committee directed Mr. Edward Byrne to ac- "quaint Mr. Secretary Hobart of the intention of the Catholics, "and to request to know when it would be agreeable to him to "be waited upon by a deputation from that body, for the pur- "pose of laying before him a copy of the petition, and soliciting "the support of government on their behalf.

" Upon receiving Mr. Secretary Hobart's answer, your committee, still desirous to conciliate, informed the Earl of Fingal, and Lord Viscount Kenmare, in writing, that from the respect which they bore to their lordships, they had deputed Mr. Byrne and Mr. Rice to request their attendance at the castle. This letter was forwarded by Mr. Byrne, and accompanied with a note, acquainting their lordships, that these gentlemen would wait on them at their respective houses on the following morning.

" We are sorry to be obliged to observe, that these uncommon marks of deference and respectful attention, far from gaining on the mind of the noble viscount, seemed to render him more averse to conciliating measures. He suffered the two gentlemen to come to his house at the appointed hour, and even there refused to see them, though deputed in your name, and under the sanction of your authority. Several conferences had taken place with the Earl of Fingal, whose attachment to our cause was too sincere not to lament, that any difference of opinion should exist; but having hitherto acted in conjunction with Lord Kenmare, he declared himself reluctant to join in any measure without the concurrent approbation of the noble viscount. Nor was it till shortly before the hour appointed by Mr. Secretary Hobart, that your committee received information, that the noble lords would meet them at the castle.

" In this interview with the minister, we delivered, through the hands of the Earl of Fingal, a copy of the petition intended to be presented to parliament. Here we beg leave to arrest your attention. A charge of a serious nature has been made. We are far from imputing to any particular person the indecorous assertions, injurious misrepresentations, and unnatural triumphs, at every obstacle that did arise to damp our exertions; had they been confined to our proceedings whilst we were strictly and literally pursuing your instructions, we should have passed them unnoticed; but your committee cannot remain silent under the imputation of having trifled with your authority, and surprised the noble lords, by presenting a copy of your resolutions without any previous communication. That such a copy was presented without communication, is true; but that the production of it was an object of indispensable necessity; that by withholding it your committee would have proved themselves unworthy of your confidence, and the interest of the Catholic cause received an irreparable injury, is equally true. It is still fresh in your recollection, that on the last night of the general meeting, one nobleman, in person, and the other through the mouth of a gentleman, who declared himself authorized to speak in his

"name, refused to coincide in your measures. You have also "been informed of the repeated and unsuccessful attempts that "were made to prevail on them to sacrifice their private senti- "ments to the general opinion of their fellow sufferers. Thus "deprived of the countenance of those, who were in the habit "of addressing administration in the name of the Catholics, it "became incumbent on your committee to produce some au- "thentic document, to shew that in presenting themselves be- "fore his majesty's ministers, they were not an obtruding, self- "created deputation, nor even the delegates of a numerous body "of Catholics assembled in the metropolis; but that they were "authorized to act on behalf, and that their language was the "language of their brethren through the kingdom. The deter- "mination of the noble lords to meet our committee at the cas- "tle, rendered this expedient unnecessary. They, however, "deemed it not unadvisable to carry with them a copy of your "resolutions, in case any unforeseen circumstance should call "on them to make use of it. The event fully justified their "caution. After their chairmain had informed Mr. Secretary "Hobart of the purpose of this deputation, your committee, "with equal astonishment and regret, heard the noble viscount "declare, in the name of the Catholics, intentions different "from what they had resolved upon, and from what your com- "mittee, in consequence of your resolution, had communicated "to the minister in writing. What views could have induced "the noble lord to make such a declaration, it is difficult to con- "jecture. Had not your committee adopted the expedient al- "luded to, they would have been reduced to the alternative of "entering, before Mr. Secretary Hobart, into a discussion "equally unpleasant in itself, and injurious in its consequences; "or of suffering the mis-statement of an individual, to obstruct "the wishes of the entire Catholic body. By presenting the "copy of your resolutions they were relieved, to their complete "satisfaction, from the effects of so serious a mistake.

"Your committee having thus eluded the imprudence of the "noble lord, had still the mortification to find him counteracting "their measures; for on the day following their interview with "the minister, he wrote to the secretary to disavow those reso- "lutions, which he had not then read, and which had received "the approbation of two general committees, at each of which "the Earl of Fingal had presided. Your committee, with defe- "rence, submit how irregular and unwarrantable it is in any in- "dividual, who has declined joining in your deliberations, to "take upon himself to condemn, even obliquely, proceedings, "with the nature of which, from his own indifference, or neglect, "he must be totally unacquainted.

"An immediate application to parliament next engaged the "attention of your committee. They addressed themselves to "several persons high in rank and consequence, equally respected "by administration, and endeared to their fellow subjects, by "their private and public virtues. Your committee are happy "to inform you, that every member of the legislature to whom "the intentions of the Catholics were made known, approved, "in the most unqualified terms, of the moderate and constitu- "tional steps they had resolved to pursue, and expressed the "fullest conviction of their loyalty, and of the claim which an "uniform good conduct had given them to the liberality of par- "liament. From the advanced period, however, of the session, "from the difficulty of communicating, in so short a time, with "their respective political connections, or of bestowing on the "subject that attention which its importance required, your "sincerest well-wishers recommended to your committee to "postpone the intended application.

"Satisfied, that by the public discussion of your situation, "the end had been in a great measure attained, for which you "wished that the petition had been presented this session, your "committee thought it prudent to comply with the advice of "their friends; and as a further mark of their respect to govern- "ment, they gave immediate information of their intention to "Mr. Secretary Hobart.

"Under these circumstances, your committee beg leave to "resign into your hands the trust which you have delegated to "their care, with an humble hope, that their exertions may prove "not unacceptable. They mention to you, with pleasure, the "happy impression which has been made on the minds of your "fellow subjects by that spirit of moderation, which has hitherto "presided over your deliberations, and directed your measures. "The liberality of the times is favourable to your efforts. The "prejudices entertained against you will subside in proportion "as your principles and sentiments are made known and dis- "cussed; and your committee may venture to assure you, that "submissive and constitutional applications are the only effectual "means, by which you can hope to obtain a mitigation of the "penal laws.

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting be given to "our sub-committee, for their attention to our instructions, and "the zeal with which they discharged the trust reposed in "them.

"*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee, to per- "severe in dutiful and submissive applications to parliament "for a mitigation of the penal laws; and that a committee of "twenty-one be now appointed for that purpose."

The summer past over without any circumstance of notability relative to the Catholic body; though it appear highly proba-

ble that measures were carrying on in concert for establishing a permanent union of interest between the Protestants of the north (chiefly Dissenters) and the body of Roman Catholics. In the month of June, 1791, a paper was circulated in Dublin, containing the design of an association to be called the Society of United Irishmen at Belfast: and a complete plan or prospectus of the society was published in the Northern Star in October following; and in the same month the Roman Catholics published a declaration of their tenets and pretensions, and circulated them through the kingdom, in order to remove prejudices, and spirit up the exertions of their friends in their cause.* In the ensuing month of November, a similar society of United Irishmen was established at Dublin: their declaration was the same as that of Belfast: but a test was annexted to it.† To this society Mr. James Napper Tandy was secretary, and Mr. Simon Butler chairman. The acts of this period are to be retailed, as they took place: not as they may now appear in the eyes of those, who consider every act or transaction as tainted with treason, because some of the actors in them were afterwards guilty of that offence. It appeared now to be the fixed system of the castle to involve all societies, clubs, and associations, which were very numerous in Ireland, from the Whig Club downwards, in one common anathema of faction and sedition. The press teemed with publications on the great political questions of the day, and the warfare was truly virulent. Lord Fitzgibbon's book, reviving the question of the regency, produced several acrimonious answers. The severe attacks on the Whig Club were answered with great ability and warmth. Opposition could scarcely be pushed to more severe hostilities. Every expression of attention to any popular character, was an offence of no mean standard at the Castle: and the resentments were always represented by the opposite parties as personal and vindictive.

When the Earl of Charlemont sailed for England to conduct his daughter to the Bath waters, the Whig Club, and all the volunteer corps in Dublin, attended him under arms to the water edge, and paid him the like honours on his return. In the course of this summer this venerable nobleman found himself under the necessity of resigning the government of the county of Armagh: a confidential honour, which his ancestors had uninterruptedly enjoyed from the days of Elizabeth: he considered

* This declaration was made on the 21st of October, 1791, and may be seen in the Appendix, No. LXXXIV.

† It is requisite to shew, that these first societies of United Irishmen differed from those that afterwards entered into the rebellion. Here nothing was secret, nothing ambiguous, nothing inconsistent with the duty of a loyal subject. Their test and constitution are to be seen in the Appendix, No. LXXXV.

the joint appointment of another nobleman with him in that government, as an offence and insult. At this time his lordship's predilections for the dissenters seem to have been particularly obnoxious to government; and many circumstances concur in proving, that the determined efforts of the northern dissenters in the cause of liberty, were infinitely more dreaded by government, than the claims or attempts of the Catholics for their emancipation. Lord Charlemont* was still averse

* It was not till the year 1796, that Lord Charlemont changed his opinion upon this subject, having then voted for their being admitted to the elective franchise. At the time the following address was written to his lordship:

"When a project is brought forward, professing to advance the prosperity, "and more firmly to secure the constitution of Ireland, the looks and thoughts "of men are naturally directed to Lord Charlemont: To a patriot nobleman, "whose life, his labours alike and relaxations, have been consecrated to the "service of his country: in the field, in the senate, in the cabinet; mingling "literature with arms, tempering politics with philosophy: neglecting, when "the public exigencies required it, the cultivation of an elegant mind to join "in military exercises, and set the example of assiduity and ardour: returning, "when the necessity had passed away, to encourage science in the land "wherein he had planted freedom; erecting the temple of liberty, and courting "every muse to decorate the edifice. Excuse, my lord, this intrusion; there "is a sort of established prescription for soliciting your notice when Ireland is "the object, and the theme is freedom; it is a price exacted for the situation "you are placed in, the most enviable a man can hold; loved, admired, and "venerated by an entire people.

"I am aware, my lord, that on a former occasion, you did not seem to concur "in that sentiment, which it is the object of this essay to impress and to disse-"minate; if it were my design to flatter, I should turn with a courtier's pre-"caution from this contrariety; but relying on your lordship's candour, I "recal the subject, but I recal it to expostulate, not to censure; how should "I censure the man, who opposes to reproof the seven-fold shield of public "virtue and private benignity? Let it stand as the most ample testimony to "your good sense, that you are requested to reconsider an opinion once de-"livered, and of your importance in the nation, that discussing a great state "question, it is my wish to make your lordship my first proselyte.

"So deeply rooted are our antipathies to many amongst us, the very name "of popery is an abomination; they start at the most remote hint of indulgence "to that hated people: such considerations could never have influenced Lord "Charlemont; when, my lord, the authority of your great name was opposed "to the career of liberality, the intended alteration must have appeared inex-"pedient. I know that many wise, and honourable persons, who, like you, "feel warmly for the rights of mankind, are induced to think the Roman "Catholics not prepared to receive civil liberty. I cannot assent to this doc-"trine; and upon this, as well as upon other parts of the subject, may I indulge "my vanity with a hope that additional lights are to be offered; yet should I "fail in impressing upon your lordship the wished-for conviction, I must con-"tinue to respect, even in a virtuous mind, what I am constrained to class "among its foibles.

"Brutus says they are ambitious.
"But Brutus is an honourable man."

It will be amidst the improvements of a future period, that the parties, which "now distract the country, shall be extinguished; and the motives, which at "this day indispose very honest men to the cause of the Roman Catholics, be "neglected or forgotten; the stream of time as it wafts to posterity the events "of this important æra, will not buoy up the various feelings, by which indivi-"duals are actuated; when at that day, my lord, history records your name

from admitting the Catholics into any participation of the state.

" amongst the illustrious worthies, who have used their rank but as the instru-
" ment of public advantage, with the Hornes, the Egmonts, and the Nassaus,
" or with your own Rockingham and Saville: it will be enquired with amaze-
" ment, why the benevolent friend of mankind should acquiesce in what then
" may appear unjust privation; the disinterested patriot should countenance
" what will seem not calculated to promote his country's interest: on this side
" alone will malignity attempt to whisper misrepresentation; on this act
" alone will fame be silent; or as she extends the annals of your life, an
" example to future noblemen, on this page only will she drop a tear, and suffer
" it, like the disavowed victories of Condé, to be torn from her record." This alluded to a figure of the great Condé at Chantilly: Fame is represented holding to view the history of his life; but the pages supposed to contain the account of those victories he gained against his country, are represented at his feet, torn from the book.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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APPENDIX.

No. LXX.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MESSRS. FLOOD AND GRATTAN: FROM THE DEBATES IN THE IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS, 2 VOL. P. 35 to 61, &c....P. 44.

MR. FLOOD.....I find myself little capable of speaking to this question, oppressed with sickness as I am; not in the least degree expecting such a question this night, and more astonished than ever I was in my life, to find the least symptom of opposition arising on the other side of the house. The opposition to it should originate here, for the resolution does not go as far as it ought to do. In Lord Townshend's administration, a resolution was proposed, "that the condition of "this country required every practicable retrenchment to be "made in its expences;" and the administration of that day thought they had done enough, and allowed themselves latitude sufficient, by amending it with the words....consistent with the welfare thereof, and the honourable support of his majesty's government; though the resolution so amended, stood then exactly like the present motion. (Here the clerk, at Mr. Flood's desire, read the former resolution.) But I think this motion still allows too great an inlet to public profusion. Some men will think of their own welfare, when the welfare of the country is the object, and include their own support within the honourable support of his majesty's government; I did not, therefore, think any man on the side of administration would have opposed the motion; I rather supposed they would have called out in triumph to let it pass; they would have exulted to see "the new commons, the new country," Ireland, in its emancipated and dignified state, tolerate the nonsense that was current in Lord Townshend's administration.

I am as willing as any man to pay compliment to ministry, both here and in England, to allow them every degree of credit for their honourable intentions; I have not the smallest ground of animosity or resentment to them, and when I hear œconomy recommended from the throne, almost in the words of the honourable baronet, I am astonished at an opposition to his motion. Indeed, I believe the words of that recommendation were by some accident misplaced, or that government has not digested the plan of retrenchment; they should not have followed immediately the mention of the Genevan colony, a body of virtuous men, who to avoid the most ignominious slavery, have sought an asylum in the arms of this country. It was not the proper place to use the word œconomy: it there disgraces the virtuous and generous act of men, who have just recovered their own liberty; by placing it there, we may lose a great deal of honour, but can save very little money. But it is not to such little things we are to look for relief; our retrenchments should reach establishments, and not like England plunge deeper each day in ruin. Ministry both here and in that kingdom, have been often warned of the fatal consequences that must follow, but these warnings have been treated as the visions of speculative men. England, that great and mighty country, now staggers under a load of debt, distressed and dismembered, her expences overwhelm her; and where is the man who will say, she shall be redeemed? Where is the man who will say, I will redeem her, and will say how? Though every little minister, or every little man who imagines he is a minister, is ready to undertake the management of her affairs: where is the man who will say, that Ireland ought to have a peace establishment of 15,000 men? When the augmentation took place in Lord Townshend's administration, this country was unable to bear it, and since that day we have been involving her deeper and deeper, because we at first engaged her in an undertaking beyond her strength. When all the world united against Britain, and she was surrounded with enemies on every side, we gave way to the feelings of our hearts and spared her 4000 men; and some time after in the moment *de flagrante bello*, we granted her more than half our remaining troops: if then in time of war the country could subsist without troops, will any man say, that in time of profound peace she ought to support 15000 men? No, now is the time for reducing your military establishment; let your intention be known this day, that the right honourable secretary may have time to communicate with England: if you neglect the present opportunity, no minister hereafter will have even a pretence for restoring the finances of this country.

I am no partisan either here or in England, I can gain nothing by it; I am ready in either place, like a man, to support mi-

nisters while they are right; and whenever they are wrong, to oppose them, and resist their measures. At present I hope my honourable friend will allow me to alter his motion, and state a precise idea; I would have it run thus: "*Resolved*, That the "condition of this country requires every practicable retrench- "ment, &c. and that the military establishment in its present "state, affords room for effectual retrenchment."

I love the army as a body of brave and worthy men, but I would not sacrifice the kingdom to their benefit. Now, Sir, if ministers really mean œconomy, they will agree with this amendment of mine; if not, they will amuse us with the words only.

Mr. George Ponsonby....Sir, I can see as plainly as any man the intent of the reflections thrown upon your predecessor in the chair; and I must say, as to the mover of this resolution, that no disapprobation of his gives me any but a pleasurable sensation, and I do at all times feel that supreme contempt for his disapprobation and opinion, which I now take the liberty to declare. Mr. Ponsonby then entered into a defence of his father's (the late speaker) conduct; he recited the history of that time. He said, that Mr. Flood had exerted himself to support his father's interest against Lord Townshend's attacks; and asked, why, when virtue in the shape of Lord Townshend had overturned interest, the alleged system of profusion had not been overturned also? He declared his firm reliance on the Duke of Portland and his friends, that they intended an effectual and satisfactory reform; and concluded, that if the honourable baronet thought the circle in which he sat was composed of men grown old in iniquity, it would be but charitable for him to come amongst them, as only from his virtuous contact and indefatigable labours, they could hope to be brought into the road of righteousness.

Mr. Flood said, he had not supported Mr. Ponsonby's interest, but he had opposed Lord Townshend's administration: he said this to exculpate Mr. Ponsonby from the charge of ingratitude, for when he had felt the hand of power, Mr. Ponsonby had not supported him; but he never looked at such little things as the interest of particular men of parties: they appeared great indeed to the men who were engaged in them, but in the eyes of the man who contemplates the public welfare, they vanish into nothing. Had I, said he, been his father's supporter, the honourable gentleman but ill requited me, when in his loudest tone, he cried out to have me dismissed, and seemed to reproach ministers with pusillanimity for delaying the sentence. He declared, indeed, that he had no personal dislike to me, but it was only to oblige one or two particular friends; yet the gentleman boasts of Whig principles, Whig connections;

Whig friends he may justly boast, but such conduct was a manifestation of Whig apostacy. God and Nature have established this limit to power, it cannot long subsist divested of rectitude. Do we mean to take up the words of retrenchment ourselves, or will we leave it to others to œconomize for us? If we proceed upon this business, the people will stand grateful and admiring spectators of our progress; if not, they may perhaps take it up themselves: let us then act honestly, let us tell Great Britain what no man can deny, that the military is the place to make retrenchment. I will suppose ministers as good as any man can wish, but 'tis our duty to give them opportunity of exercising their honest intentions.

Mr. Grattan....I shall not trouble you long, nor take up the time of the house, by apologizing for bodily infirmity, or the affectation of infirmity. I shall not speak of myself, or enter into a defence of my character, having never apostatized. I think it is not necessary for the house now to investigate what we know to be fact. I think it would be better to go into the business, as the house did upon another occasion, without the formality of the committee's report. As to myself, the honourable reward that a grateful nation has bestowed upon me, for ever binds me to make every return in my power, and particularly to oppose every unnecessary expence. I am far from thinking with the honourable gentleman, as to the speech, and I believe he will find instances where œconomy has been recommended from the throne, but prodigality practised. This was the case in Lord Harcourt's administration. An administration which had the support of the honourable gentleman; and therefore he, of all men, cannot be at a loss to reject that illusory œconomy, which has so often appeared in the speeches of lord lieutenants. With respect to the Genevese, I never could have thought it possible to give the speech such a bias as has been mentioned, and that people will be deceived, if they give credit to any declamation that infers from the words of the speech, any thing but an honest œconomy in applying the public money fairly to their use. The nation has derived great honour from this transaction, and I would be sorry to have it tarnished by inference and insinuation.

In 1771, when the burdens of the country were comparatively small, I made a motion similar to this; the honourable gentleman then opposed me. I have his sanction, now, that I was right, and he was wrong; and I say this, that though gentlemen may for a while vote against retrenchments, they will at last see the necessity of them. Yet while I think retrenchments absolutely necessary, I am not very sure, that this is just the time to make it in the army; now when England has acted justly, I will not say generously; now when she has lost her

empire; when she still feels the wounds of the last unhappy war, and comforts herself only with the faithful friendship of Ireland. In 1769, when the liberties of Ireland were denied, and those of America in danger, it was thought unadvisable to retrench our army, there can be no such reason to reduce it now, when both are acknowledged and confirmed. When we voted 4000 men to butcher our brethren in America, the honourable gentleman should have opposed that vote; but perhaps he will be able to explain the propriety of sending 4000 Irishmen thither. But why not look for retrenchment in the revenue and other departments. In my mind, the proper mode would be, to form a fair estimate of what would be a reasonable peace-establishment, and reduce our several departments to it.

Mr. Flood.....The right honourable member can have no doubt of the propriety of my saying a word in reply to what he has delivered; every member in that house can bear witness of the infirmity I mentioned, and therefore, it required but little candour to make a nocturnal attack upon that infirmity; but I am not afraid of the right honourable member, I will meet him any where, or upon any ground, by night or by day. I would stand poorly in my own estimation, and in my country's opinion, if I did not stand far above him. I do not come here dressed in a rich wardrobe of words to delude the people; I am not one who has promised repeatedly to bring in a bill of rights, yet does not bring in that bill or permit any other person to do it; I am not one who threatened to impeach the chief justice of the King's Bench for acting under an English law, and afterwards shrunk from that business; I am not the author of the simple repeal; I am not one who, after saying the parliament was a parliament of prostitutes, endeavoured to make their voices subservient to my interest; I am not one who would come at midnight, and attempt by a vote of this house to stifle the voice of the people, which my egregious folly had raised against me; I am not the gentleman who subsists upon your accounts; I am not the mendicant patriot who was bought by my country for a sum of money, and then sold my country for prompt payment; I am not the man who in this house loudly complained of an infringement made by England, in including Ireland in a bill, and then sent a certificate to Dungannon that Ireland was not included; I never was bought by the people, nor ever sold them: the gentleman says, he never apostatized, but I say I never changed my principles: let every man say the same, and let the people believe them if they can. But if it be so bad a thing to take an office in the state, how comes the gentleman connected with persons in office. They, I hope, are men of virtue, or how come the gentleman so closely connected with Colonel Fitzpatrick. I object to no man for being in office; a patriot in

office is the more a patriot for being there. There was a time when the glories of the great Duke of Marlborough shrunk and withered before those of the right honourable gentleman; when palaces superior to Blenheim were to be built for his reception, when pyramids and pillars were to be raised, and adorned with emblems and inscriptions sacred to his virtue; but the pillars and pyramids are now sunk, though then the great Earl of Chatham was held inferior to him; however, he is still so great, that the queen of France, I dare say, will have a song made on the name of Grattan.

Lord Harcourt practised œconomy....but what was the œconomy of the Duke of Portland? 100,000*l.* was voted to raise 20,000 seamen, though it was well known, that one third of that number could not be raised; and what was the application of the money? It was applied to the raising of the execrated fencibles.

It is said, I supported Lord Harcourt's administration; it is true, but I never deserted my principles, but carried them into the cabinet with me. A gentleman, who now hears me, knows that I proposed to the privy council an Irish mutiny bill, and that not with a view of any parliamentary grant. I supported an absentee tax; and while I was in office, registered my principles in the books of government; and the moment I could not influence go vernment to the advantage of the nation, I ceased to act with them. I acted for myself; I was the first who ever told them, that an Irish mutiny bill must be granted. If this country is now satisfied, is it owing to that gentleman? No; the simple repeal, disapproved and scouted by all the lawyers in England and in Ireland, shews the contrary; and the only apology he can make is, that he is no lawyer at all. A man of warm imagination and brilliant fancy will sometimes be dazzled with his own ideas, and may for a moment fall into error; but a man of sound head could not make so egregious a mistake, and a man of an honest heart would not persist in it after it was discovered. I have now done: and give me leave to say, if the gentleman enters often into this kind of colloquy with me, he will not have much to boast of at the end of the session.

Mr. Grattan....In respect to the house, I could wish to avoid personality, and return to the question, but I must request liberty to explain some circumstances alluded to by the honourable member: the honourable member has alluded to St. Christopher's bill, I will declare the fact....he may tell a story: when I received a copy of that bill, it gave me much pain and much offence; I thought I saw the old intention of binding Ireland by English laws; I therefore spoke to that effect in this house; I also shewed the bill to all the most able and virtuous men in

this kingdom, who were of opinion, that my suggestion was wrong; under this opinion I acquiesced, and the opinion has justified it: as to coming at midnight to obtain a vote, imposing silence on the people, I deny it, it was mis-stated in the papers, my resolution was to declare this country free, and that any person who should speak or write to the contrary, was a public enemy. All the house, all the revered and respected characters in this kingdom heard me, and know what I say is true. But it is not the slander of a bad tongue of a bad character that can defame me, I maintain my reputation in public and in private life; no man, who has not a bad character can say I ever deceived him, no country has ever called me cheat. I will suppose a public character, a man not now in this house, but who formerly might have been here; I will suppose it was his constant practice to abuse every man who differed from him, and to betray every man who trusted him; I will suppose him active, I will begin from his cradle, and divide his life into three stages....in the first he was intemperate, in the second corrupt, and in the third seditious.

Suppose him a great egotist, his honour equal to his oath, and I will stop him and say, Sir, your talents are not so great as your life is infamous; you were silent for years, and you were silent for money: when affairs of consequence to the nation were debating, you might be seen passing by these doors like a guilty spirit, just waiting for the moment of putting the question, that you might hop in and give your venal vote; or, at times with a vulgar brogue, apeing the manner, and affecting the infirmities of Lord Chatham; or like a kettle drummer, lather yourself into popularity to catch the vulgar; or you might be seen hovering over the dome, like an ill-omened bird of night, with sepulchral notes, a cadaverous aspect, and broken beak, ready to stoop and pounce upon your prey: you can be trusted by no man; the people cannot trust you; the ministers cannot trust you; you deal out the most impartial treachery to both; you tell the nation it is ruined by other men, while it is sold by you; you fled from the embargo; you fled from the mutiny bill; you fled from the sugar bill; I therefore tell you in the face of your country, before all the world, and to your beard, you are not an honest man.

Mr. Flood....I have heard a very extraordinary harangue indeed, and I challenge any man to say, that any thing half so unwarrantable was ever uttered in this house. The right honourable gentleman set out with declaring, he did not wish to use personality, and no sooner has he opened his mouth, than forth issues all the venom that ingenuity and disappointed vanity, for two years brooding over corruption, has produced;

but it cannot taint my public character; four and twenty years employed in your service has established that; and as to my private, let that be learned from my tenants, from my friends, from those under my own roof; to those I appeal, and this appeal I boldly make, with utter contempt of insinuations, false as they are illiberal. The whole force of what has been said, rests upon this, that I once accepted office, and this is called apostacy; but is a man the less a patriot, for being an honest servant of the crown. As to me, I took as great a part with the first office of the state at my back, as ever the right honourable gentleman did with mendicancy behind him.

Mr. Flood proceeded to defend his character, when, at a pause, the speaker took the opportunity to interfere, and with the utmost politeness, and in the kindest manner, entreated him to forbear, declaring that he had suffered inexpressible pain during this contest; and that nothing but the calls of the house to hear the two members, could have made him so long sit silent. He again besought Mr. Flood to sit down, and the house joining with the chair, that gentleman, after sundry efforts to speak, was obliged to desist, and soon after retired.

Mr. Flood was sought for that night by his kinsman Sir Frederick Flood, but could not be found. On the 1st of November, 1785, he came to the house and thus resumed the subject.

*Sir, I wish to take the earliest opportunity of speaking a few words to you, and addressing a few to the house, upon the situation in which I left the house last Tuesday. You heard, Sir, and the public heard me, the subject, as I think, of an unwarrantable attack. I rose to defend myself, I am sure with temper. I am not lightly moved; and I think I should be lightly moved, indeed, if I could have been moved by that. I was however interrupted, though I did not bring any fictitious subject before you, or set out without the least appearance of any argument. In consequence of interruption, Sir, I left the house; but soon after I understood, that the house thought proper to say, they would give me liberty to proceed, and I wish to take the earliest opportunity of returning them my thanks for that permission. At the same time, Sir, that I return my thanks for that permission, I hope they will suffer me to render it not an empty indulgence, but, upon the present occasion, to take up the subject where I left it last night. (Mr. Toler rose to order; but Mr. Flood proceeded.) I hope gentlemen will not interrupt me: when they find me going out of order, when they find me drawing fictitious characters, let them stop me; when I say any thing unparliamentary; when I recal the asperity of that day, which

* Page 56 to 65.

whilst I despise, I must disapprove, I rise in defence of what I think an injured character. As I have endeavoured to defend the rights of this country for twenty-four years, I hope they will permit me to defend my reputation. My life, Sir, has been divided into three parts, and it has been dispatched by three epithets: one part, Sir, that which preceded Lord Harcourt's administration: another, which passed between Lord Harcourt's and Lord Carlisle's; and the third, which is subsequent. The first has a summary justice, or injustice done to it, by being said to be intemperate; the second is treated in like manner, by being said to be venal: and the conduct of the third is said to be that of an incendiary.

Mr. O'Hara. To order; it is against order to speak of what passed on a former day, not that any thing the honourable gentleman has said now is improper, but that the order of the house forbids a reference to the debates of a former day.

Mr. Flood. I take this matter up, upon the ground of an interrupted debate; it is in that light it comes within order. I have a right to begin where I was interrupted; but, Sir, there are some cases of so particular a nature, that a strict adherence to a general order, would be the height of injustice. In the attack made upon my person, I went back, not only to the arguments of two or three days before, but to the conduct of twenty years antecedent; therefore, Sir, I hope, that if animadversions of twenty years are allowed to one, I may have an opportunity of referring to arguments used three days ago: with respect to that period of my life, which is dispatched for the word intemperate, I beg gentlemen would consider the situation of public characters, if that is to be their treatment; that period takes in a number of years, and in which the public were pleased to give me their sentence of approbation. Sir, it includes, for I wish to speak to facts, not to take it up upon epithets, it includes the Duke of Bedford's, Lord Halifax's, the Duke of Northumberland's, Lord Hertford's, and Lord Townshend's.

Now, Sir, as to the fact of intemperance, I will state to you how that stands, and let the gentleman see how a plain tale shall put him down. Of those five administrations, there were three I could not be said, in any sense of the word, to oppose them at all; I mean the three first. I certainly voted against the secretary of the day, but oftener voted with him. In Lord Hertford's administration, I had attained to a certain view and decided opinion of what was fit, in my mind, to be done for this country. I had fixed upon the great objects of public utility. I endeavoured to attain them, with that spirit and energy, with which it is my character and nature to speak and to act; as I must take the disadvantages of my nature, I will take the advantages

of it too. These three great objects were resisted by that administration: what was the consequence? A conflict arose between that administration and me; but that conflict ought not to be called opposition on my part; no, it ought rather to be called opposition on theirs; I was the propounder, and they resisted my propositions. This may be called a conflict, not an opposition to that administration. What were those three objects? One was to prove, that the constitution of parliament in this kingdom did still exist; that it had not been taken away by the law of Poynings, but that it was an infamous perversion of that statute, by which the constitution had suffered: the other was the establishment of a constitutional military force, in superaddition to that of a standing army. The only idea that ever occurred to England, or any free country of Europe, I adopted, namely, that of a constitutional militia. At that time the idea of a volunteer force had not arisen; therefore, I adopted the idea which at that time appeared to be best. The third great object I took up as necessary for this country, was a law for limitting the duration of parliaments; these were the three great, salutary, and noble objects, worthy of the enlarged mind of an enlarged country. I pursued them with ardour, I do not deny it; but I did not pursue them with intemperance. I am sure I did not appear to the public to do so; they gave my exertions many flattering testimonies of their approbation. There is another proof that I was not intemperate; I was successful: intemperance and miscarriage are apt to go together, but temperance and success are associated by nature. This is my plain history with regard to that period. The clumsiness of virulence, of invective, may require to be sheathed in a brilliancy of diction, but plain truth and plain sense are best delivered in plain terms. I now come to that period, in which Lord Harcourt governed, and which is stigmatized by the word venal. I say, Lord Harcourt, for in my consideration of his administration, I will include that of Lord Townshend. If every man who accepts an office is venal, and an apostate, I certainly cannot acquit myself of the charge, nor is it necessary. I should have so many associates in the crime, if ever there was a crime in what multitudes would defend. I am sensible multitudes and majorities would not be wanting to defend that. But I say, either it is a crime, or it is not; if it be a crime universally, let it be a crime universally ascribed. But, Sir, I say it is not fair, that one set of men should be treated by that honourable member as great friends and lovers of their country, notwithstanding they are in office; and another man, because he was in office, should be treated as an enemy and an apostate; but what is the truth? Every thing of this sort depends upon the principles on which office is taken, and on which it is retained; with regard

to me, let no man imagine I am preaching up a doctrine for my own convenience; there is not a man less concerned in the propagation of it. I have no treaty with the right honourable gentleman on the floor, nor shall I have any.

Now, Sir, I shall beg leave shortly to state the manner in which I accepted that office, which I give you my word I never will resume. It was offered to me in the most honourable manner, with an assurance not only of being a placeman for my own profit, but a minister for the benefit of my country. My answer was, that I thought, in a constitution such as ours, an intercourse between the prince and the subject ought to be honourable; the being a minister ought to redound to a man's credit; but I lamented, that it often happened otherwise: men in office often give up those principles, which they maintained before. I told them, therefore, that my objections were not the going into office, but to following the examples, which I had sometimes seen before me. I mentioned the public principles I held. I said, if consistently with those principles, from an atom of which I would not depart, I could be of service to his majesty's government, I was ready to be so; I speak in the presence of men, who know what I say. After the office had come over, and landed in this kingdom, I sent in writing to the chief governor, that I would not accept the office, unless upon that principle.

Thus, Sir, I took office; the administration before I opposed only in part of it; in the first session of Lord Townshend, I did not oppose; I never opposed Lord Townshend till after his prorogation and protest. This appeared to me an infamous violation of the privileges of parliament. With regard to money bills, and after that protest, by which he endeavoured to make the Journals of the House of Lords, instead of being the record of their privileges, the monument of their disgrace, I opposed him; now what did I oppose in that administration? The violation of the privilege of this house, with regard to money bills, and the wanton augmentation of offices, by the division of the board of commissioners into two parts. In Lord Harcourt's administration, what did I do? I had the two boards of commissioners reduced again into one. I do not say my single voice effected this, but as far as it had any efficacy, it insisted on having the twelve commissioners again reduced to seven, and the two boards to one, a saving, including the whole arrangement, of twenty thousand pounds a year to the nation. It went further; it insisted to have every altered money bill thrown out, and privy council money bills not defended by the crown. Thus, instead of giving sanction to the measures I had opposed, my conduct was in fact to register my principles in the records of the court, to make the privy council a witness to

the privileges of parliament, and to give final energy to the tenets, with which I commenced my life. Economy did not stop with the reduction of the commissioners' board. The right honourable gentleman, who has censured me, in order to depreciate that œconomy, said, that we had swept with the feather of œconomy, the pens and paper of your table: a pointed and brilliant expression is far from a just argument. This country has no reason to be ashamed of that species of œconomy, when the great nation of Great Britain has been obliged to descend to an œconomy as minute. Neither, Sir, was this all; it is not my fault if infinitely more was not done for this country upon that occasion; they were offered a saving, they did not chuse to take it; they were offered the absentee tax, and they refused it: I am not to blame for that, it was a part of the saving proposed. If administration were wrong on that occasion, they were wrong with the prejudices of half a century; they were wrong with every great writer that had ever written upon the subject of Ireland; they were wrong with some of the plainest principles, as it seems, of human nature in their favour. I will suppose the determination not to accept it to have been right, still it was meritorious in administration to offer it: and to shew, that I was not under any undue influence of office; I appeal to the memory of many men present, whether, when the disposition of the house was made to alter upon that subject, and when administration yielded, not unwillingly, to the violence of parliament, I appeal to the conscious and public knowledge of many, whether I did veer and turn about with the secretary, or whether I did not make a manly stand in favour of that principle, after having pledged myself to the public I would rather break with a million of administrations than retract?

I not only adhered to it, but by a singular instance of exertion, I forced it a second time under the consideration of this house. That this benefit was lost to this country, if it be a benefit, it was not my fault. One thing I must go back to; I had repeatedly pressed the bill for limiting the duration of parliament. In Lord Townshend's time, I brought it in finally, and crowned it with success: thus I restored to the universal community of Ireland, a right of which they had been robbed for near a century, namely, their first and fundamental franchise as electors, without which this house is but a shadow. And thus after having restored that root of all their other rights in Lord Townshend's administration, after having restored œconomy, and reduced twelve commissioners to seven in Lord Harcourt's, I went on to the other great measure which I have mentioned, the militia law; and when a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Ogle) moved that question, I engaged all the interest I could with government in behalf of it; I rose up to second his motion,

and declared I would support him and his militia bill to the last; accordingly, I gave him the assistance of my poor labours, and it was carried; thus therefore, Sir, I say, that in that administration, in which I accepted office, instead of relinquishing my principles, I preserved them. Instead of getting a minority to vote for them, I brought the majority to give an efficient sanction to their truth, by entering into office upon that occasion, and acting as I did; I acted the part of an honest minister between the prince and the people; in doing so, I think I was more a patriot, than if out of office I had made empty declamations on empty subjects, without any advantage to the public. Most of those who hear me can recollect the state of this kingdom at the close of Lord Townshend's administration. I appeal to them all, and I ask what was then my repute in the nation? I will not say it was the first, or the second, or the third, but did it not stand in an honourable rank, and among the former rather than among the last? In Lord Harcourt's government, the vice-treasurership was offered to me, accompanied with every declaration that could render it acceptable to an honourable mind. When that office was offered to me, was my situation that of a reprobated man? Did the administration of England send over an office usually reserved for the parliament of England, and offer it of their own accord to a reprobated man? I take the facts of both countries to disprove this calumny. Is it since I have become a mark of obloquy? I flatter myself not. Lord Buckinghamshire's administration succeeded. With regard to Lord Harcourt's administration, the objection is, I did too much; the charge with regard to the other is, I did too little for it; those two accusations run a little in contrary direction, and like a double poison, each may cure the operation of the other: but the fact is this, I acted not upon visions and imaginations, but on sound common sense, the best gift of God to man; which then told me, and still whispers, that some administrations deserve a more active support than others; that some administrations deserve little of either; I adapted my conduct to those three conditions, I did not run headlong against government at one time, and with government at another, but adapted my conduct as I ought to do, to what I saw and what I felt. Did I support Lord Harcourt? Why? Because he gave me an influence in his councils. It is nonsense to say, a man is not to support his own councils; but the next administration took another direction, and they did not give me any influence in their councils. What was the consequence? I did not give them support. Was there any thing more fair? I felt myself a man of too much situation to be a mere placeman. If not a minister to serve my country, I would not be the tool of salary. What was the consequence? I voted

with them in matters of importance when they were clearly right; I voted against them in matters of importance when they were clearly wrong; and in matters of small moment I did not vote at all: and why? I scorned, by voting for them in such matters, to seem to pay court. To vote against them in such matters would have been absurd. What remained? Not to vote at all. If you call that absconding, going behind the chair, or escaping into the corridore, call it what you please, I say it was right. This is my plain way of dealing; it is common sense. I told Lord Buckinghamshire, I would not attend the cabinet councils of the sage Mr. Heron. Was that duplicity? I think not. I did more; I sent my resignation to England, to the same friend through whom the first communication was made to me on the subject of office; but, from the ideas of friendship to me, he took time to consider, and at length declined to deliver my resignation. I have said something of the middle period, I shall come to the third, viz. Lord Carlisle's administration, in which my conduct has been slandered as the conduct of an incendiary; when that idea took place in some minds I cannot tell, but this I am sure of, that the right honourable gentleman who censured me, was called an incendiary at that time, and so perhaps might I; but I am sure the right honourable gentleman at that time did not think me an incendiary more than himself. There was not a single instance in which he did not co-operate. If I am an incendiary, I shall gladly accept therefore of the society of that right honourable gentleman under the same appellation: but he laughed at the folly of the accusation at that time, and so do I now. If I was an incendiary, it was for moving what the parliaments of both kingdoms have since given their sanction to: if that is to be an incendiary, God grant I may continue so! In this administration it was that I was dismissed from office; now, Sir, I do not know that in general my dismission from office was thought any disgrace to me: I do not think this house or the nation thought me dishonoured by that dismission. The first day I delivered those sentiments for which I was dismissed, I remember it well, I thought it for my honour; some very honourable and worthy gentlemen, some since dead, and some still alive, one of whom I shall ever love and shall ever lament; one of them is dead since to every thing but his own honour and the grateful memory of his country; one of them who thought me so little of the character of an incendiary, that he crossed the house, together with others, to congratulate me on the honour of my conduct, and to embrace me in open parliament. At that moment I think I stood clear to the imputation of being an incendiary. The character of an incendiary therefore seems to have been superinduced upon me of a sudden; it has sprouted out

and germinated from that root of much evil, the simple repeal: since that moment only, it seems that I have been going down in the opinion of the public; since that moment they have found out my character and conduct deserve all reprobation, and deserve the brand of being an incendiary; and yet I can hardly prevail upon myself to think that is the case, because, since that moment, I have received more honourable testimonies from every corner of the kingdom, than that right honourable member has received in the same period. I shall return once more to the sentiments of that beloved character I have just described: he was a man, over whose life, or over whose grave, envy never hovered: he was a man, wishing ardently to serve his country himself, not wishing to monopolize the service, but wishing to partake and to communicate the glory of what passed: he gave me in his motion for a free trade, a full participation of the honour. Upon another occasion he said, I remember the words, they are traced with the pencil of gratitude on my heart, "That "I was a man whom the most lucrative office in the land had "never warped in point of integrity." The words were marked, I am sure I repeat them fairly; they are words I should be proud to have inscribed upon my tomb. Consider the man from whom they came; consider the magnitude of the subject on which they were spoken; consider the situation of the persons concerned, and it adds to, and multiplies the honour. My noble friend....I beg pardon, he did not live to be ennobled by patent, but he was born ennobled by nature; his situation at that moment was this: he had found himself obliged to surrender office, and enter into active opposition to that government, from whom he had received it. I remained in office, though under the circumstance of having sent in my resignation; that he did not know; in political position therefore we were contradistinguished to each other: he did not know, while he was doing justice to me, but that he might be doing political detriment to himself; he did not know but he might serve the administration he opposed; but careless of every thing except justice and honour, he gave the sentiments of his heart, and he approved. I have mentioned, Sir, that short period, during which the character of an incendiary, if at all applicable to me, must have come upon me in the night, like an enemy, and have taken me unawares; I cannot think the opinion of the public so transformed, when I see every corner of the country expressing their approbation of my conduct, one after another; great and respectable societies of men, compared with whose sentiments the obloquy of an individual sinks into nothing. Even this very day, I have received from the united delegates of the province of Connaught, an approbation, with one voice; as they

express it, of that conduct, which has been slandered as the conduct of an incendiary. Here is a congregation of men, not one of whom I have ever seen, to none of whom I have ever a chance of doing a service, who could have nothing in contemplation, but the doing an act of justice. Sir, I may say, I had the same sanction from another province, that of Ulster. But it seems I went to Belfast in the character of an incendiary; I went to Dungannon in the character of an incendiary. Now I went to neither of those places but by an invitation, and if a person invited be an incendiary, what must those be that give the invitation? If I am an incendiary, all Ulster is an incendiary; if I am an incendiary, all Connaught is an incendiary....with two provinces therefore at my back, and with the parliament of England behind me....in their having coincided honourably, and nobly in that sentiment, which I sustained, I think I am not much afraid of any single and solitary accusation. But I have not only the parliaments of both kingdoms, I have the judicial power in my favour. If my doctrine was not right, Lord Mansfield's was not right; I ask you was he wrong? It has been said he was the enemy of both countries on that occasion. But has the accusation been proved? Lord Mansfield has many political enemies. The administration at the time would have been glad to have proved him an enemy to both countries, yet was there a man in the parliament of England, the greatest enemy to that noble judge, who attempted to find fault with his conduct? After having mentioned the judicial power, let me come to a highly respectable body, the corps of Lawyers in this country, who, after six months meditation by a committee chosen by ballot, gave their sanction to that opinion, which is the opinion of an incendiary, if I deserve that name. If Lord Mansfield be an incendiary, if the parliament of England be an incendiary, if the corps of Lawyers be incendiaries, if the Ulster delegates be incendiaries, if the Connaught delegates be incendiaries, and all the societies who have joined that opinion throughout the kingdom....if all these be incendiaries, in the name of God let me be added to the number, and let me be an incendiary too. But though I may be such an incendiary, I will never be that which would deserve the name; I will never by any hollow composition....lay the seed of future dissension. I will go clearly and fully to the work. I will be satisfied when satisfaction is given; my nature is as prone to satisfaction, and as distant from chagrin as that of any man. I appeal to those who know me from my childhood, first at a public school, then at the university of this kingdom, then at the university of Oxford, and afterwards during twenty-four years, taking no very private part within the walls of this house....I have spoken to facts. I do not mean to arraign. Any man may be mistaken,

and I wish to suppose any man to be really mistaken, rather than be so intendedly. I would rather reconcile all men to the public, than make unnecessary divisions. But though I would do every thing a man can do to prevent dissension, I cannot be expected to sacrifice my character to unlimited obloquy. Sir, one circumstance I must mention as it is somewhat extraordinary. It has been said by some authority on that side of the question, that I am the out-cast of government, and of my prince; certainly, Sir, my dismission from office was attended with the extraordinary circumstance of dismission from council; therefore I suppose it is that the right honourable member has called me the out-cast of government and of my prince. It certainly, Sir, was an extraordinary transaction, but it was done in the case of Mr. Pulteney, it was done in the case of the Duke of Devonshire: therefore I suppose it will not be a decisive proof of any reprobated or factious character in the person to whom it happened. It is the first time it has been mentioned to my disadvantage. It was in the House of Lords of England mentioned to the disadvantage of the minister who was supposed to dave done it, by a most respectable character; it was thought not to my dishonour here; it was thought not to my dishonour in the House of Lords of Ireland, where I have lately received from a very eminent peer, the sanction of sentiments very different from these. In a word, it is but the sentence of one tongue, and upon that tongue I leave it. I do not however pretend to dispute a ministerial fact, which a gentleman in confidence alleges. He has been in the confidence of the Duke of Portland, he is as much a minister as any man who is not in office.

Thus much, therefore, I must give to this ministerial assertion, that I shall find it impossible for me, under such an interdict, to pay my respects at his majesty's castle of Dublin, which otherwise I should be prompted to discharge. And I mention it, thus publicly, that my absence may not be interpreted into any want of the most perfect duty and loyalty to my prince, or of the greatest respect to the nobleman who presides there. I am not a man formed to court proscription; I will not seek disgrace; let it remain in its den, I will not revoke it. Sir, I have trespassed too long, and I am oppressed with the weight and multitude of thanks which I owe you and the house; I have troubled you too long upon a private subject, but, with your permission, I will endeavour to make amends the next day, by bringing before you a subject of more importance, the œconomy of the nation; I beg pardon for what I have said, I have promised too much, I am in your judgment whether I shall do it. You have heard what has passed upon my subject; I appeal to you, if I am that character that has been drawn; if I am that character in any

degree, I do not deprecate your justice, but I call for it, and exhort you, for yourselves and your country, to get rid of a member who would be unworthy to sit among you.

No. LXXI.

MR. MONKE MASON'S SPEECH AGAINST PARLIAMENTARY REFORM....P. 75.

MR. John Monke Mason began the debate, by apologizing to the house for speaking at a time when he was so oppressed with a violent cold, that without their utmost indulgence he could not be heard at all. He said, I shall leave it to other gentlemen to point out to the house the absurdities of the plan that is now before you, and shall confine myself merely to the principle of the bill, and the reasons stated in support of it by the honourable gentleman by whom it was introduced, and the several petitions that lie on your table.

The honourable gentleman has said, that our present mode of representation is a novelty, and that what he contends for is not an innovation, but merely a restoration of the ancient constitution; and in the several petitions, it seems to be laid down as an incontrovertible maxim, that equality of representation is a fundamental principle of the English constitution; an assertion, which, I acknowledge, these people may support by the authority of several modern publications, the productions of ingenious and speculative men, who, in their vacant moments, when they have nothing else to do, amuse themselves with delineating a fantastical form of government, which they are pleased to entitle the constitution of England: and in reducing a series of political aphorisms, which they tell us are the principles of that constitution; but I am confident they cannot support this assertion by any facts recorded in the general or parliamentary history of that country.

If the constitution requires an equal representation of the people, the gentlemen will tell us the year of what reign that parliament assembled, in which the people were equally represented. If equality of representation be a principle of the constitution, they will point to us the period, at which this principle had effectual operation;....if they cannot do that, they will never persuade any man of common sense, that that is the English constitution,

which was never known to exist, or that that is a principle of the constitution which never has operated for a single moment of time, from the beginning of the world to the present hour.

It was not till the 34th of Henry VIII. that the county and city of Chester were impowered to send members to serve in parliament, it was not till 130 years after, in the 26th of Charles II. that this power was extended to the county and city of Durham. Could this possibly have happened, if equality of representation were a principle of the English constitution? In both these cases, specific acts of parliament were considered as requisite to invest them with this right. Could that have been thought necessary, if equality of representation were a principle of the constitution?

But to put this matter in a stronger light, it has ever been the undoubted prerogative of the crown, to impose the burden or extend the privileges of returning members to serve in parliament, to any communities or bodies of men that the king thought proper. This part of the prerogative has been constantly exercised without dispute or control from the first institution of parliament to the time of the revolution: is it possible that this power should even have existed for a single moment, if equality of representation were a principle of the constitution?

The reformers themselves do not controvert either this power of the crown, or the validity of the charters that have been formerly granted in consequence of that power; but they allege that many of the boroughs which were, at the time the charters were granted, in a flourishing condition, are now depopulated and gone to decay. With respect to those boroughs where the right of suffrage is vested in the inhabitants at large, I do not believe that the assertion is true; I believe that in the greater part of those towns there are as many Protestant inhabitants now as there were in the reign of King James I. and with respect to those, which these people call rotten boroughs, where the right of suffrage is vested in a few persons only, the depopulation of the places can have no effect upon the representatives. Belfast is as much a rotten borough as Harristown; the number of inhabitants is nothing to the purpose, for those inhabitants could have no right to poll, and the members for such boroughs are returned at this day by the self-same numbers of voters that they were at the time that the charters were granted. I will therefore assert that this pretended reform is not a renovation of the ancient constitution, but an idle and dangerous innovation.

A scheme for reforming the representation of the people was proposed in the British parliament in the course of the last

session, and was introduced by a gentleman, who, at an early period of life is already so distinguished for his virtue and abilities, that he bids fair to be one of the most illustrious characters that country has ever produced, his father not excepted. But notwithstanding the powerful support it derived from such respectable authority, the measure was rejected by that wise and prudent nation, even in the paroxism of political reformation. They could not be insensible of the defects of their constitution, but they were sensible of the danger of tampering with it, and chose rather to suffer those defects to continue, than to hazard the consequence of breaking in upon a system sanctified by the wisdom of ages, and under which they had flourished for such a length of time.

Yet if the people of Great Britain, in the present deplorable situation of that country, fallen from the highest pinnacle of glory to a state of humiliating distress, deprived of half her empire, weighed down with a debt of 240 millions, and harassed with taxes so various and complicated, that they seem to have exhausted the invention of her ministers; if the people, I say, in this situation should begin to suspect that the numberless calamities they have lately suffered were owing to some inherent defect in their original constitution, and wish to amend it, it would not be surprising; but that the people of Ireland should quarrel with a constitution which has raised them to the utmost summit of their wishes, is the highest degree of folly and ingratitude; a constitution under which they have so lately obtained a full restitution of their natural rights, an unlimited freedom of commerce extended to every part of the globe and the most perfect degree of judicial and legislative independence, that any nation upon earth has ever yet enjoyed; a constitution, in short, which has put them in possession of every blessing that can render a people flourishing and happy, except those which no constitution can bestow; and which are only to be acquired by industry, sobriety, and obedience to the laws; these are the only blessings we want to make us the happiest nation upon earth; these are the virtues which every honest man, every true patriot, every man who has the real welfare of his country at heart should endeavour to inculcate on the minds of the people, instead of turning their brains with political jargon, which they do not understand, and visionary systems of government....These are the virtues that will render us in a short time a nation of husbandmen and manufacturers, artificers and merchants; but at the rate we go on we bid fair to be a nation of politicians only, and shall appear as ridiculous to all the rational part of mankind as the inhabitants of Swift's imaginary island, who wasted the whole of their time in watching, with the utmost anxiety and solicitude, every change and motion of the heavenly

bodies, whilst their wives and children were starving at home. The complaints of the people of Great Britain are extorted from them by the pressure of calamity; but, thank Heaven! the complaints of the people of Ireland are excited merely by wantonness of prosperity.

The wanton and innovating spirit of the times has given rise to another new doctrine in this country, which was diligently propagated at the last general election, and seems to have been intended to pave the way for this pretended reformation....The doctrine I mean is this, that the representatives are bound to pay implicit obedience to the commands of their constituents. A doctrine repugnant to the first principle of the constitution, which is, that a member, when elected, becomes the representative of the nation at large, not merely of that particular place that returned him to parliament; a doctrine which tends to destroy the unity of the state, and to degrade the dignity of this house; for if this doctrine be established, you are no longer the free independent representative of a great and powerful kingdom, but the fettered deputies of a parcel of petty communities; united indeed under one common sovereign, but as distinct from each other as the cantons of Switzerland, are from the provinces of America. If this doctrine is to prevail, if we are to be divided into these petty communities, it is just that each district should have its particular representatives; but if we adhere to the liberal and truly constitutional principle, that each member is the representative of the nation at large, every part of the kingdom is equally represented; and every county of the kingdom has not two only but three hundred representatives.

As an instance of the happy effects that would attend this new doctrine, let me recal the recollection of the house to the ridiculous scene that was exhibited on the floor in the beginning of last session; when an honourable member, by order of his constituents, moved, that the bill of supply should be granted for six months only. On the division he went into the lobby, and was followed by every county member in the house, a few only excepted, who walked across the floor, many of whom apologizing with their looks and gestures, for the absurd part they were acting, and deploring at once their own servile subjection, and the folly of their constituents.

Yet these, we are told, are the only independent members of the house;....independent indeed they are; independent of reason....independent of judgment....independent of choice....independent of every kind of public virtue; which can have no existence without free agency.

This plan of reformation originated with the congress of Dungannon, who, after they had resolved to adopt it, directed

their secretary to write circular letters to every meddling priest, every political mountebank, whose names they read of in the English newspaper, whom they rendered the arbiters of the Irish constitution. These letters have since been published by authority; but why do we not find amongst them any letter to Mr. Pitt, the advocate for reform in the British parliament? Because they well knew that the sentiments of Mr. Pitt were not congenial to their own; that he did not desire to go the lengths which they were determined to proceed; his scheme of reform was confined to an addition of a certain number to the members for counties, and great communities. That the representatives of the people should presume to disfranchise their own constituents; that they should attempt to deprive, of their chartered rights, and most invaluable privileges, the persons to whose bounty they were indebted for their seats, and whose confidence had enabled them to strike that mortal blow, was a monstrous idea that never entered into the mind of that virtuous man, and was only reserved for that self-created monster, the congress of Dungannon.

I shall now beg leave to make a few observations on the motives and consequences of this pretended reform. The avowed motive is a desire to diminish the aristocratic power in this kingdom; but I am thoroughly convinced, that this plan would counteract their own intentions, and increase the very interest they wish to destroy. The natural consequence of this reform will be to throw the whole weight of power and influence in this country into the scale of property, and to bar for ever the doors of this house against rising genius and aspiring virtue.

I shall not hesitate to assert, that Great Britain owes the glory from which she has lately fallen, and Ireland the glory to which she has arisen, and which I hope she will ever maintain, to these very rotten boroughs that are now so reprobated.

You cannot but remember the wretched situation of Great Britain in 1757, when she had France alone to contend with; so sunk were the power, the resources, and even the spirit of the nation, that instead of making any vigorous efforts against this single enemy, she thought it necessary to bring over twelve thousand German troops to save her from invasion. Such was the situation of Great Britain when Lord Chatham took the helm; and such was the effect of the abilities and spirit of this one man, that in three years time the French were driven from the continent of America, and deprived of the finest of their West Indian islands. Yet who was Mr. Pitt? a younger brother with 2000*l.* fortune, and a cornetcy of horse, who had no more chance of representing any great community in England than I have at this instant. Had he not been returned for a rotten borough he might have lived in obscurity, and his vir-

tues had been lost to himself and to his country. What chance had Mr. Burke, who is an honour to this country; what chance had Mr. Fox, whose abilities are the objects of general admiration, of representing the cities of Bristol and Westminster, if they had not first displayed their abilities, by being returned for private boroughs?

But to come nearer home, I will venture to assert, that you owe the emancipation of Ireland to those boroughs. I will venture to assert, that you are principally indebted for the restitution of your rights to the spirit, the abilities, the perseverance, and real integrity of the honourable gentleman near me; and I am supported, in this assertion, by the unanimous vote of this house, and the universal voice of the people at that time, though now I find he has lost some part of his popularity by the most virtuous action of his life: the preferring the real substantial interests of his country to an idle punctilio....What chance had this gentleman, with all his abilities, of representing any but a private borough? Who were his principal assailants in this great revolution! members for rotton boroughs....I know but of one county member who took a distinguishable part on that occasion; I mean the right honourable gentleman who represents the county of Wexford, and who is justly entitled to the second place in the gratitude of the public. Had this measure taken place but three years ago, which these people contended for as necessary to their freedom, it is probable that Ireland would not now be free; and that instead of wasting your time in this idle speculation, you would now be deploring the shackles imposed upon your trade, or the power assumed by the British parliament to make laws to bind this country. I shall conclude, conjuring the gentlemen who hear me, that they will not be such dupes as to believe, that by passing this bill they will satisfy the people. He must be a young politician indeed, and but little acquainted with the history of mankind, or the human heart, who thinks that a people can be satisfied with concessions. If it was possible that concessions could satisfy a people, would there, at this day, be a murmur in Ireland? Besides, people have acted fairly, on this occasion, they have told you that the passing of this bill will not satisfy them. This pretended reform is only the first of an alphabet of innovations, which the congress of Dungannon have voted, as necessary for the freedom of the people, and have determined to pursue; that they have been advised in the first instance to lay their shoulders to this particular object. If you yield to them in this point, they will attack you on some other, and so proceed from innovation to innovation, till they have subverted your constitution

both in church and state; this is therefore the time to resist their encroachments.

Sir Hercules Langrishe.....I am glad this great question, which has so much engaged the public mind, and been agitated with so much industry from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, has at length been brought before parliament; and it is now our duty to give it a full, a free, and patient discussion. If the evil that it supposes has existence, and the remedy it offers be adequate and safe, it will have many powerful advocates here. On the other hand, if it states defects that do not exist, and offers remedies that are neither safe nor applicable, it is better the House of Commons should decide against it at once, that the people may no longer be disturbed or deceived by it. And now let me say, if I wanted any new proof of the superior excellence of our happy constitution, that alteration was unnecessary and amendment impracticable, the plan of reform now read at your table would furnish ample testimony: for when two gentlemen of such distinguished abilities, assisted by deliberate assemblies in their own country, and enlightened by the oracles that have been consulted in another country; when gentlemen of such talents, so assisted, have at length produced such a plan of reform, I am justified in thinking that the task is beyond the strength of man. And convinced as I am, that our present constitution, in its present condition, is competent to every degree of civil liberty, I must also be convinced that amendment is a dream, and alteration would not be wisdom.

Consider now, Sir, the plan before you, consider it impartially, and tell me, is it founded in any one principle which it professes? Does it tend to remove any one evil that it imagines? Does it meet any one of the ideas that have amused the people? No, not one! Is it a plan for an equal representation of the people? No; it leaves above three-fourths of the people as it found them, unrepresented. Is it a plan for a more equal representation of the people in parliament? No, it renders the representation much more unequal than it found it: for instance, a freeholder in one barony, by this bill, may vote for four, or six, or eight members of parliament; a freeholder in the next barony shall vote only for two members. Is this to render the representation of the people more equal? Good God! how the people are deceived! how they are abused!

Is it a plan for the more equal representation of property, the ancient and original title to representation? No, Sir, the reverse! If this bill as you see it were a law, a worthy and respectable gentleman in the county to which I belong, who has 4000*l.* per annum, landed estate in one barony, would thereby be entitled to vote for two members, and the servant who stands behind my chair, who is possessed of a 40*s.* freehold in a neigh-

bouring barony, shall vote for eight members of parliament. Is it a plan to enlarge the basis of legislation, by encreasing the number of the constituent body? No, Sir, it diminishes, it contracts, it strikes off thousands and tens of thousands of your electors; it disfranchises every freeman in the nation who does not hold by birth, servitude, marriage, or trade. It disfranchises every freeholder under 20*l.* per annum, who does not reside. It demolishes the whole tribe of potwallopers; men entitled to vote in right of residence (the freest title the constitution knows) are to be extinct, unless they can call in to their aid a multitude of freeholders in general too great to be found. For instance, if a borough were to consist of 5000 Protestant inhabitants, entitled and accustomed to vote; no matter, they shall be extinguished unless they likewise have within their precints 70 or 100 resident voters, qualified according to this act, which no borough in Ireland has, and which few ever would have. But it effects a new creation to supply this general massacre; it confers a right to vote for those boroughs to others. To whom? To freeholders: persons who were entitled to vote for other members before. It is true, amongst those a class of freeholders is incorporated, (new indeed to the constitution) freeholders on terms for years; but the freehold required is of so large amount that their numbers will be small. Now let me ask, is it a plan to increase the number of your representatives? No, Sir, to diminish it! In the first instance, it decays and depopulates every borough, and almost every city in the kingdom. For I do believe not one of them contains within its precincts 100 voters qualified and registered according to this bill. I have heard of a clause of redemption for them. I only know what I see, and I see no such thing in this bill; and if such clause or schedule were inserted, it would, on the principle of the bill, impose conditions that must for ever exclude several of them from restoration.

And here I lament the destiny, though I admire the virtue of the town of Newry, who petitioned for this reform. With their 12,000 inhabitants, all entitled, if they were Protestants, to vote for members, yet they are all disfranchised unless they also contain within their precincts, 100 of another sort of voters, qualified according to this bill. (He applied the principle and effects to Drogheda, Waterford, Kilkenny, Limerick, Cork, &c. and concluded with the borough of Dungannon.) And here let me lament the fate of poor Dungannon, at once the pride and the reproach of her sons; Dungannon so late the centre of government, the head of legislation, the seat of empire, unless you have within your precincts (which I am sure you have not) 100 voters qualified according to this bill, you are decayed, depopulated, and extinct. Will you not spare this town on

account of the righteous people that were found therein? I know not whether you have a redemption in store, but I know your redemption is not to be found in the bill on your table. What then can the friends of this bill, (if any such there be) what can they say of it? They cannot say it is a bill for an equal representation of the people. A bill for a more equal representation of the people, a bill for the more equal representation of property, a bill to widen the basis of legislation, to encrease the number of electors, to encrease the number of representatives: No such thing! quite the reverse! In the name of heaven what is its tendency? Is it a reform on any one settled principle? Does it, or would it correct any one abuse? No, Sir, it is nothing but alteration; a transfer of election influence from one set of men to another, which would produce two or three years contest and confusion, and then, by corruption or compromise, the dominion would settle with the most powerful of the neighbourhood. The power would change hands, but the exercise of it would be the same. And is it for this mighty benefit that the ancient habits of the constitution are to be changed? For this your country is to be visited by jubilee of licentiousness, a saturnalia of anarchy for a few years, before it reposes again in the abuses you now complain of. Yet this is the great arcanum, the sacred mystery sent abroad, like the miracles of Mahomet assisted by the sword, from the north to the south, from the east to the west, to subdue the obdurate, and multiply subscribers to the true faith. I do not mean the least disrespect to any man in what I say of this plan of reform. I speak as I think of it. I think it all confusion and danger, and nothing else. And it shews me into what inconsistencies even wise men will fall when they attempt a reform, where reformation is unnecessary, what insupportable difficulties they encounter in an attempt to new model a constitution which has stood for centuries the admiration and envy of the world, and distinguished from all others by having preserved civil liberty on the earth at this day. Under those opinions, and with this veneration for the constitution, I will not so far admit its defects as to go into a committee to amend it. I will not carry into a committee this chaos of rude materials, out of which to create a new constitution, when I have one already formed so competent to human happiness. I will not go paragraph by paragraph through a plan of alteration, where alteration is not necessary. I will not keep the public mind longer in a state of suspence between free government and fruitless speculation, but endeavour to rescue public tranquillity from the designs or delusions of the visionary, the rash, and the restless.

Much has been said, and much has been inferred concerning the petitions which are displayed on your table; but when gen-

tlemen talk of those petitions, they forget that there are between two and three millions of inhabitants in this country. There are several petitions on your table for a reform, some against it. I have no doubt but the majority of your petitions is in favour of reform, because innovation is ever the most active. But it matters not on which side the majority lies; take them all together, they are but as a drop of water to the ocean of your population; they are as a unit in comparison to the numbers of your people. And if those persons, however respectable, petition for any great innovation, you have no right to conclude the multitude on the suggestion of the few; and even if it were possible to suppose (which it is not) that a majority of the people petitioned for an alteration of the constitution intrusted to you, you have not a right to comply; you have not, in that case, a right to indulge their desires, or inflict on them the accomplishment of their wishes. If you comply in what you think a public injury, you are an accomplice in the injury, and betray the interest of the people on the bribe of their own favours.

It is to be lamented by every man, who feels for the honour and the happiness of this country, that after the reputation we have acquired and the benefits we have obtained; acquisitions, limited only by the bounds of our own demands, and adequate to every degree of human happiness; we should offer our enemies a pretext for charging us with a light, an inconstant, and restless character; as if the accomplishment of our wishes was but the beginning of our discontents, and unlimited demand the offspring of unlimited concession; that we were falling under the description Montesquieu gives of a people unworthy of liberty;

" A people grown impatient of the power they have delegated, " desirous to do every thing themselves, debate for the senate, " execute for the magistrate, and decide for the judges." That having obtained the best constitution in the world, we had not the patience to try it for one session of parliament; but in contempt of the high legislative assemblies, resolved ourselves in five hundred little parliaments in every corner of the kingdom, where we voted that constitution an unalterable grievance, and called aloud for a new one.

Were I at liberty to remonstrate with my countrymen, whom I love, I would ask them, do you enjoy freedom? They must answer in the affirmative. Have you commerce? Undoubted as the ocean that surrounds you. Are you in possession of all the blessings that can flow from the best and freest government? You are. Is it then wisdom, is it common sense, when you are sure of those, to throw them back into the ocean of uncertainty, commit them to the wilderness of speculation, or hazard

of experiment? Is it wisdom to interrupt your enjoyment of every thing that is valuable, by dreams of something more free than freedom, more desirable than happiness? The lowest man in the community has wisdom enough to feel the force of this maxim; "When you are well, keep yourselves so." But there is not a philosopher in the nation wise enough to say, what would be the consequence of a change: neither Solon, nor Lycurgus, nor Plato, nor Locke, nor Sidney, if they were alive, would hazard a conjecture as to the effects on the constitution. If you were to adopt any one of those plans which have been offered to you, they might make a democracy, they might make an aristocracy, they might encrease the power of the crown, they might make any thing but the constitution of England; yet every man in the community, the gentleman and the artificer, the learned and the unlearned, the man who can read, and the man who cannot, are all alike ready to undertake the task of constitution-making; or, if any of them should happen not to have leisure from the shuttle or the plough, they have only to say, "we "entirely agree in the plan of reform digested and agreed on by "the grand national convention." And there is a constitution ready made to their hands. I do not say our constitution, the work only of human wisdom, is without defect; but there is an inherent strength in it, that has in all convulsions produced remedies for its evils and controls for its excesses; and through many revolutions has maintained liberty to this day. Now you have got it do not throw it away; condescend to enjoy and be happy; your country wants improvement; your constitution does not; cultivate the one, and you will be sure to enjoy the other. But if you grow discontented with your form of government, and are distracted about new schemes and new systems, you will be dupes of designing men in your own country, and strangers will not come near you. Amidst your controversies and your arms, the stranger would not know where to find the laws that are to be his protection; and you may find, perhaps too late, that you have been cheated of your happiness; you will be thought an unreasonable, and you will feel yourselves an unfortunate people; a people whom commerce could not enrich, and whom freedom could not satisfy.

No. LXXII.

THE SPEECHES OF MR. GRATTAN AND MR. BERESFORD ON THE REVENUES OF IRELAND....P. 78.

MR. GRATTAN began with observing, though the interference of a person utterly unconnected with revenue matters, in that department which was so ably administered by the present commissioners, might have somewhat of an invidious aspect, yet he was happy to declare that those gentlemen had not viewed it in that light, but had with the utmost alacrity given him every possible assistance, in promoting the object for which the committee was appointed and it appeared to him throughout, that they had acted not only honourably and diligently, but with a laudable ambition to distinguish themselves in the faithful discharge of the high trust reposed in them. He therefore desired to be considered as not imputing the smallest fault or applying the least censure to those gentlemen, while he endeavoured to rectify some errors and abuses, that in a succession of many years, and under different boards, had found way into the revenue establishment. Having said this, in justification of the present commissioners, to whom he declared no blame was imputable,

He proceeded to state the expence of collecting the revenue at two periods, viz. 1758 and 1783.

In 1758, he stated the expence of collecting to have amounted to - - - -	£. 81,000
In 1783, it amounted to - - - -	180,000
In the latter period, he allowed that - - an expence incurred by the new custom-house was included; but deducting that expence, the expence of collecting amounted to - -	23,000
	157,000

The increase of collecting, he said, did not arise from the increase of articles taxed, or any necessity of adding to the number of officers employed in collecting, as was obvious to any one who would consider that most of the new taxes were only additional duties on articles heretofore taxed; and it was as easy for an officer to receive two shillings as one on any article; therefore that the increase of expence arose from the increase of salaries, he thought might very fairly be presumed.

In the year 1758, the expence of collecting, he said, was about 13 per cent. at present it is 16.

The revenue expences are divided into two classes....the establishment and the incidents.

In 1758, the establishment was - - - -	£. 58,000
In 1783, - - - - -	92,000
In 1758, the incidents were - - - -	17,000
In 1783, - - - - -	79,000

The per centage for a course of years fluctuated from ten to fourteen; at present it is sixteen; so that the expence of collecting the revenue is not increased by the increase of the revenue itself, but by the increase of the per centage.

I have now, Sir, continued he, shewn you the facts, but not their causes; in order to come at their causes, I moved that an account should be laid before the committee of all the additions that had been made to the revenue establishments since 1758, stating the causes of such additions, and the authority by which they were made; this account was made out, it employed several clerks for several weeks, and is indeed so voluminous, that I own I have not yet had time to look through it; I do not therefore condemn nor approve what may there be found; when the committee examines, they will be the best judges; they will, I believe, see much to reform; and I am convinced from the candour of the commissioners, which I have already experienced, they will have their assistance.

I find that there exists a charity fund for superannuated officers, such as have served forty years without censure: this fund is supplied by a stoppage of six-pence in the pound of all salaries, and the superannuated officer receives out of it 3-5ths of his salary. When this fund has been found insufficient, from the increased number of revenue officers, pensions have been granted on the incidents, in order to make it out. The progress is natural, from private charity to public bounty, and from public bounty to abuse. Every man who is tired of doing his duty, or who is unable or unwilling to do it, if he can make interest with government, gets an order to the commissioners, and is immediately put on the revenue incidents, from which he in fact receives a pension: not an open, but a masked pension. I do not speak of the present administration, or the present commissioners. This abuse has been growing five and twenty years; the present is the proper time to check it.

I find that the number of pensions on the incidents are 343.... I have made observations on almost all of them, but I will not go through the painful task of animadverting on them now, as my object is to prevent future abuses, not to disturb the present possessors; I must, however, remark, that having served forty years, has not always been deemed a necessary title to a pension; thirty-eight years, thirty-five years, twenty-nine years,

twenty-two years, and sometimes the words *long service*, have been deemed sufficient.

Great importunity, I know, will at last prevail over men; and however the commissioners may determine to act with rigorous attention, and to grant no pensions but to men who have served the necessary period of forty years, yet still they will be fortified in their determination by a resolution of this house; besides there are many offices in the revenue that may be performed by men who are become unfit for the more active and laborious duties; and by putting such men into those easy offices, the necessity of pensions may in a great measure be obviated.

The orders of government have sometimes issued to place persons on the revenue incidents, without any reference to the commissioners, or any reason being assigned to entitle the pensioner to such. This kind of procedure carries its own censure along with it. Government would not issue a peremptory order, if any reasons could be found for granting such pensions. This is, I think, a very great hardship on the commissioners, who often resisted, but resisted in vain. Where men are responsible, they should have power; and what they have not power to control, they should not be answerable for.

To remedy this abuse, and to fortify the commissioners, I will propose a resolution, "That no person shall be entitled to "receive a pension on the revenue incidents, who has not served "forty years without censure, or who has not been so wounded "or hurt in discharge of his duty, as to be rendered totally un- "fit for service; or who is not the widow of some officer that "has lost his life in the revenue service."

I find, Sir, that there have been granted several additional salaries, which have been continued to the successors of the grantee:....This practice I would abolish, as nothing would be more absurd, than to reward John for the services performed by Tom.

Some expence has also been incurred by the experimental offices:....These cannot be abolished, but may be limited to two years.

I come now to useless officers, whose employments, I think, ought to be abolished as they fall in; though it would be cruel to turn the present possessors adrift, as they have no other means of living.

And first, land carriage officers. These appear to be of very little use, and from the nature of their duty cannot well be moved into any other situation. It is impossible for them to perform any considerable service, except by searching all persons coming in or going out of the city; and this would be a breach of law, and an high infringement of the subject's liberty.

I desired to know the amount of salaries paid to this class of men for ten years last past, and find it amounts to 12,000*l.* the seizures made by them in the same space of time amount to 1000*l.* Their usefulness may be estimated from those circumstances.

Coast officers are of as little use as land carriage officers, and with them ought to be abolished.

I sent for a paper to inform myself concerning hearth-money officers. I find that since the year 1760, the hearth-money has increased 10,000*l.* per annum, and that the expence of collecting it has increased one-third; the revenue of hearth-money has increased one-sixth, and the expence of collecting it one-third: this is in a great measure owing to the creation of new collectors. I enquired into the necessity of that creation, and was informed that it arose from the great extent of some of the former districts; a single collector being formerly obliged to collect in a range often from thirty to forty miles. Yet I do not find that any great increase of the hearth-money took place directly after the creation of additional collectors; and the 10,000*l.* a year, which I have stated may, I think, rather be supposed to arise from the increase of houses in twenty-four years, than from the increase of hearth-money collectors.

Hearth-money supervisors appear to me very useless officers, and may be put down; but this I submit to the commissioners; at present I do not mean to take any further notice either of them or coast officers.

The law expences incurred by the revenue every year are already enormously great, and ought to be reduced; I speak freely on this head, because I know that the present law servants of the crown are too independent in fortune and principle, to regard any vails of this sort.

The number of bills passed each session have increased, and the sessions being in future annual, must also multiply expence; this is therefore a subject worthy of enquiry: I do not mean to move any thing on it at present, but shall just mention that within a very short space, the law expences have amounted to 11,000*l.*

Revenue cruizers have been another subject of very great expence.

The seizures made by these vessels amount to 40,000*l.*

The expence of their establishment to 140,000*l.* Till of late there has been one great error in the mode of conducting these vessels, which is now rectified by the commissioners. The error was this: the captain of each cruizer was permitted to supply his own crew with provisions, for which he made a charge against the revenue. Now it is manifest, that this made it his interest to have nominally a large crew, but actually a

small one. That it was his interest to stay on shore, where his men being at liberty to provide for themselves, while he charged their daily allowance; and that he never could want a pretence to stay on shore; and while he was always at liberty to have his vessel under repair, to enlarge her from time to time, always enlarging his crew in proportion; this was indeed, a most happy invention to reward men for not doing their duty; and this I am happy to see abolished.

The next abuse that I shall state is, the absence of collectors from their districts.

The collector is an officer of very great consequence, and the true performance of his duty would be of high advantage to the public. In his district he has all the authority of a commissioner; he should regulate all the officers under him; and yet so far are many collectors from doing this, that they scarce ever see the place of their collection, but leave their duty to be done by a clerk, whom the law does not recognize, and who is not answerable to the board for his conduct; he gives no security to the public; and not unfrequently have great sums been lost by trusting to such men. One of my resolutions, therefore, goes to compel the residence of collectors.

Another regulation that I think would much promote the due collection of the revenue is, the raising of officers from the lower to the higher departments in succession; I do not mean an indiscriminate succession by seniority, but that in every department of the revenue, as at present in the excise, men acquainted with the business should rise by successive degrees, and that he who has been checked, should check in his turn.

The surveyors-general have two salaries, one a fixed salary of 300*l.* a year on the establishment, the other 200*l.* on the incidents. I would wish to have this altered, and that they should be paid a premium of a certain sum per day, while they were in the performance of their duty.

I come now to the last article, though I mean first to move upon it, because gentlemen who coincide with me on most of the other points which I have mentioned, differ upon this.

The custom-officers....they were originally effective officers, but when the revenue was formed, they were rendered useless, and therefore we now find them on our civil establishment; afterwards, when the crown took the revenue into its own hands, it was thought prudent to employ in the collection the persons that had been employed by the farmers; the custom officers continued useless; notwithstanding this, additional salaries have been granted to them, which are in fact masked pensions. I know while I speak on this subject, I stand on delicate ground; but with what face could I propose a reduction of petty officers, and leave those great ones remaining? The greatness of the

persons who possess them are my best apology, for while their talents and fortune render them fit for the highest departments in the state, I trust their magnanimity will teach them to despise the paltry emoluments of custom offices. I would not venture to speak thus to inferior minds, but as I have had the aid of some of those gentlemen in the other parts of the reform I have proposed, I doubt not they will assist me, even where they are themselves in some degree affected.

I have called those additional salaries, masked pensions; they are so indeed, and of the most exceptionable kind. There are not, indeed, above seven or eight of them in the kingdom, but they may increase, and this is the time to stop them; I have therefore prepared a resolution for that purpose, which will not affect the present possessors, but eventually will prove highly advantageous to the nation.

Mr. Grattan then moved his resolution, " To prevent " the grant of any future additional salary to custom offi- " cers."

Right Honourable John Beresford....I was very happy, Sir, when the right honourable gentleman undertook the task of enquiring into the cause of the great expence of collecting the revenue, because I was very certain, that an enquiry, ably and impartially conducted, would fully evince to the public, that the assertions which have been so liberally made for some years past, and the insinuations which have been thrown out, of the prodigality and profusion of the present board of commissioners of the revenue, were without any sort of foundation. I therefore took the liberty of seconding the right honourable gentleman's motion for this enquiry, and I am now, not a little proud, to find that a four months laborious examination has confirmed my constant assertions, and overturned the several charges laid to the door of the revenue board; the right honourable gentleman has fully acquitted them; but has stated some errors and abuses, which appear to him to have crept into the revenue establishment, in a succession of many years, which he wishes to be rectified.

He has stated, that since the year 1758, the per centage expence of collecting the revenue has greatly increased.

If the right honourable gentleman will take the trouble of examining that voluminous heap of papers, (custom house accounts, and reports, which Mr. Grattan had called for) he will find, that he has chosen an unfair æra for his comparison, for that immediately after the period of 1758, at which time there had been a parliamentary enquiry into the management of the revenue, there was not only a general increase of the number of tide waiters, and boatmen in the several ports of the kingdom, but that an addition was made to their salaries, whereby

there was an increase to the establishment of about 10,000*l.* a year.

The right honourable gentleman will also see that since the Isle of Man was ceded to the crown of Great Britain, the whole system of preventing smuggling has necessarily undergone a total change, and a change attended with a great additional expence; before that period our cruisers consisted of small open wherries, which were sufficient to guard our coasts against smugglers, who carried on their trade in the same sort of vessels; but since by the cession of the Isle of Man, the smugglers have been driven to Dunkirk, Gottenburg, and other distant ports, and of course have been obliged to increase the size of the shipping. We have been obliged to follow them, step by step, until we have got to stout cruisers, fitted out with from twelve to twenty pieces of cannon, and well furnished with ammunition, and manned with an adequate number of seamen. Such an alteration in our naval establishment, every gentleman must see, was necessarily attended with a very great additional expence.

The law expences of the revenue have also increased exceedingly, and particularly that part of them which arises from the business of drawing bills for this house. Formerly there were but three bills to be paid for; the great money bill, as it is called, the loan bill, and the revenue bill; of late years, the enlargement of our trade has necessarily caused many bills every sessions, which amount to an enormous expence.

The business of the commissioners of the revenue is infinitely increased, insomuch that instead of meeting at eleven o'clock, and adjourning at two, we are obliged to meet at half-past ten, and sit until four, and often until five o'clock; the increase of business of course is attended with an increase of expence.

The right honourable gentleman has said, that the per centage of the collection has varied very considerably since the year 1758, from twelve to sixteen per cent. The nature of incidental expences is variable, they cannot be otherwise; but the high per centage of one year is not a proof of an increased establishment. For instance, the highest per centage I remember, was in the year 1781; when the collection came to eighteen per cent. in 1782, it cost but sixteen; and yet the actual sum expended in the latter year was higher than that of the former, although the per centage was less, for the per centage does not depend solely upon the number of officers, or their salaries, but upon the proportion which the expence bears to the sum collected; and therefore because in the year 1781, the revenue was very low, and the sum collected small, the per centage amounted to eighteen per cent. whereas in the following year,

when the sum collected was larger, the per centage was but sixteen, although the expence of collecting was higher than the year before. Let the expence of collecting be the same in two given years, and let the sum collected in one of them be doubled that of the other, and the per centage will be but half as much in that year.

It has been the fashion for several years to judge of the expence of collecting our revenue, by comparing it with the collection of the customs and excise in England. Nothing can be falser than such a comparison, because every part of England where officers are stationed is productive, every port brings in revenue to the public, and the excise is universally productive: But what is the case in Ireland? Perhaps gentlemen will be surprised to hear that out of twenty-five ports there are but seven, which pay the expence of collecting, although the necessity of a revenue establishment in the other nineteen is a fact too manifest to require the aid of argument.

I shall, however, to open gentlemen's eyes, just state to the house a few instances:....Cork and Limerick are two of the productive ports; between them lie Kinsale, Baltimore, and Tralee or Dingle, ports which do not go near to pay the expence of their own establishments; the collection of Kinsale costs one hundred and thirty-nine per cent. that of Dingle one thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven, and that of Baltimore two thousand three hundred per cent. but if these ports even were left unguarded, very little indeed would be collected at Cork or Limerick, the smugglers would soon find an easy way of supplying these two great cities from the inferior ports.

If any man has a mind to judge fairly of the collection of the revenue, let him not go to ports which have no trade, which cannot pay their own establishment, but let him look at the productive ports; in Dublin, where the expence is the heaviest, both in the incidental and established expences, because the greatest part of the law expence is incurred there, and most of the repairs and building of boats and vessels is executed there, and on account of the great weight of the new custom-house expence, and because the salaries of the commissioners and all the princpal and cheque officers are paid there, the per centage amounts to sixteen per cent....in Limerick it is but fourteen, in Belfast but nine, in Londonderry but eight, in Waterford but seven and a half, in Cork but six.

Instead of comparing Ireland with England, it would be more just to compare her with Scotland, in point of revenue collection, because that her situation and circumstances are more similar to ours. If this be done, it will be found that the per centage in Scotland amounts to thirty-three per cent.

But if gentlemen will compare this country with England, they should, I insist upon it, only take the net revenue of England into the account, for the circumstances of England and Ireland are very different indeed in point of importation; the former imports not only for her own consumption, but for that of the whole world; the latter for her own consumption only. England has her colonies in Asia, Africa and America, and she brings home the produce of all these colonies to her own ports, where they pay a great duty at import; but as these goods are not for her consumption only, but to be exported again to other countries, and not only to draw back these duties so paid, but to receive a bounty possibly on the exportation, the real duties returned, that is, the duty on their own consumption, is all that can fairly be compared with the duties of a country which has no colonies, and which imports only for her own use.

Gentlemen who have chosen to compare our collection with that of England, have asserted, that our's cost fourteen per cent. when the customs of England cost but seven. Now, in making this calculation, gentlemen have taken the mere salaries and incidents, as they appear upon the face of the highest custom-house accounts, and have omitted many expences, particularly those of the revenue cruisers and the admiralty cruisers' employed in the revenue service, the expence of which they will find in the late report of the committee appointed to enquire into the state of smuggling, &c. in England. If they take these into the account, they will find it to stand thus:

The gross revenue of customs is in England.	£. 3,873,985
Expence of collection, as stated in custom-house accounts - - - - -	281,209
To which add the revenue cruisers - -	42,845
Admiralty cruisers in revenue service - -	220,220
	£. 544,274

This will be found to be as one hundred are to fourteen, or fourteen per cent. upon the gross....But if you calculate upon the net revenue, you will find it as one hundred are to twenty-one, or twenty-one per cent. and in this calculation the expences attending law are not included, which must be very heavy, as all suits are carried on in the Exchequer. So that take this matter in any light, and the statement and assertions of gentlemen will be found to be erroneous.

In 1744, after the union of the boards, this change of our establishment was 5000*l.* greater than it was last year; a sure proof that the present commissioners have not been wanting in their endeavours to reduce them.

The incidents, I acknowledge, are very great; but deduct 23,000*l.* the expence incurred by the new custom-house, and they are brought into a more moderate compass. We are still endeavouring to cut them down further, and if any gentleman will point out a single article in that account of incidents, now lying on your table, where a saving can be made, I shall be ready hereafter to suffer any censure the house can devise, if such saving be not made.

The next objects taken notice of by the right honourable gentleman are the salaries of the superannuated officers. These salaries arise from two funds, one is a subscription amongst the officers themselves, from which every man who has been a subscriber for seven years is entitled to an annuity proportioned to his rate of subscription. The right honourable gentleman will see that this is the private property of the officers themselves, purchased with their own money, and over which parliament can have no control.

The other fund is the common incidents. As to the pensions granted on this, I confess I agree with the right honourable gentleman, that many of them are very great abuses. Of late, it is grown a fashion for men to get out upon their full salaries: most people would rather be paid for doing nothing, than for doing something. For my own part, I should like it very well myself; but at the same time I know, that while I am able to do my duty I ought to be compelled to do it. I agree with the right honourable gentleman, as to the period of service which should entitle a man to be superannuated on his full salary: forty years was fixed by Sir William Osborne, when first I went into the revenue, but soon after that rule was broken through, and men of all standings allowed to enjoy their otium. However, I must say, that if the board had not frequently remonstrated with government against this practice, the number on the list would have been double at this day. If there are now upon it 343 numbers, as the right honourable gentleman has stated, many of them are widows, who were put upon it by the humanity of Lord Buckingham; during his administration the widows fund failed, and if he had not been graciously pleased to interfere for their relief, these poor people must have starved.

The right honourable gentleman seems to think land carriage officers useless, but I can assure him they are a very necessary set of men. Their duty is to watch the avenues of great cities, and see that all exciseable goods have permits; and the very reason why they do not make seizures is, because their vigilance is known to be so great, that smugglers will not run the risk of bringing their goods past them. However, if land carriage officers make few seizures, it is amply compensated by another set of men, who have no salaries at all, but what arise

from a fund created by themselves....the preventive officers: these men have made very considerable seizures indeed.

Mr. Beresford then proceeded to the hearth-money; pointed out the abuses that had obtained in that department, and the remedies that had been applied; from which he went on to the article of revenue cruisers, agreeing with Mr. Grattan in what he had said concerning them: he also agreed with him as to the necessity of collectors residing within their districts, and as to the propriety of deserving officers being promoted in succession, and the mode proposed of paying surveyors general: in a word, he agreed with the whole of Mr. Grattan's plan of regulation, save only as to custom officers, who, he said, were officers by the common law, were absolutely necessary, and ought not to be abolished.

No. LXXIII.

THE SPEECH OF MR. GARDINER ON IRISH COMMERCE.

[PAGE 78.]

MR. GARDINER said, it is not my fault that this business lies under an additional disadvantage, from the late part of the session in which it is introduced. It is in the recollection of gentlemen, that no endeavours of mine were wanting to bring it in on an earlier day. I must confess this is an arduous business, and far exceeding my strength; but I hope and request the assistance of gentlemen of greater talents than I possess. I only furnish the raw materials, let them erect the superstructure.

I shall, sir, first state the purport of my propositions. This is a measure to restrain importation, but does not affect the exportation of raw materials. Gentlemen would have the evidence on that head also included in the report of the committee, but one had no connection with the other. The committee was ordered to enquire into the state of manufactures at large, but they did it partially; they confined themselves to the woollen branch, to blankets, carpets, hats, &c. My system is not confined to these objects only, but also includes paper, hardware,

and other articles. The weaving branch is certainly a very material branch of commerce, but other objects also have their weight.

Here Mr. Gardiner obviated many objections which he said had been made to his measure. It is not, said he, calculated to divide, but to unite the two countries. The people of England will think it no cause of enmity with us, that we follow their example. She adopted protecting duties, because she thought it her interest....let us act the same part....what's good for one, must be good for the other.

The measure is no opposition to government. I never made it my business to introduce any thing for the purpose of embarrassing government. On the contrary, I thought it my duty to support them when right. I think it also my duty to admonish them of their error when wrong. Government ought to be informed of the grievances of the people.

This measure has not been brought forward irregularly....it is grounded on the report of a committee, and the petitions of the people. I confess, sir, I am strongly biassed in its favour. The despondency and distress of this country, together with the justice and expediency of the measure itself, must make every gentleman its friend. Who can behold so many thousands of his fellow-creatures struggling with calamities, almost insupportable by humanity, and not be inclined to give relief? The misfortune is not particular....it is universal....not confined to Dublin, it extends to Cork, Limerick, Waterford, the Queen's county, and every part of the kingdom where the woollen manufacture is carried on....not limited to even the woollen, but affecting every infant manufacture in this country.

With respect to the poverty and wretchedness of this miserable description of our fellow-creatures, I think it unnecessary to use a single word. Gentlemen cannot but know the reality of this fact already; it is impossible to go through the streets without meeting testimonies that this assertion is but too well founded. If, however, gentlemen chuse to dispute a thing so self-evident, I am ready to produce witnesses of character at your bar, to put it beyond dispute.

If gentlemen wish to judge fairly, it is right to wave theory and speculation, and confine their attention to the different effects of the different modes adopted in Great Britain and Ireland. They will perceive that the long depression of this country is owing to her want of protection for her trade. In England, to what is owing the great degree of power and wealth she has attained, but to protecting duties?

Now, sir, I shall enter on the main part of the business, and let me entreat gentlemen to be free from prejudice, to divest themselves of every bias. I do not mean to proceed on specu-

lation, but to reason from facts, and the ties of policy of the two kingdoms. England has flourished from adopting protecting duties, and Ireland has sunk by a neglect of them. Woollens were always the staple commodity of this country as well as of England. It was so far back as Edward III. in whose reign acts of parliament were passed, in which we find clauses for protecting the trade of Ireland. At every period before 1698, we enjoyed every advantage of a free country: we had nothing then to contend with, as no jealousy existed in the breast of England before the last-mentioned period. Our trade was guaranteed by Magna Charta; our exports acknowledged by that venerable statute....no treaty was made in which we were not nominally or virtually included. Antecedent to the year 1698, our exports were double our imports, and the number of shipping almost doubled in the ten preceding years. At that period the balance of trade was exceedingly in favour of Ireland, being no less than 224,000*l.* a year. If we consider the difficulties this country laboured under in those days, and the comparative value of money then and now, this will be found an enormous balance. When Ireland exhibited nothing but a continued scene of disturbance, disunion, tumult, and frequently of civil wars within herself, to what are we to attribute her advantages in commerce but to her protecting duties, her geographical situation, and industry?

When William III. came to the throne of these kingdoms, he laid several unjust and pernicious restrictions on the trade of Ireland, in order to gratify England, which began to grow jealous of our prosperity; in other respects he may have served this kingdom; he may have been wise and good; but certainly these unjust and destructive restrictions, together with other partialities, manifested by him against us on all occasions, are more than a counterpoise to every good he has done this country.

The first stab given in his reign to our rising trade was in 1698, when a corrupt majority in this house laid a duty on cloths exported to England. Some spirited and patriotic members standing up to oppose this measure, it was defended on the ground of being an experiment, and that it would continue only for three years, but was in the year following made perpetual. Let us mark the consequences. The manufacturers, no longer able to find subsistence at home, emigrated, where they were received with open arms. The French, notwithstanding every exertion, had been unable to establish the woollen manufactures, until they procured Irish wool to mix with their own, and Irishmen to weave it. They then, conscious of the advantages of protecting their trade, laid additional duties on the importation of English cloths. The event soon confirmed with what pro-

priety they adopted these protecting duties; they in a short time manufactured enough for the home market, and by raising from time to time, the protecting duties, at length to a prohibition, are enabled not only to rival great Britain, but to underself her in every market in Europe.

Before the last mentioned reign, it was as usual to recommend from the throne, at the opening of every session, the woollen manufacture, to the consideration of parliament, as of late it has been to recommend the linen manufacture, or any other branch of trade. Our journals, sir, are full of such recommendations.

Another argument in favour of this proposition can be drawn from the great benefits this country derived, from a power obtained by James, Duke of Ormond, of prohibiting the importation of Scotch manufactures. The protection was obtained against Scotland, and not England, because we were not then afraid of the latter. The utility of this duty was so great, as to give in our favour a balance, notwithstanding the pernicious effects of the plantation laws, and the other unfair restrictions of King William's reign, on our trade. Have not we, therefore, a right to expect the same salutary consequences from the adoption of a like measure now?

Let no man say that England is so insensible of her own interest as to be averse from this measure. England, from unhappy experience, is convinced of the pernicious effects of her impolicy. The emigration of the Irish manufacturers in the reign of King William, is not the only instance that has taught that nation the ruinous effects of restrictive laws. Our own remembrance has furnished a sad instance of the truth of this assertion....furnished it in the American war. America was lost by Irish emigrants....These emigrations are fresh in the recollection of every gentleman in this house; and when the unhappy differences took place, I am assured, from the best authority, the major part of the American army was composed of Irish; and that the Irish language was as commonly spoken in the American ranks as English. I am also informed, it was their valour determined the contest; so that England not only lost a principal protection of her woollen trade in Europe, but also had America detached from her by force of Irish emigrants.

Mr. Gardiner, after dwelling some time on the pernicious effects of the act of William III. shewed by what progress importations had arisen, from an average sum of 14,000*l.* to the enormous sum of 836,000*l.* in the year 1778.

In 1779, this country, no longer able to support the pernicious effects of the oppressions under which she laboured, undertook a great measure. We spoke out, and demanded a free trade.

It is but justice to gentlemen, it is but justice to the nation, that they were unanimous, and persevered. England acted wisely and justly on the occasion, and restored us our right. But of what use will this free trade be....will it be any thing but a name, if we do not seize the advantages of it by promoting it? It is impossible to do so, unless we have an opportunity of supplying our home consumption, and exporting the redundancy. It is impossible to undersell other nations in foreign markets, if undersold in our own. While our ports are open to the exportation of raw materials, and the importation of British manufactures, can we expect to reap any benefit from the extension of our commerce? Let us turn our thoughts to the article of cotton, and we shall find great quantities imported, and not a single yard exported. The very same might be affirmed of many other manufactures.

England, so early as the reign of Edward III. perceived the necessity of protecting her woollens. When a law was enacted to prevent wearing foreign manufactures; with respect to Ireland, however, she was not then considered as coming under the denomination of foreign. The habits of intimacy and connection between the two countries, prevented England from excluding Ireland, when she excluded the rest of the world. Here are two points proved, the adoption of protecting duties, and that we were not considered a foreign nation with respect to England. But the manufactures of England were then in a progressive state, and it appears that the home market was then the principal object in imposing a duty on the importation of woollens. In the same reign it must be admitted, a duty was laid on bay yarn, but this was only to raise a revenue to the crown by dispensations. England flourished, but flourished from a different cause....from the protecting duties, which procured her a home market; she soon far outstripped other nations in her manufactures; but in the reign of Elizabeth, the rest of Europe, perceiving the good effects of the measure to England, began to lay on protecting duties also. France laid a duty of half a livre on cloth imported; this was shortly after augmented to a livre, and so by degrees to actual prohibition. The Dutch followed the example. The effect of those protections on the manufactures of England was quickly perceptible.

In the year 1616, the exports decreased 160,000*l.* in some time after, the balance was found to be more considerably against her; her imports being above a million, and her exports not quite 300,000*l.* a year. She then found it necessary to recur to fresh protecting duties, and to prohibit the importation of broad silk. She also saw it necessary to prohibit the wear of India goods. These protecting duties have ever since been accumu-

lating, and Ireland included, as well as other countries. They have been constantly, as far as respected Ireland, increased during the reign of George I. and II. but it must be confessed, no such thing has been done in the reign of George III. On the contrary, more has been procured for this country, during that period, than since our first connection.

Before the protection of her manufactures, the balance was considerably against her; the French importations were computed at an average to amount to 1,500,000*l.* per annum. Afterwards, by means of protecting duties, instead of importing, her exports of woollens amounted to 5,000,000 yards. Her home consumption to 6,000,000; making together 11,000,000. So that she arrived to such a summit of greatness as no country since the fall of the Roman empire, ever attained. By means of the wealth procured by manufactures, she was in the year 1763, able to impose the law in Europe.

In the late unsuccessful war, we have seen her maintain a struggle no country in the world would be able to maintain but herself. We see her now, after it, great, feared, and respected, and that under the burthen of an enormous national debt, which no other nation would be able to bear.

Having, on real matter of fact, shewn the progress and success of the manufactures of the two countries; having shewn how England has risen, and Ireland declined; having shewn that her system of policy is the cause of her grandeur, permit me to draw your attention to the difference of situations. In England, the lowest peasant wears good broad cloth, feeds well, and is lodged comfortably. The face of the country presents a view of good habitations, and communicates an unspeakable pleasure to every man of humanity. I feel a warmth whenever I see and contemplate its beauty; but when I reflect on the misery of my own unhappy country, that I left behind me, I sink on the comparison. In England, all is joy, ease and content. It may be said, in the scripture-phrase of that country, "the hills and vallies sing with joy." Let us now for a moment view the wretched condition of the miserable Irishman.

The Irishman, sir, feeds the cattle whose flesh he is debarred from tasting. As to clothes, he has scarcely any. As for habitation, he has perhaps, some miserable hovel, whither an Englishman would not venture to turn his beast. Here he, with an unhappy wife, and wretched offspring, must endeavour to drag out existence, half starved, and half famished with cold. What a distinction, alas! between beings of the same species.

When, sir, we thus view the different conditions of two people, it is natural to enquire into the cause of this difference. Are Irishmen less fitted by nature to earn a livelihood than English-

men? Is there any difference in their frames to produce these very different effects? Are their constitutions worse, or appetites greater? Is there any disadvantage in the nature of our climate, soil, or situation of our country, to prevent our prosperity?....No! the climate of this country is delightful....the soil as rich and vegetating in general as any in the world....and our situation adapted for intercourse with both worlds. Thus, those who render our people idle, are the first to ridicule them for that idleness, and to ridicule them without cause. National characteristics are always unjust, as there never was a country that has not produced both good and bad. Though one man may be idle, another will be industrious, and though that man may be a drunkard, this may be sober. I am grieved, sir, to hear those uncandid reflections thrown on Irishmen. They are general assertions, false as they are illiberal. Irishmen have shewn spirit and genius in whatever they have undertaken. They have shewn that they can make great exertions, when they are encouraged; the difference of the cultivation of this country, from what it was before the laws for promoting agriculture, will evince the truth of my assertion. A great proportion of the inhabitants of this country, previous to those laws, lived on imported corn, but no sooner was encouragement held forth to the plough, than the national industry broke forth, and instead of importing, a great quantity of corn was annually exported. This will ever remain a positive contradiction to the vague and ill-founded reflections on Irishmen. I will even go farther, and call on gentlemen to specify one instance, where the people were indolent, where the laws of their country protected them in their endeavours. Let us consider what has been done in respect to our linens. Though we were compelled to yield an established manufacture, and to apply ourselves to it, under the disadvantage of contending with a country that has arrived at great perfection, yet we prospered. And why? Because we were not interfered with. If this be not a proof of industry, I know not what may be called so. Whenever this country has been encouraged, it shewed great industry....witness our linens, our broad stuffs, our tabinets, and poplins: how groundless, therefore, is the charge of indolence? Even admitting the people of this country were indolent, instead of contributing to keep them in it, by continuing their oppressions, this house ought to remove that indolence.

As every cause but the true one, has been assigned for the present distresses of the poor, those have not been wanting, who have attributed it to the low price of whiskey, and the drunkenness of the working manufacturers; but those gentlemen, who have of late been so fond of praising the industry of the north, ought to be informed, that there is no part of Ireland, in which

the people drink more whiskey, and yet manufactures succeed there perfectly. This I know, because I have an estate in that part of the kingdom. I know they think nothing of drinking a pint of whiskey in a day, and are able to attend to their business after. Some of my tenants have informed me, they could drink half a pint of whiskey with as much ease as any of us could a glass of wine. As for me, no man more disapproves of the abominable custom of drinking spirits; but yet, I will be free to say the distress of our manufacturers, is by no means imputable to drunkenness.

As these are not the causes of the present calamities, it is natural to ask what may be the source of them? It may be answered, that want of employment is that source. Numbers of manufacturers cannot get their goods sold. How, therefore, can they give employment? Several circumstances contribute to forwarding the importation of English goods, whereby our own are injured. In England they have large capitals; they can buy and sell much cheaper than our manufacturers, who have in general very small capitals. The man with a large capital can afford to give long credit, which the other cannot, and eight per cent. will yield a greater profit to him in trade, who has 10,000*l.* than ten per cent. to him who has but 1000*l.* In England they give two years credit, when we can scarcely give six months, which induces people to deal with them, as they have a year and six months interest on the money. This enables them to turn their capitals oftener, so that if they sell, even for less than others, the quick disposal of their goods will not fail to bring them at the end of the year a much greater profit.

Something must be done to relieve the thousands who now are famishing in your streets. The city of Dublin, with a degree of humanity that will ever do it honour, has hitherto succoured them by voluntary donations. But the donations of the city of Dublin will be found inadequate to the miseries of those poor men. The non-importation agreement entered into in 1779, afforded them some small relief for that time, but served only to augment their distress since, as magazines of English cloths were then formed in this country.

Another expedient was: establish manufactories here: but, Sir, these have ended generally in the ruin of those, who have attempted it: for the English riders immediately give notice to their employers, when a manufactory is going to be set up; the consequence is, the British merchant resolves to lose for a time, sends over an abundance of the commodity, sells it cheaper than it possibly can be wrought for, and totally overthrows his rival. Sir, I remember an instance of this in England itself; there was a house in Nottingham carried on a considerable trade in one branch of business; another finding it so profitable, de-

termined to undertake it also; but the owner of the first house determined to lose an immensity, and undersell the new one; the latter, consequently, failed in a short time, and the business returned to its ancient channel. This shews, Sir, that the English merchant will always be an overmatch for any manufactory we set up, which can any way injure him. Now, Sir, another expedient was, opening our export trade; I never shall arraign that measure: It was conducted by a gentleman, whose memory I shall ever revere, and whom I never think of without emotions which I cannot express; but, Sir, an export trade is beginning at the wrong end; unless there be a home consumption it will never avail.

The home consumption is what gives money and spirit to the undertaker; without money he cannot pay the men whom he employs, and that money is only to be had by home consumption. Since then the remedies that have been applied are ineffectual, let us now see what may be successful; and in this let us copy the conduct of England, of France, and other commercial countries; and that is by protecting our manufactures at home.

Then, Sir, fashion, though it may appear at first a trivial matter, has a very great effect on our trade, and for this reason, whatever is the fashion, the manufacturer has a home consumption for, and sells at an enormous advanced profit for ready money; as soon as the fashion alters, he has made so much by it, that he can send over the redundancy here, and sell it at first cost, or considerably under the first cost, and still be a gainer; and therefore, though some persons here have sent to England, and got patterns of the fashionable articles, yet before the patterns could be procured, the dies prepared, and the manufacture wrought, the English merchant would have varied his fashion there, and sent the redundancy over to us, and undersold us so as to destroy our hopes.

Now, Sir, what have been the remedies, which we have endeavoured to provide? A non-importation agreement, which, while it lasted, had some effect, but it was but temporary, the benefit arising from it was but for a season, and I fear it has established a permanent evil; for, Sir, it was by no means general, and the people, particularly in the north, who were not so much injured by importation, established warehouses, opened their ports, and laid in such a quantity of English goods, as poured an inundation upon us, the moment the agreement was at an end. A few words, continued Mr. Gardiner, will be sufficient to prove, that this measure will not be injurious to the landed property of this country. The advantages of the man of landed estate, and of the manufacturer are reciprocal; for

the prosperity of the one is the support of the other. The petition therefore presented to this house, by an honourable gentleman, from certain landholders of his county, cannot with any degree of propriety be urged against this measure.

Mr. Gardiner then read the following resolutions.

1st. That it appears to this house, that the working manufacturers of this kingdom, are in the greatest poverty and distress.

2dly. That the importation of foreign manufactures into this kingdom, has of late years considerably increased, and still continues to do so.

3dly. That this great importation, by impeding our manufactures, is the cause of this poverty and distress.

4thly. That the interference of parliament is necessary to remove those evils.

No. LXXIV.

PASTORAL EXHORTATION OF THE RIGHT REVEREND DOCTOR TROY, THE CATHOLIC BISHOP OF OSSORY TO HIS FLOCK..... P. 99.

DEAR CHRISTIANS,

AT this particular time, when the blessings of peace and a plentiful harvest should warm the hearts of Christians with becoming gratitude to the Father of Mercies, and excite a spirit of industry amongst all ranks of people, we are much concerned to observe riot and disorder pervading many of our communion in several parts of this county and diocese. Unmindful of the untimely and ignominious death of their relations and acquaintances formerly distinguished by the execrable appellation of White Boys, and deaf to the dictates of reason and religion constantly enforced by our exhortation from the altars, they are endeavouring to renew the horrid scenes of confusion and bloodshed, which disgraced this part of the kingdom not many years ago. They again seem to glory in the opprobrious name of White Boys, and have lately assembled at unseasonable hours, and in different parties, sounding their riotous horn. The have presumed to administer oaths of combination, and proceed to barbarous acts of violence against the persons and property of several individuals. In a word, they notori-

ously violate the most sacred laws, and equally despise the injunctions of their spiritual and temporal rulers. Such accumulated enormities call to heaven for vengeance, which will most assuredly fall on the deluded offenders, if they do not speedily expiate their crimes by sincere and exemplary repentance. As our silence upon this occasion might be misunderstood by ignorant, or sinistrously interpreted by malevolent persons, we think it highly incumbent on us to declare, as we do hereby solemnly, in the name and by the authority of our holy mother the church: First, that the association oaths usually taken by the misguided and unhappy wretches called White Boys, are bonds of iniquity, and consequently unlawful, wicked and damnable. They are not, therefore, binding in any manner whatever. Secondly, we in like manner declare, that we condemn, abhor, and detest the above mentioned outrages, as contrary to the maxims and canons of our holy religion, destructive of the public peace, injurious to private property, and subversive of every law. Finally, we condemn these deluded offenders, who call themselves Roman Catholics, as scandalous and rotten members of our holy church, from which they have been already cutoff by the sentence of excommunication solemnly fulminated against them on the 17th of October, 1779, in all the chapels of this diocese. We cannot conclude without beseeching you, dearest Christians, to join us in fervent and constant prayer for the speedy conversion of these unthinking creatures. Their condition is truly deplorable; in this life exposed, by their nocturnal excursions and wanton depredations, to sickness, loathsome imprisonment, and an infamous death; whilst in the next their obstinacy will be punished with endless torture. May our gracious God, by his efficacious grace, avert this greatest of all evils, and thereby prevent the bitter recollection of their having disregarded our timely and pastoral admonitions. We shudder at the very apprehension of the manifold evils which must necessarily ensue to themselves, to their families, and to their country, from a continuation of their unwarrantable proceedings.

It being equally our wish and duty to promote the happiness of mankind in general, and that of our country and flock in particular, we shall invariably conduct ovrselves in a manner becoming ministers of the gospel and members of society. Uninfluenced by fear or any worldly consideration, we are determined to adopt such further means, as shall be found conducive to the above mentioned, and other great objects of our vocation.

Kilkenny, 12th November, 1784. J. T. TROY.

No. LXXV.*

ADDRESS PRESENTED TO HIS MAJESTY, AT ST. JAMES'S, BY THE LORDS AND COMMONS ON THE 29TH OF JULY, 1785. PAGE 124.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, have taken into most serious consideration, the important subject of commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, recommended in your majesty's speech at the opening of the present session, and the resolutions of the two houses of parliament in Ireland, which were laid before us by your majesty's command, on the 22d of February last.

After a long and careful investigation of the various questions necessarily arising out of this comprehensive subject, we have come to the several resolutions, which we now humbly present to your majesty, and which, we trust, will form the basis of an advantageous and permanent commercial settlement between your majesty's kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.

We have proceeded on the foundation of the resolutions of the parliament of Ireland; but in considering so extensive an arrangement, we have found it necessary to introduce some modifications and exceptions, and we have added such regulations and conditions as appeared to us indispensably necessary for establishing the proposed agreement, on just and equitable principles, and for securing to both countries those commercial advantages to an equal enjoyment of which they are in future to be entitled.

Your majesty's subjects in Ireland, being secured in a full and lasting participation of the trade with the British colonies, must, we are persuaded, acknowledge the justice of their continuing to enjoy it on the same terms with your majesty's subjects in Great Britain.

* This work having encreased under the author's pen to so large a bulk, the debate intended to have been here inserted, which is very long, is omitted, and the reader is referred for it to the 18th volume of the Parliamentary Register, p. 546 to 592.

And it is, we conceive, equally manifest, that as the ships and mariners of Ireland are to continue in all time to come to enjoy the same privileges with those of Great Britain, the same provision should be adopted in Ireland as may be found necessary in this country, for securing those advantages exclusively to the subjects of the empire. This object is essentially connected with the maritime strength of your majesty's dominions, and consequently with the safety and prosperity both of Great Britain and Ireland.

We therefore deem it indispensable, that these points should be secured as conditions necessary to the existence and duration of the agreement between the two countries; they can only be carried into effect by laws to be passed in the parliament of Ireland; which is alone competent to bind your majesty's subjects in that kingdom, and whose legislative rights we shall ever hold as sacred as our own.

It remains for the parliament of Ireland to judge, according to their wisdom and discretion, of these conditions, as well as of every other part of the settlement proposed to be established by mutual consent.

Our purpose in these resolutions is to promote alike the commercial interests of your majesty's subjects in both countries; and we are persuaded, that the common prosperity of the two kingdoms will be thereby greatly advanced; the subjects of each will in future apply themselves to those branches of commerce which they can exercise with most advantage, and the wealth so diffused through every part will operate as a general benefit to the whole.

We have thus far performed our part in this important business; and we trust that in the whole of its progress reciprocal interests and mutual affection will insure that spirit of union, so essentially necessary to the great end, which the two countries have equally in view.

In this persuasion we look forward with confidence to the final completion of a measure, which, while it tends to perpetuate harmony and friendship between the two kingdoms, must, by augmenting their resources, uniting their efforts and consolidating their strength, afford your majesty the surest means of establishing, on a lasting foundation, the safety, prosperity, and glory of the empire.

To which his Majesty made the following most gracious Answer.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

I RECEIVE with the greatest satisfaction these resolutions, which, after so long and diligent an investiga-

tion, you consider as affording the basis of an advantageous and permanent commercial settlement between my two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. Nothing can more clearly manifest your regard for the interests of both my kingdoms and your zeal for the general prosperity of my dominions, than the attention you have given to this important object. A full and equal participation of commercial advantages, and a similarity of laws in those points, which are necessary for their preservation and security, must be the surest bond of union between the two kingdoms and the source of reciprocal and increasing benefits to both. The same spirit, in which this great work has begun and proceeded, will, I doubt not, appear throughout the whole of its progress; and I concur with you in thinking, that the final completion of it is of essential importance to the future happiness of both countries, and to the safety, glory and prosperity, of the empire.

No. LXXVI.

SPEECH OF MR. GRATTAN ON THE EAST INDIA TRADE.

[PAGE 125.]

Mr. Grattan....Sir, I can excuse the right honourable member, who moves you for leave to bring in the bill. He is an Englishman, and contends for the power of his own country, while I am contending for the liberty of mine; he might have spared himself the trouble of stating his own bill. I read it before, I read it in the twenty resolutions, I read it in the English bill, which is to all intents and purposes the same; and which he might read without the trouble of resorting to his own. His comment is of little moment; a lord lieutenant's secretary is an unsafe commentator on an Irish constitution; the former merit of the right honourable gentleman in pressing for the original propositions and contending against the present, which he now supports, may have been very great, and I am willing to thank him for his past services; they may be a private consolation to himself. No more; I differ from him in his account of this transaction. He was pledged to these eleven propositions;

his offer was the propositions; ours the taxes; he took the latter, but forgets the former. I leave both, and come to his system. Here it becomes necessary to go back a little: I begin with your free trade obtained in 1779: by that you recovered your right to trade with every part of the world, whose ports were open to you, subject to your own unstipulated duties, the British plantations only excepted; by that you obtained the benefit of your insular situation, the benefit of your western situation, and the benefit of your exemption from intolerable taxes. When these advantages might be, no man could say, but any man who had seen the struggle you had made during a century of depression, could foresee, that a spirit of industry operating upon the state of liberty in a young nation, must in the course of time, produce signal advantages: the sea is like the earth; to non-exertion, a waste, to industry, a mine; this trade was accompanied with another, a plantation trade: in this you retained your right to trade directly with the British plantations in a variety of articles, without a reference to British duties; by this you obtained a right to trade with the British plantations directly in each and every other article, subject to the rate of British duty; by this, you obtained a right to select; so that the general trade should not hang on the special conformity; and by this, you did not covenant to affect, exclude, or postpone the produce of foreign plantations. The reason was obvious: you demanded two things, a free trade and a plantation trade; had the then minister insisted on a covenant to exclude the produce of foreign plantations, he had given you a plantation trade instead of a free trade (whereas your demand was for both) and his grant had been inadequate, unsatisfactory and inadmissible. These points of trade being settled, a third in the opinion of some remained; namely, the intercourse with England or the channel trade. A successful political campaign, an unsuccessful harvest, the poverty of not a few, together with the example of England, brought forward, in the year 1783, a number of famishing manufacturers with a demand of protecting duties; the extent of their demand was idle, the manner of conveying that demand tumultuary; but not being wholly resisted nor yet adequately assisted, they laid the foundation of another plan, which made its appearance in 1785, opposite indeed to their wishes and fatal to their expectation; this was the system of reciprocity; a system fair in its principle, and in process of time likely to be beneficial, but not likely to be of any great present advantage, other than by stopping the growth of demand, allaying a commercial fever, and producing settlement and incorporation, with the people of England; this system was founded on the only principle, which could obtain between two independent nations equality; and the equality consisted in si-

milarity of duty; now as the total abatement of duties on both sides had driven the Irishman out of his own market, as the raising our duties to the British standard had driven the Englishman out of the Irish market, a third method was resorted to, the abatement of British duty to the Irish standard: but then this equality of duty was inequality of trade: for as the Englishman with that duty against him had beaten you in the Irish market, with that duty in his favour he must keep you out of the English: so that under this arrangement the English manufacturer continued protected, and the Irish manufacturer continued exposed, and the abatement of duty was no more than disarming the argument of retaliation. Had the arrangement stopped here, it had been unjust indeed: but as Ireland was to covenant, that she would not raise her duties on British manufactures, England on her part was to covenant, that she would not diminish her preference in favour of Irish linen, and the adjustment amounted to a covenant, that neither country in their respective markets would affect the manufacture of the other by any operative alteration of duty; however the adjustment did not stop at the home manufacture, it went to plantation produce, and here you stood on two grounds, law and justice; law, because you only desired that the same words of the same act of navigation should have the same construction on one side the channel as they have on the other; how they had ever borne a different one, I cannot conceive, otherwise than by supposing that in your ancient state of dependancy you were not entitled to the common benefit of the mother tongue; the answer to this argument was unsatisfactory, that England had altered the law; but if England had so altered the law, it ceased to impose the same restrictions and confer the same advantages, and then a doubt might arise whether the act of navigation were the law of Ireland, so that you seemed entitled to the construction or free from the act; now it is of more consequence to England, that you should be bound by the act of navigation, than to Ireland to have the benefit of the fair construction of it. But you stood on still better ground....justice; was it just that you should receive plantation goods from England, and that England should not receive them from you? here if you do not find the law equal, you may make it so: for as yet you are a free parliament.

I leave this part of the subject; equality of duty, but no present equality of trade. I come to that part of the adjustment which is inequality of both;....and first, that part which relates to the *primum* of your manufactures. When the original propositions were argued, gentlemen exclaimed, "England reserves her wool, and Ireland does not reserve her woollen "yarn," it was answered, "Ireland may if she please." *What*

will those gentlemen now say, when England reserves both ;.... the *primum* of her manufactures and of yours? and not only woollen yarn, but linen yarn, hides, &c.? To tell me that this exportation is beneficial to Ireland is to tell me nothing; the question is not about stopping the export, but giving up the regulation, in instances where England retains the power of regulation, and the act of prohibition. To tell me that this exportation is necessary for England is to tell me nothing, but that you are material to England, and therefore should have obtained at least equal terms. I own, to assist the manufactures of Great Britain as far as it is not absolutely inconsistent with those of Ireland is to me an object; but still the difference recurs: she is not content with voluntary accommodation on your part, but exacts perpetual export from you in the very article, in which she retains absolute prohibition....no new prohibition....every prohibition beneficial to England was laid before....none in favour of Ireland. Ireland till 1779 was a province, and every province is a victim; your provincial state ceased, but before the provincial regulations were done away, this arrangement establishes a principle *uti possidetis*, that is, Great Britain shall retain all her advantages, and Ireland shall retain all her disadvantages. But I leave this part of the adjustment where reciprocity is disclaimed in the outset of treaty and the rudiment of manufacture; I come to instances of more striking inequality, and first, your situation in the East. You are to give a monopoly to the present or any future East-India company during its existence, and to the British nation for ever after. It has been said that the Irishman in this is in the same situation as the Englishman, but there is this difference, the difference between having, and not having the trade; the British parliament has judged it most expedient for Great Britain to carry on her trade to the East, by an exclusive company; the Irish parliament is now to determine it most expedient for Ireland to have no trade at all in those parts. This is not a surrender of the political rights of the constitution, but of the natural rights of man....not of the privileges of parliament, but of the rights of nations....not to sail beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan, an awful interdict! Not only European settlements, but neutral countries excluded, and God's providence shut out in the most opulent boundaries of creation: other interdicts go to particular places for local reasons, because they belong to certain European states, but here are neutral regions forbidden, and a path prescribed to the Irishman on open sea. Other interdicts go to a determinate period of time, but here is an eternity of restraint; you are to have no trade at all during the existence of any company, and no free trade to those coun-

tries after its expiration; this resembles rather a judgment of God than an act of the legislature, whether you measure it by immensity of space or infinity of duration, and has nothing human about it except its presumption.

What you lose by this surrender, what you forfeit by giving up the possibility of intercourse with so great a proportion of the inhabited globe, I cannot presume to say; but this I can say, that gentlemen have no right to argue from present want of capital against future trade, nor to give up their capacity to trade, because they have not yet brought that capacity into action; still less have they a right to do so without the shadow of compensation, and least of all on the affected compensation which, trifling with your understanding as well as interest, suffers a vessel to go to the West, in its way to the East. I leave this uncompensated surrender....I leave your situation in the East which is blank....I leave your situation in the East which is the surrender of trade itself; and I come to your situation in the West which is a surrender of its freedom. You are to give a monopoly to the British plantations at their own taxes; before, you did so only in certain articles, with a power of selection, and then only as long as you pleased to conform to the condition, and without any stipulation to exclude foreign produce. It may be very proper to exclude foreign produce by your own temporary laws, and at your own free will and option, but now you are to covenant to do so for ever, and thereby you put the trade out of your own power for ever, and you give to the Engligh, West as well as East, an eternal monopoly for their plantation produce in the taxing and regulating of which you have no sort of deliberation or interference, and over which Great Britain has a complete supremacy. Here you will consider the advantage you receive from that monopoly, and judge how far it may be expedient to set up against yourselves that monopoly for ever; there is scarcely an article of the British plantation, that is not out of all proportion dearer than the same article is in any other part of the globe, nor any other article that is not produced elsewhere, for some of which articles you might establish a mart for your manufactures. Portugal, for instance, is capable of being a better market for our drapery, than Great Britain; this enormity of price is aggravated by an enormity of tax, what then is this covenant? to take these articles from the British plantations, and from none others, at the present high rates and taxes, and to take them at all times to come, subject to whatever further rates and taxes the parliament of Great Britain shall enact. Let me ask you, why did you refuse protecting duties to your own people? because they looked like a monopoly; and will you give to the East India merchant, and the West India planter something more? a monopoly where the

monopolist is in some degree the lawgiver. The principle of equal duty or the same restriction is not the shadow of security; to make such a principle applicable, the objects must be equal, but here the objects are not only dissimilar but opposite; the condition of England is great debt and greater capital, great incumbrance, but still greater abilities; the condition of Ireland, little capital, but a small debt, poverty, but exemption from intolerable taxes. Equal burthens will have opposite effects, they will fund the debt of one country and destroy the trade of the other; high duties will take away your resource, which is exemption from them, but will be a fund for Great Britain; thus the colony principle in its extent is dangerous to a very great degree. Suppose Great Britain should raise her colony duties to a still greater degree, to answer the exigency of some future war, or to fund her present debt, you must follow, for by this bill you would have no option in foreign trade; you must follow, not because you wanted the tax, but lest your exemption from taxes should give your manufactures any comparative advantage. Irish taxes are to be precautions against the prosperity of Irish manufactures! you must follow, because your taxes here would be no longer measured by the wants of the country or the interest of her commerce, because we should have instituted a false measure of taxation; the wants and the riches of another country, which exceeds you much in wants, but infinitely more in riches. I fear we should have done more, we should have made English jealousy the barometer of Irish taxation. Suppose this country should in any degree establish a direct trade with the British plantations, suppose the apprehensions of the British manufacturers in any degree realized, they may dictate your duties, they may petition the British parliament to raise certain duties, which shall not affect the articles of their intercourse, but may stop yours; or which shall affect the articles of their intercourse a little and annihilate yours; thus they may by one and the same duty raise a revenue in England, and destroy a rival in Ireland. Camblets are an instance of the former, and every valuable plantation import an instance of the latter; your option in foreign trade had been a restraint on England, or a resource to Ireland, but under this adjustment you give up your foreign trade, and confine yourself to that, which you must not presume to regulate. The exclusion of foreign plantation produce would seem sufficient, for every purpose of power and domination, but to aggravate, and it would seem, to insult, the independent states of North America are most ungraciously brought into this arrangement, as if Ireland were a British colony, or North America continued a part of the British dominion; by the resolutions almost all the produce of North America was to be imported to Ireland, subject to British

duties; the bill is more moderate, and only enumerates certain articles; but what right has Great Britain to interfere in our foreign trade, what right has she to dictate to us on the subject of North America trade? How far this country may be further affected by clogging her plantation trade and surrendering her free trade, I shall not for the present stop more minutely to enquire, but I must stop to protest against one circumstance in this arrangement, which should not accompany any arrangement, which would be fatal to settlement itself, and tear asunder the bands of faith and affection; the circumstance I mean, is the opening of the settlements of the colony trade, and free trade of 1779; this adjustment takes from you the power of chusing the article, so that the whole covenant hangs on the special circumstance, and takes from you your option in the produce of foreign plantations, and even of America. It is a revision in peace of the settlements of war, it is a revocation in peace of the acquisition of war. I here ask by what authority? By what authority is Ireland obliged now to enter into a general account for past acquisitions? Did the petition of the manufacturers desire it? Did the addresses of the last session desire it? Did the minister in this session suggest it? No? I call for authority, whereby we can be justified in waving the benefit of past treaties, and bringing the whole relative situation of this country into question in an arrangement which only professes to settle her channel trade? I conceive the settlements of the last war are sacred; you may make other settlements with the British nation, but you will never make any so beneficial as these are; they were the result of a conjuncture miraculously formed and fortunately seized. The American war was the Irish harvest. From that period, as from the lucky moment of your fate, your commerce, constitution, and mind took form and vigour; and to that period, and to a first and salient principle must they recur for life and renovation. It is therefore I consider those settlements as sacred, and from them I am naturally led to that part of the subject which relates to compensation, the payment which we are to make for the losses which we are to sustain; certainly compensation cannot apply to the free trade supposing it uninvaded; first, because that trade was your right; to pay for the recovery of what you should never have lost, had been to a great degree unjust and derogatory: secondly, because that free trade was established in 1779, and the settlement then closed and cannot be opened now; to do so were to destroy the faith of treaties, to make it idle to enter into the present settlement, and to render it vain to enter into any settlement with the British minister. The same may be said of the colony trade; that too was settled in 1779, on terms then specified, not now to be opened, clogged, conditioned or circumscribed: still less

does compensation apply to the free constitution of 1782. His majesty then informed you from the throne, "these things come unaccompanied with any stipulation," besides, the free constitution like the free trade was your right. Free men won't pay for the recovery of right; payment had derogated from the claim of right; so we then stated to ministry. It was then thought that to have annexed subsidy to constitution had been a barren experiment on public poverty, and had married an illustrious experiment on the feelings of the nation, and had been neither satisfaction to Ireland, nor revenue to Great Britain. This bolder policy, this happy art, which saw how much may be got by tax, and how much must be left to honour, which made a bold push for the heart of the nation, and leaving her free to acquire, took a chance for her disposition to give, had its effect; for since that time, until the present most unfortunate attempt, a great bulk of the community were on the side of government, and the parliamentary constitution, was a guarantee for public peace.

See then what you obtained without compensation, a colony trade, a free trade, the independency of your judges, the government of your army, the extension of the unconstitutional powers of your council, the restoration of the judicature of your lords, and the independency of your legislature!

See now what you obtain by compensation....a covenant not to trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan; a covenant not to take foreign plantation produce, but as the parliament of Great Britain shall permit; a covenant not to take British plantation produce, but as Great Britain shall prescribe; a covenant to make such acts of navigation as Great Britain shall prescribe; a covenant never to protect your own manufactures, never to guard the *primum* of those manufactures! These things are accompanied, I do acknowledge, with a covenant on the part of England to disarm your argument for protecting duties, to give the English language in the act of navigation the same construction in Ireland, and to leave our linen markets without molestation or diminution. One should think some God presided over the liberties of this country, who made it frugality in the Irish nation to continue free, but has annexed the penalties of fine or infamy to the surrender of the constitution! From this consideration of commerce, a question much more high, much more deep, the invaluable question of constitution arises, in which the idea of protecting duties, the idea of reciprocal duties, of countervailing duties, and all that detail vanish, and the energies of every heart, and the prudence of every head, are called upon to shield this nation, that long depressed, and at length by domestic virtues, and foreign misfortune emancipated, has now to defend her newly acquired rights, and her justly acquired reputation: the question is no

less than that, which three years ago agitated, fired, and exalted the Irish nation, the independency of the Irish parliament! By this bill we are to covenant that the parliament of Ireland shall subscribe whatever laws the parliament of England shall prescribe, respecting your trade with the British plantations, your trade in the produce of foreign plantations, and part of your trade from the United States of North America. There is also a sweeping covenant or condition, whereby we are to agree to subscribe whatever laws the parliament of England shall prescribe respecting navigation; the adjustment subjects also your reversionary trade to the East to the same terms....over all these objects you are to have no propounding, no deliberative, no negative, no legislative power whatsoever. Here then is an end of your free trade and your free constitution! I acquit the people of England; an ill-grounded jealousy for their trade seems aggravated by a well-founded alarm for your liberty; unwilling to relinquish, but when relinquished, too magnanimous and too wise to resume abdicated tyranny; they feel in these propositions an honourable solicitude for the freedom of Ireland, and the good faith of Great Britain, and see the darling principles and passions of both countries wounded in an arrangement, which was to compose them for ever: to a proposal therefore so little warranted by the great body of the people of England, so little expected by the people of Ireland, so little suggested by the minister, and so involving to whatever is dear to your interest, honour, and freedom, I answer, no. I plead past settlements, I insist on the faith of nations; the objection should have been made when these settlements were making; but now the logic of empire comes too late; no accommodation, no deprecation on this subject; assertion, national assertion, national re-assertion? If three years after the recovery of your freedom, you bend, your children, corrupted by your example, will surrender; but if you stand firm and inexorable, you make a seasonable impression on the people of England, you give a wholesome example to your children, afford an awful instruction, to his majesty's ministers, and make (as the Old English did in the case of their charter) the attempt on Irish liberty, its conformation and establishment!

However, lest certain glosses should seem to go unanswered, I shall, for the sake of argument, wave past settlements, and combat the reasoning of the English resolutions, the address and his majesty's answer, and the reasoning of this day. It is here said, that the laws respecting commerce and navigation should be similar, and inferred, that Ireland should subscribe the laws of England on those subjects, that is, the same law, the same legislature; but this argument goes a great deal too far, it goes to the army, for the mutiny bill should be the same; it was endeavoured to be extended to the collection of your revenue,

and is in train to be extended to your taxes; it goes to the extinction of the most invaluable part of your parliamentary capacity; it is an union, an incipient and a creeping union; a virtual union, establishing one will in the general concerns of commerce and navigation, and reposing that will in the parliament of Great Britain; an union where our parliament preserves its existence after it has lost its authority, and our people are to pay for a parliamentary establishment, without any proportion of parliamentary representation. In opposing the right honourable gentleman's bill, I consider myself as opposing an union *in limine*, and that argument for union which makes similarity of law and community of interest (reason strong for the freedom of Ireland) a pretence for a condition, which would be dissimilarity of law, because extinction of constitution, and therefore hostility, not community of interest; I ask on what experience is this argument founded?....Have you ever since your redemption refused to preserve a similarity of law in trade and navigation? Have you not followed Great Britain in all her changes in the act of navigation, during the whole of that unpalatable business the American war? Have you not excluded the cheap produce of other plantations, in order that Irish poverty might give a monopoly to the dear produce of British colonies? Have you not made a better use of your liberty than Great Britain did of her power? But I have an objection to this argument, stronger even than its want of foundation, in reason and experiment; I hold it to be nothing less than an intolerance of the parliamentary constitution of Ireland, a declaration that the full and free external legislation of the Irish parliament is incompatible with the British empire. I do acknowledge that by your external power, you might discompose the harmony of empire, and I add, that by your power over the purse you might dissolve the state; but to the latter you owe your existence in the constitution, and to the former your authority and station in the empire; this argument, therefore, rests the connection upon a new and a false principle, goes directly against the root of parliament, and is not a difficulty to be accommodated, but an error to be eradicated; and if any body of men can still think that the Irish constitution is incompatible with the British empire, doctrine which I abjure as sedition against the connection; but if any body of men are justified in thinking, that the Irish constitution is incompatible with the British empire, perish the empire! live the constitution! Reduced by this false dilemma to take a part, my second wish is the British empire, my first wish and bounden duty is the liberty of Ireland; but we are told this imperial power is not only necessary for England, but safe for Ireland. What is the present question? What but the abuse of this very power of regulating the trade of Ireland by the British parliament excluding you, and including herself by virtue

of the same words of the same act of navigation? And what was the promovent cause of this arrangement? What but the power you are going to surrender, the distinct and independent external authority of the Irish parliament, competent to question that misconstruction? What is the remedy now proposed? the evil. Go back to the parliament of England; I ask again, what were the difficulties in the way of your eleven propositions? What but the jealousy of the British manufacturers on the subject of trade? And will you make them your parliament, and that too for ever, and that too on the subject of their jealousy, and in the moment they displayed it....Safe! I will suppose that jealousy realized, that you rival them in some market abroad, and that they petition their parliament to impose a regulation, which shall affect a tonnage which you have, and Great Britain has not; how would you then feel your situation, when you should be obliged to register all this? And how would you feel your degradation, when you should see your own manufacturers pass you by as a cipher in the constitution, and deprecate their ruin at the bar of a foreign parliament....Safe! Whence the American war? Whence the Irish restrictions? Whence the misconstruction of the act of navigation? Whence but from the evil of suffering one country to regulate the trade and navigation of another, and of instituting, under the idea of general protectoress, a proud domination, which sacrifices the interest of the whole to the ambition of a part, and arms the little passions of the monopolist with the sovereign potency of an imperial parliament; for great nations when cursed with unnatural sway follow but their nature when they invade; and human wisdom has not better provided for human safety than by limiting the principles of human power. The surrender of legislature has been likened to cases that not unfrequently take place between two equal nations covenanting to suspend in particular cases their respective legislative powers for mutual benefit; thus Great Britain and Portugal agree to suspend their legislative power in favour of the wine of the one, and the woollen of the other; but if Portugal had gone farther, and agreed to subscribe the laws of England, this covenant had not been a treaty, but conquest; so Great Britain and Ireland may covenant, not to raise high duties on each other's manufactures; but if Ireland goes farther, and covenants to subscribe British law, this is not a mutual suspension of the exercise of legislative power, but a transfer of the power itself from one country to another, to be exercised by another hand; such covenant is not reciprocity of trade, it is a surrender of the government of your trade, inequality of trade, and inequality of constitution. I speak however as if such transfer could take place, but in fact it could not; any arrangement so covenanting is a mere nullity; it could

not bind you, still less could it bind your successors; for a man is not omnipotent over himself, neither are your parliaments omnipotent over themselves, to accomplish their own destruction, and propagate death to their successors; there is in these cases a superior relationship to our respective creators....God.... the community, which in the instance of the individual, arrests the hand of suicide, and in that of the political body, stops the act of surrender, and makes man the means of propagation, and parliament the organ to continue liberty, not the engine to destroy it. However, though the surrender be void, there are two ways of attempting it, one by a surrender in form, the other by a surrender in substance; appointing another parliament your substitute and consenting to be its register or stamp, by virtue of which to introduce the law and edict of another land; to clothe with the forms of your law foreign deliberations, and to preside over the disgraceful ceremony of your own abdicated authority; both methods are equally surrenders, and both are wholly void. I speak on principle, the principle on which you stand....your creation. We, the limited trustees of the delegated power, born for a particular purpose, limited to a particular time, and bearing an inviolable relationship to the people, who sent us to parliament, cannot break that relationship, counteract that purpose, surrender, diminish, or derogate from those privileges we breathe but to preserve. Could the parliament of England covenant to subscribe your laws? Could she covenant that young Ireland should command, and Old England should obey? If such a proposal to England were mockery to Ireland, it cannot be constitution. I rest on authority as well as principle, the authority on which the revolution rests. Mr. Locke, who in his chapter on the abolition of government, says, that the transfer of legislative power is the abolition of the state, not a transfer. Thus I may congratulate this house and myself, that it is one of the blessings of the British constitution, that it cannot perish of a rapid mortality, nor die in a day, like the men who should protect her; any act that would destroy the liberty of the people, is dead-born from the womb; men may put down the public cause for a season, but another year would see old constitution advance the honours of his head, and the good institution of parliament shaking off the tomb to reascend in all its pomp and pride, and plenitude and privilege!

Sir, I have stated these propositions and the bill as a mere transfer of external legislative authority to the parliament of Great Britain, but I have understated their mischief: they go to taxation, taxes on the trade with the British plantations, taxes on the produce of foreign plantations, taxes on some of the produce of the United States of North America; they go to port duties, such as Great Britain laid on America! the mode is

varied, but the principle is the same. Here Great Britain takes the stamp of the Irish parliament; Great Britain is to prescribe and Ireland is to obey! We anticipate the rape by previous surrender, and throw into the scale our honour as well as our liberty. Do not imagine that all these resolutions are mere acts of regulation; they are solid substantial revenue, great part of your additional duty. I allow the bill excepts rum and tobacco; but the principle is retained, and the operation of it only kept back. I have stated that Great Britain may by these propositions crush your commerce, but shall be told that the commercial jealousy of Great Britain is at an end. But are her wants at an end? Are her wishes for Irish subsidy at an end? No; and may be gratified by laying colony duties on herself, and so raising on Ireland an imperial revenue to be subscribed by our parliament, without the consent of our parliament, and in despite of our people. Or if a minister should please to turn himself to a general excise, if wishing to relieve from the weight of further additional duties the hereditary revenue now alienated, if wishing to relieve the alarms of the English manufacturers, who complain of our exemption from excises, particularly on soap, candles, and leather; he should proceed on those already registered articles of taxation, he might tax you by threats, suggesting, that if you refuse to raise an excise on yourself, England will raise colony duties on both. See what a mighty instrument of coercion this bill and these resolutions are. Stir, and the minister can crush you in the name of Great Britain; he can crush your imports; he can crush your exports; he can do this in a manner peculiarly gratifying, by virtue of a clause in a British act of parliament that would seem to impose the same restrictions on Great Britain; he can do this in a manner still more offensive by the immediate means of your own parliament, who would be then an active cipher, and notorious stamp in the hands of Great Britain, to forge and falsify the name and authority of the people of Ireland. I have considered your situation under these propositions with respect to Great Britain: see what would be your situation with respect to the crown? You would have granted to the king a perpetual money bill, or a money bill to continue as long as the parliament of Great Britain shall please, with a covenant to increase it as often as the British parliament shall please. By the resolutions a great part of the additional duty would have been so granted; the trade of the country is made dependant on the parliament of Great Britain, and the crown is made less dependant on the parliament of Ireland, and a code of prerogative added to a code of empire. If the merchant after this should petition you to lower your duties on the articles of trade, your answer, "trade is in covenant." If your con-

stituents should instruct yon to limit the bill of supply, or pass a short money bill, your anawer, " the purse of the nation like her " trade is in covenant." No more of six months money bills; no more of instructions from constituents; that connection is broken by this bill; pass this, you have no constituents, you are not the representative of the people of Ireland, but the register of the British parliament, and the equalizer of British duties!

In order to complete this chain of power, one link (I do acknowledge) was wanting, a perpetual revenue bill, or a covenant from time to time to renew the bill for the collection thereof. The twentieth resolution, and this bill founded upon it, attain that object. Sir, this house rests on three pillars; your power over the annual mutiny bill; your power over the annual additional duties; your power over the collection of the revenue. The latter power is of great consequence, because a great part of our revenues are granted for ever. Your ancestors were slaves; and for their estates, that is, for the act of settlement granted the hereditary revenue, and from that moment ceased to be a parliament; nor was it till many years after that parliament revived; but it revived as you under this bill would continue; without parliamentary power; every evil measure derived argument, energy and essence from this unconstitutional fund. If a country gentleman complained of the expences of the crown, he was told a frugal government could go on without a parliament, and that we held our existence, by withholding the discharge of our duty. However, though the funds were granted for ever, the provision for the collection was inadequate; the smuggler learned to evade the penalties, and parliament, though not necessary for granting the hereditary revenue, became necessary for its collection. Here then we rest on three pillars, the annual mutiny bill, the annual additional supply, and the annual collection of the revenue. If you remove all these, this fabric falls; remove any one of them, and it totters; for it is not the mace, nor the chain, nor this dome, but the deliberate voice resident therein that constitutes the essence of parliament. Clog your deliberations, and you are no longer a parliament, with a thousand gaudy surviving circumstances of show and authority.

Contemplate for a moment the powers this bill presumes to perpetuate; a perpetual repeal of trial by jury; a perpetual repeal of the great charter; a perpetual writ of assistance; a perpetual felony to strike an exciseman!

The late Chief Baron Burgh, speaking of the revenue bill, exclaimed, " you give to the dipping rule, what you should deny to the sceptre." All the unconstitutional powers of the excise we are to perpetuate, the constitutional powers of parliament we are to abdicate. Can we do all this? Can we make these

bulky surrenders, in diminution of the power, in derogation of the pride of parliament, and in violation of those eternal relationships, which the body that represents should bear to the community which constitutes?

The pretence given for this unconstitutional idea is weak indeed; that as the benefits are permanent, so should be the compensation. But trade laws are to follow their nature, revenue laws to follow theirs. On the permanent nature of commercial advantages depends the faith of trade, on the limited nature of revenue laws depends the existence of parliament; but the error of the argument arises from the vice of dealing. It is a market for a constitution; and a logic applicable to barter only, is applied to freedom. To qualify this dereliction of every principle and power, the surrender is made constitutional; that is, the British market for the Irish constitution, the shadow of a market for the substance of a constitution! You are to reserve an option, trade or liberty; if you mean to come to the British market, you must pass under the British yoke. I object to this principle in every shape, whether you are, as the resolution was first worded, directly to transfer legislative power to the British parliament; whether, as it was afterwards altered, you are to covenant to subscribe her acts; or whether, as it is now softened, you are to take the chance of the British market, so long as you wave the blessings of the British constitution.... terms dishonourable, derogatory, incapable of forming the foundation of any fair and friendly settlement, injurious to the political morality of the nation; I would not harbour a slavish principle, nor give it the hospitality of a night's lodging in a land of liberty! Slavery is like any other vice: tolerate and you embrace; you should guard your constitution by settled maxims of honour, as well as wholesome rules of law; and one maxim should be, never to tolerate a condition, which trenches on the privileges of parliament, or derogates from the pride of the island. Liberal in matters of revenue, practicable in matters of commerce; on these subjects I would be inexorable: if the genius of Old England came to that bar, with the British constitution in one hand, and in the other an offer of all that England retains, or all that she has lost of commerce, I should turn my back on the latter, and pay my obedience to the blessings of her constitution; for that constitution will give you commerce, and it was the loss of that constitution, that deprived you of commerce. Why are you not now a woollen country? because another country regulated your trade. Why are you not now a country of re-export? because another country regulated your navigation. I oppose the original terms as slavish, and I oppose the conditional clause as an artful way of introducing slavery, of soothing a high-spirited nation into a submission by

the ignominious delusion that she may shake off the yoke when she pleases, and once more become a free people. The direct unconstitutional proposition could not have been listened to, and therefore resort is had to the only possible chance of destroying the liberty of the people, by holding up the bright reversion of the British constitution, and the speculation of future liberty, as a consolation for the present submission. But would any gentleman here wear a livery to-night, because he might lay it aside in the morning? or would this house substitute another, because next year it might resume its authority, and once more become the parliament of Ireland. I do not believe we should get the British, but I do not want to make an experiment on the British market, by making an experiment likewise on the constitution and spirit of the people of Ireland. But do not imagine if you shall yield for a year, you will get so easily clear of this inglorious experiment; if this is not the British market, why accept the adjustment? and if it is, the benefit thereof may take away your deliberative voice. You will be bribed out of your constitution by your commerce; there are two ways of taking away free will, the one by direct compulsion, the other by establishing a præpollent motive. Thus a servant of the crown may lose his free will, when he is to give his vote at the hazard of his office; and thus a parliament would lose its free will, if it acted under a conviction, that it exercised its deliberative function at the risk of its commerce. No one question would stand upon its own legs, but each question would involve every consideration of trade, and indeed the whole relative situation of the two countries. And I beseech you to consider that situation, and contemplate the powers of your own country, before you agree to surrender them. Recollect that you have now a right to trade with the British plantations, in certain articles, without reference to British duties; that you have a right to trade with the British plantations in every other article, subject to the British duties; that you have a right to get clear of each and every other part of that bargain; that you have a right to take the produce of foreign plantations, subject to your own unstipulated duties; that you have a right to carry on a free and unqualified trade with the United States of North America; that you have a right to carry on an experimental trade in countries contiguous to which Great Britain has established her monopolies, the power of trade this, and an instrument of power, and station, and authority in the British empire! Consider that you have likewise a right to the exclusive supply of your own market, and to the exclusive of the rudiment of your manufactures; that you have an absolute dominion over the public purse and over the collection of the revenue. If you ask me how you shall use these powers, I say for Ireland with due regard

to the British nation, let them be governed by the spirit of concord, and with fidelity to the connection; but when the mover of the bill asks me to surrender those powers, I am astonished at him. I have neither ears, nor eyes, nor functions to make such a sacrifice. What! that free trade, for which we exerted every nerve in 1779; that free constitution, for which we pledged life and fortune in 1782! Our lives are at the service of the empire; but our liberties! no....we received them from our Father, which is in Heaven, and we will hand them down to our children. But if gentlemen can entertain a doubt of the mischief of these propositions, are they convinced of their safety? the safety of giving up the government of your trade? No! the mischief is prominent, but the advantage is of a most enigmatical nature. Have gentlemen considered the subject, have they traced over the map of the countries, the power or freedom of trading with whom they are to surrender for ever? Have they traced the map of Asia, Africa, and America? Do they know the French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish settlements? Do they know the neutral powers of those countries, their produce, aptitudes, and dispositions? Have they considered the state of North America? its present state, future growth, and every opportunity in the endless succession of time attending that nurse of commerce and asylum of mankind? Are they now competent to declare on the part of themselves and all their posterity, that a free trade to those regions will never in the influx of time be of any service to the kingdom of Ireland? If they have information on this subject, it must be by a communication with God, for they have none with man: it must be inspiration, for it cannot be knowledge. In such circumstances to subscribe this agreement, without knowledge, without even the affectation of knowledge, when Great Britain with all her experience and every means of information from East Indies, West Indies, America, and with the official knowledge at her feet, has taken six months to deliberate, and has now produced twenty resolutions with an history to each, amounting to a code of empire, not a system of commerce: I say in such circumstances for Ireland to subscribe this agreement, would be infatuation, an infatuation to which the nation could not be a party, but would appear to be concluded, indeed huddled with all her posterity into a fallacious arrangement, by the influence of the crown, without the deliberation of parliament, or the consent of the people! This would appear the more inexcusable, because we are not driven to it; adjustment is not indispensible; the great points have been carried! An inferior question about the home market has been started, and a commercial fever artificially raised, but while the great points remain undisturbed, the nations cannot be committed; the manufacturers applied for

protecting duties, and have failed; the minister offered a system of reciprocity, and succeeded in Ireland, but has failed in England; he makes you another offer inconsistent with the former, which offer the English do not support, and the Irish deprecate. We can go on, we have a growing prosperity, and as yet an exemption from intolerable taxes; we can from time to time regulate our own commerce, cherish our manufactures, keep down our taxes, and bring on our people, and brood over the growing prosperity of young Ireland. In the mean time we will guard our free trade and free constitution as our only real resources; they were the struggles of great virtue, the result of much perseverance, and our broad base of public action! We should recollect that this house may now, with peculiar propriety, interpose, because you did with great zeal and success, on this very subject of trade, bring on the people, and you did with great prudence and moderation, on another occasion, check a certain description of the people. Thus mediating between extremes, you will preserve this island long, and preserve her with a certain degree of renown. Thus faithful to the constitution of the country, you will command and insure her tranquillity, for our best authority with the people is, protection afforded against the ministers of the crown. It is not public clamour, but public injury, that should alarm you; your high ground of expostulation with your fellow subjects has been your services; the free trade you have given the merchant, and the free constitution you have given the island! Make your third great effort, preserve them, and with them preserve unaltered your own calm sense of public right, the dignity of the parliament, the majesty of the people, and the powers of the island! Keep them unsullied, uncovenanted, uncircumscribed, and unstipendiary! These paths are the paths to glory; and let me add, these ways are the ways of peace: so shall the prosperity of your country, though without a tongue to thank you, yet laden with the blessings of constitution and of commerce, bear attestation to your services, and wait on your progress with involuntary praise!

No. LXXVII.

THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS RELATING TO THE TREATY OF NAVIGATION AND COMMERCE WITH THE FRENCH KING....P. 160.

1. RESOLVED, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that all articles of the growth, produce, or manufac-

ture of the European dominions of the French King, which are not specified in the sixth article of the treaty of navigation and commerce between his Britannic Majesty and the most Christian King, signed at Versailles the 26th of September, 1786, shall be imported into this kingdom on payment of duties as low as any, which shall be payable on the importation of the like articles from any other European nation.

2. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty to be paid on wines imported directly from France into Ireland shall be no higher than those duties which they now pay.

3. Resolved, That it appears to this committee, that the duty hereafter to be paid upon beer, the produce or manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, shall be at the rate of 30*l. per centum ad valorem.*

4. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid for all cabinet work and turnery, and for all instruments of music, being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, shall be at the rate of 10*l. per centum ad valorem.*

5. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid for all articles composed of iron or steel separately or mixed, or worked or mounted with other substances, such articles being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, and not exceeding in their value 50*s.* British, or 54*s.* 2*d.* Irish currency, by the hundred weight, imported into this kingdom, shall be at the rate of 5*l. per centum ad valorem.*

6. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid for all articles composed of iron or steel separately or mixed, or worked or mounted with other substances, and exceeding in their value 50*s.* British, or 54*s.* 2*d.* Irish currency, by the hundred weight; and for all buttons, buckles, knives or scissars, and for all other articles of hardware or cutlery, and for all articles composed of copper and brass separately or mixed, or worked or mounted with other substances, such articles being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, shall be at the rate of 10*l. per centum ad valorem.*

7. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid upon all sorts of cottons and woollens, whether knit or woven, including hosiery, the product or manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, shall be at the rate of 12*l. per centum ad valorem.*

8. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid upon all linens made of flax or hemp, of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, shall be no higher than the duty which linens, the manufacture of Holland, imported into this kingdom, now pay.

9. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid for cambrics and lawns, being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, imported into this kingdom, shall be for every demi piece of cambric, and for every demi piece of lawn, not exceeding seven yards and three quarters of a yard English measure in length, and not being above the value of 50*s.* British, or 54*s.* 2*d.* Irish currency, respectively 5*s.* 5*d.* and so in proportion for any greater length; and that the duty for any cambric imported in demi pieces exceeding seven-eighths of a yard English measure in breadth, and for any lawn imported in pieces, exceeding one yard and a quarter English measure in breadth, and being above the value of 50*s.* British, or 54*s.* 2*d.* Irish currency, respectively, shall be 10*l. per centum ad valorem.*

10. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid upon all saddlery, of the manufacture of the European dominons of the French king, imported into this kingdom, shall be at the rate of 15*l. per centum ad valorem.*

11. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid upon gauzes of all sorts of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, imported into this kingdom, shall be at the rate of 15*l. per cenium ad valorem.*

12. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid upon the importation into this kingdom of millinery made up of muslin, lawn, cambric or gauze of any kind, or of any other article specified in the sixth article of the said treaty of navigation and commerce, of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, shall be at the rate of 12*l. per centum ad valorem;* and that if any article not so specified, and which may be legally imported into this kingdom, shall be used in such millinery, such articles shall pay duties as if separately imported into this kingdom.

13. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid upon all porcelains, earthen-ware and pottery of the manufacture of the European

dominions of the French king, imported into this kingdom, shall be at the rate of 12*l. per centum ad valorem.*

14. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that the duty hereafter to be paid upon all glass and glass-ware of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, imported into this kingdom, shall be at the rate of 12*l. per centum ad valorem.*

15. Resolved, That it appears to this committee to be expedient, that beer being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French king, imported into this kingdom, shall pay, over and above the duty to be paid on the importation thereof, a further duty sufficient to countervail the internal duty actually paid on beer brewed in Ireland.

No. LXXVIII.

MR. GRATTAN'S SPEECH UPON TITHES.....P. 171.

MR. GRATTAN.....The people in the south have grievances, and one of their principal grievances is tithe; do not take it on my authority, go into a committee. It has been said in defence of clerical exactions, that though sometimes exorbitant, they have never been illegal. I deny it; and will produce proof at your bar, that exactions in some of the disturbed parts have been not exorbitant only, but illegal likewise. I will prove that, in many instances, tithe has been demanded, and paid for turf; that tithe of turf has been assessed at one or two shillings a house like hearth-money; and in addition to hearth-money, with this difference, that in the case of hearth-money, there is an exemption for the poor of a certain description; but here it is the poor of the poorest order, that is the most resistless people, who pay. I will prove to you, that men have been excommunicated by a most illegal sentence, for refusing to pay tithe of turf. I have two decrees in my hand from the Vicarial Court of Cloyne; the first excommunicating one man, the second excommunicating four men most illegally, most arbitrarily, for refusing to pay tithe of turf: nor has tithe of turf, without pretence of law or custom been a practice only; but in some part of the south, it has been a formed exaction with its own distinct and facetious appellation, the familiar denomination of

smoke-money. A right to tithe of turf has been usurped against law, and a legislative power of commutation has been exercised, I suppose for familiarity of appellation and facility of collection.

I am ready, if the house will go into the enquiry, to name the men, the parish, and all the circumstances.

I understand that in some cases this demand has ceased; that is, it has been interrupted by the terror of resistance; not by a respect for the law (a sad encouragement this to disturbance) but even in some of these cases the claim has been preserved, though the attempt has been deterred, and to an endeavour to preserve this claim, and to insert it in the body of the agreement with the parish, are we to attribute in some places, I understand, the defeat of composition and of concord.

It has been urged, the law would relieve in the case of demand for tithe of turf; but you have admitted the poverty of the peasant, and you cannot deny the expence of litigation. Sir, the law has been applied, and has not relieved.

I have authority from a person, now a most eminent judge, and some years ago a most distinguished lawyer, to affirm to this house, that he in the course of his profession, did repeatedly take exceptions to libels in the Spiritual Court for tithe of turf, and that they were uniformly over-ruled; and I have the same authority to affirm to you, that the Spiritual Courts do maintain a right to tithe of turf, and that in so doing, they have acted, and do act in gross violation of the law.

I am informed that tithe has been demanded for furze spent on the premises; and therefore, in circumstances not subject to tithe, a demand oppressive to the poor, and repugnant to the law.

Under this head the allegation is, that in some of the disturbed parishes of the south, tithe has been demanded and paid without custom, and against law; and that the ecclesiastical courts have allowed such demands against law; and this will be verified on oath.

The exactions of the tithe-proctor are another instance of illegality; he gets, he exacts, he extorts from the parishioners, in some of the disturbed parishes one, frequently two shillings in the pound. The clergyman's agent is then paid by the parish, and paid extravagantly. The landlord's agent is not paid in this manner, your tenants do not pay your agent ten per cent. or five per cent. or any per centage at all. What right has the clergyman to throw his agent on his parish? As well might he make them pay the wages of his butler, or his footman, or his coachman, or his postillion, or his cook.

This demand, palpably illegal, must have commenced in bribery; an illegal perquisite growing out of the abuse of power;

a bribe for mercy: as if the tithe-proctor were the natural pastoral-protector of the poverty of the peasant, against the possible oppressions of the law, and the exactions of the gospel. He was supposed to take less than his employer would exact, or the law would allow; and was bribed by the sweat of the poor for his perfidy and mercy. This original bribe has now become a stated perquisite; and, instead of being payment for moderation, it is now a per centage on rapacity. The more he extorts for the parson, the more he shall get for himself.

Are there any decent clergymen who will defend such a practice? Will they allow that the men they employ are ruffians, who would cheat the parson, if they did not plunder the poor; and that the clerical remedy against connivance, is to make the poor pay a premium for the encrease of that plunder and exaction, of which they themselves are the objects?

I excuse the tithe-proctor; the law is in fault which gives great and summary powers to the indefinite claims of the church, and suffers both to be vested in the hands, not only of the parson, but of a wretch who follows his own nature, when he converts authority into corruption, and law into peculation.

I have seen a catalogue of some of their charges; so much for potatoes; so much for wheat; so much for oats; so much for hay....all exorbitant: and after a long list of unconscionable demands for the parson, comes in a peculation for the proctor: two shillings in the pound for proctorage; that is, for making a charge, for whose excess and extravagance the proctor ought not to have been paid, but punished.

Thus peculation has now become a law; the proctor's fees, paid at first, for a low valuation, are now in some cases added to a full one; and the parish is obliged to pay ten per cent. to the proctor, for the privilege of paying the full tithe to the parson.

Under this head the allegation is, that the tithe-proctors in certain parishes of the south, do ask and extort from the poor parishioners one or two shillings in the pound under the description of proctorage; a fee at once illegal and oppressive; and this they are ready to verify at your bar.

It has been said, that an equity has been always observed in favour of the tiller of the soil. This, I understand, will be controverted, and it will be proved, that in some of the disturbed parishes, the demands of the following articles will be found to pay tithe: wheat, potatoes, barley, beer, rye, flax, hemp, sheep, lambs, milch-cows, turf, pigs, apples, peaches, bees, cabbage, oziers; in some, oblations, Easter-offerings, burial money.

I understand that every thing, of any consequence, which is tithed in any part of Ireland, is tithed in Munster; that potatoes, which are tithed in no other part of Ireland, are tithed

here; and that each article is, in most of the disturbed parts, tithed higher than in any other part of Ireland.

I understand that it will appear, that in some parts of Kerry, they tithe potatoes 1*l.* wheat 16*s.* barley 13*s.* oats 12*s.* hay 2*s.*

In Kerry they do not measure by the acre, but the spade. They reckon, as I am informed, the breadth of their potatoe-ridge, or trench, to be an Irish perch, or ten feet and an half, the length therefore when 320 perches make an acre, they measure by the spade length, which is five feet and a half long; twenty of these Irish spades they suppose to contain eighteen stone of potatoes, or what they call two Kerry pecks; and as there are little more than 61 score spades in the bed of 320 perches, that is, in an acre, the whole quantity of potatoes is valued at 1100, or 122 Kerry pecks, which averages at twenty-pence the peck, that is 20*s.* the acre for tithe of potatoes.

In a parish in the county of Cork, I understand, the following demand was made and paid.

Wheat 8*s.* the English acre; barley the same; meadow 4*s.* oats 4*s.* potatoes 12*s.* proctor's fees 2*s.* 2*d.* in the pound, and this not for one year, but a succession. This, when valued by the Irish acre, is for wheat 13*s.* barley 13*s.* meadow 6*s.* 6*d.* oats 6*s.* 6*d.* potatoes 19*s.*

This will better appear, by stating to you some of the proctor's bills for a series of years, which I understand will be proved at your bar.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
In the year 1782.			
For 113 English acres of meadow -	21	16	0
16 ditto barley - - -	5	12	0
8 ditto oats - - - -	1	12	0
2 ditto potatoes - - -	1	4	0
2*s.* proctorage - - -	3	5	0
In the year 1783.			
For 92 English acres of meadow -	18	0	0
18 ditto oats - - - -	3	0	0
4 ditto potatoes - - -	2	8	0
2*s.* in the pound proctorage -	2	12	0
Valuation for 1784.			
74 acres of meadow - -	14	0	0
9 ditto second crop potatoes -	4	10	0
For 1785.			
8 acres barley second crop -	2	16	0
1 ditto potatoes second crop -	0	10	0

For 1786.	l.	s.	d.
3 acres and half potatoes and flax	2	2	0
2 ditto barley - - -	0	16	0
7 ditto meadow - - -	1	1	0
10 cows - - - -	0	3	4

You will observe that these are all the English acre, and make the acreable ratages about what I have stated, in round numbers.

I have also to produce several affidavits of different people, (peasants I suppose they are) from the county of Cork. The brief of which affidavits I will now state to you: they depose, that a charge was made of ten shillings (English acre I am informed) for wheat, and ten for potatoes, of the worst kind.

That a charge was made of twenty shillings for an acre and half of barley, and that the crop was a bad one.

That a charge was made and exacted, of fifteen shillings for half an English acre of wheat, and half an acre of oats.

They prove that the tithe has encreased of late, in some parts, from 5 to 8 or 10 shillings the English acre for potatoes; from 4 to 8 or 10 shillings for wheat; and for barley, oats, and hay, in a similar proportion.

They prove that the charges in the ecclesiastical courts have swelled to ten times the original sum.

They prove that the tithe demanded in 1786, in some instances exceeded the rack-rent of the land; they prove that it is a practice to charge for more acres than the peasant has in tillage; and they produce the charge of the proctor, and the return of the surveyor; they prove that the prices charged in some instances in 1786, exceeded the value of the tithe.

They prove an unchristian and uncharitable exaction. What credit is to be given to these affidavits, you will be the best judge when you go into the committee; but this I think, even on the statement you can decide, that these peasants have been oppressed by tithe, and however fondly and partially these men may state their own case, yet it appears that they have a case which you ought to consider, and that there has not been that moderation on the part of parson and proctor, as by the former is so confidently alleged.

I understand in the course of your enquiry it will appear, that a living has been lately and rapidly raised fram 60*l.* to 300*l.* by the new incumbent; that a farm from 12*l.* a year tithe, has been raised to 60*l.*; that a living in these disturbed parts from 130*l.* has been in the same manner and expedition raised to 340*l.*; that another living in these disturbed parts, in the same manner, has been raised from 300*l.* to 1000*l.*

I understand it will appear to you, that 14*l.* have been demanded and paid for 11 acres, the rent of which was only 11*l.* 11*s.*; that flax has been in some of those disturbed parts rated exorbitantly; that rape has been rated at one guinea an acre; nay one return goes so far as to say, 16*l.* were demanded for four acres of rape. These particulars you will judge of, when you open your committee, how far they may be exaggerations, how far they may be grievances, after every allowance for sanguine statement on the part of the husbandman.

But there are some returns, which cannot be exaggerations, and which are exorbitant: they are the returns of the proper officer appointed by the Court of Chancery, to try petitions under the compensation act.

From Limerick there are five; one is

Flax -	from 10*s.* to 0*s.*	Meadow	from 2*s.* 3*d.* to 3*s.*
Potatoes -	8 — 10	Sheep -	0 4 — 0
Wheat -	6 — 0	Lambs -	0 3 — 0
Barley -	6 — 0	Cows -	0 2 — 0
Oats - -	4 — 5	Receivers fees	2 2 — 0

Proved to have been constantly paid.

November 5th, 1787....Average valuation allowed.

Flax - -	12*s.* 0*d.*	Oats -	4*s.* 0*d.*	per acr.
Potatoes -	10 0	Meadow -	2 10	
Rye - -	6 0			

Cows, 4*d.* each.

October 31st, 1787....Average valuation allowed.

Potatoes -	10*s.* 0*d.*	Oats -	5*s.* 0*d.*	per a.
Wheat -	10 0	Meadow -	3 0	

Cows, 3*d.* each.

December 19th, 1787....Average valuation allowed.

Wheat -	9*s.* 0*d.*	Oats -	4*s.* 6*d.*	per acr.
Potatoes -	8 0	Meadow -	2 6	
Barley -	7 6			

Sheep, 4*d.* Cows, 2*d.* each.

October 18th, 1787....Valuation per report made to the Lord Chancellor.

Potatoes -	12*s.* 0*d.*	Barley -	10*s.* 0*d.*	per acre.
Flax - -	12 0	Oats -	6 0	
Rape - -	12 0	Meadow -	6 0	
Wheat -	10 0			

Cows, 3*d.* Sheep and Lambs together, 3*d.*

I shall now read you the return from Cork, from the proper officer appointed to try petitions. The return consists of different acreable ratages. The acre, I am told, in that country, is the English acre: if so the ratages are as follow:

Potatoes.		Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Meadow.	
E. Acre	I. Acre	E. Acre	I. Acre	E. A.	I. A.	E. Acre	I. Acre	E. Acre	I. Acre
s.	*s. d.*	*s.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s.*	*s. d.*	*s.*	*s. d.*
5	8 1	0	0 0	0 0 0		0	0 0	0	0 0
6	9 9	0	0 0	0 0 0		0	0 0	0	0 0
7	11 4	6	9 9	0 0 0		2	6 4	0	0 0
8	13 0	7	11 0	0 0 0		3	4 10	2	3 3
9	14 0	8	13 0	5 8 1		4	6 6	3	4 10
10	16 0	10	16 0	6 9 9		5	0 8	4	6 6

I believe there is no man who hears these charges, that will not pronounce some of them exorbitant, unconscionable, and totally different from those which the advocates for tithe have ventured publicly to acknowledge or defend. I believe no man who hears these ratages, that will not say, that some of them preclude the idea of any equity in favour of the tiller of the soil, and that the person who makes such a demand means to exact the last penny of his claim, and if he talks of moderation is a hypocrite.

As to potatoes, the clergyman ought not to proceed with reference to the produce, but the price of labour: in the parts of which I have been speaking, the price of labour is not more than 5*d.* a day the year round; that is, 6*l.* 4*s.* the year; supposing the labourer to work every day but Sunday, making an allowance for sickness, broken weather, and holidays, you should strike off more than a sixth: he has not in fact then more than 5*l.* a year by his labour; his family average above five persons, nearer six, of whom the wife may make something by spinning (in these parts of the country there are considerable manufactories). Five pounds a year, with the wife's small earnings, is the capital to support such a family, and pay rent and hearth-money, and in some cases of illegal exaction, smoke money to the parson. When a gentleman of the church of Ireland comes to a peasant so circumstanced, and demands 12 or 16*s.* an acre for tithe of potatoes....he demands a child's provision....he exacts contribution from a pauper....he gleans from wretchedness....he leases from penury....he fattens on hunger, raggedness, and destitution. In vain shall he state to such a man, the proctor's valuation, and inform him, that an acre of potatoes, well tilled, and in good ground, should produce so many barrels; that each barrel at the market price is worth so many shillings, which after allowing for digging, tithes at so much.

The peasant may answer this reasoning by the Bible: he may set up against the tithe-proctor's valuation the New Testament; the precepts of Christ against the clergyman's arithmetic; the parson's spiritual professions against his temporal exactions, and in the argument, the peasant would have the advantage of the parson. It is an odious contest between poverty and luxury....between the struggles of a pauper and the luxury of a priest.

Such a man, making such a demand, may have many good qualities; may be a good theologian; an excellent controversialist; deeply read in church history; very accurate in the value of church benefices; an excellent high priest....but no Christian pastor. He is not the idea of a Christian minister; the White-boy is the least of his foes; his great enemy is the precept of the gospel and the example of the apostles.

With respect to the rudiments of manufacture, you ought not to proceed according either to the produce or to the price of labour; you should observe an equity in favour of the manufacturer. When 12*s.* an acre are demanded for flax, the tithe is fatal to the progress of the linen trade in the south; and the great word increase and multiply meets obstruction in this instance, from some of the ministers of the gospel, or those employed by them, preventing the growth of manufacture and population, by the excess of demand and the love of riches. England established a modus for flax, a modus of 5*s.* an acre, and yet the linen manufacture is not the staple of England, but was given up by England to be the staple of Ireland. The parliament of England establishes there a modus of 5*s.* an acre for your staple, and some of your clergy here demand for it 12*s.* an acre.

Under the head of excess the following allegation is submitted to your consideration; that in certain parishes of the south the charge for tithe has been unconscionable, and has not observed any equity in favour of the husbandman, the poor, or the manufacturer.

But the law would relieve; turn to the ecclesiastical courts.... the judge is a clergyman, or appointed by a clergyman, and of course is a party judge; and though in some cases his personal rectitude may correct his situation, and prevent him from being a partial, yet, from the constitution of his court, he is a party judge. The ecclesiastical courts in England maintained gravel and stone to be titheable; as some of ours have maintained turf to be titheable. Lord Holt said, they made every thing titheable; but, says he, I do not regard that; the pope, from whom our clergy derive their claim, though they depart from its alleged application, subjected to tithe the gains of the merchant,

and the pay of the army; the canons went farther, and held the tithe of fornication and adultery to be the undoubted property of the church. We are now too enlightened to listen to claims carried to so very great an extent, and ecclesiastical courts are less extravagant now; but still, the principle continues, the bias continues....still they are party courts; the evidence, like the judge, is a party; he is worse, he is frequently the servant of the party, and the nature of his evidence is the best calculated to give every latitude to partiality and corruption: he generally views the crop, when the crop is ripe, or when the ground is red; in the first case, he cannot, with any great accuracy, ascertain the quantum of produce, and in the last case, he cannot, with any accuracy at all; and yet, without survey, without measure, and in some cases, without inspection of the crop, hear him swearing before a party judge, to the quantum of ground and produce.

I have selected some cases from the Vicar's Court of Cashel. I will read them, and on some of them will make such observations as occur to me. I will begin with the year 1766, to prove the present mode and measure to be encroachment.

1766.

Seymour against *Burke*....Subtracted two thirds of two acres of bere, two acres of oats, five acres of oats and one acre and an half of potatoes, and three acres of meadowing, parish of Ballybrood, and county of Limerick, valued at 1*l.* 12*s.* it was proved, that all the tithes of the said parish belonged to promovent, and that two-thirds of the tithes were subtracted by the impugnant.

Hanley against *Ryan* and others....Seven lambs and forty-two sheep, 8*s.* 2*d.*....one acre of oats and potatoes, 3*s.*....half an acre of oats, 1*s.* 6*d.*....seven acres of meadow, at 1*s.* 6*d.* per acre, 10*s.* 6*d.*

1767....They had two acres of potatoes, 10*s.*....two acres of new potatoes, 12*s.*....three roods of oats, 2*s.* 3*d.*....six acres of meadow, at 1*s.* 6*d.* an acre....forty-one sheep, and twelve lambs, at 2*d.* a piece, 8*s.* 10*d.*

1768....They had four acres of potatoes, 1*l.*....half an acre of new potatoes, 3*s.*....six acres of meadow, 9*s.*

September 1, 1769....Knockgraffon.

The Reverend *Nicholas Herbert* against *Parker*....Eight acres of wheat, at 5*s.* an acre.

Massey against *Smithwick*....Oats one acre and an half, 6*s.* on the lands of Ballynagrana, in the parish of Emly.

Morgan against *Fitzpatrick*....Ballydarid, diocese of Cashel. One acre and an half of bere, 7*s.* 6*d.*....two acres of meadow, at 2*s.* 6*d.* each, 5*s.*....three acres of oats, at 2*s.* 6*d.* each, 7*s.* 6*d.*

February 16, 1771.

Doctor Jervais against the *Morrisey's*....Half an acre of potatoes, 4*s*....one acre and a half of wheat, 12*s*....six acres of meadow, 18*s*....two acres of oats, 8*s*....one acre of wheat and some potatoes, 8*s*....one acre of wheat and some potatoes, 6*s*....one acre of wheat and some potatoes, 8*s*....half an acre of potatoes and oats, 3*s*....half an acre of wheat 4*s*....half an acre of potatoes, 4*s*....one acre of oats and potatoes, 6*s*.

Cooper against *Glissan*....One acre of oats, 3*s*. 6*d*. one acre of bere, 5*s*....two acres of wheat, 10*s*....two acres of rape, 14*s*.

February 8, 1772.

Lloyd against *Hourigan*....Subtracted in 1770, an orchard, on the lands of Grange, in the parish of Cahirconlish, two-thirds of the tithes, 1*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. and on the lands of Knockeen, another orchard, two-thirds of the tithes of which, 16*s*. 8*d*.

Handley against *Sadlier*....Thirty acres of meadow, at 1*s*. 1*d*. an acre....twelve acres of meadow, at 1*s*. 6*d*....an acre.... Decreed, with 6*s*. 8*d*. cost. Note, the lands in the Union of Toom.

January 23, 1773.

Blake against *Bryan*....Brittas in the parish of Thurles, impugnant, in 1771 subtracted two one half acres of potatoes, at 7*s*. 6*d*....one acre of barley, at 5*s*....eighteen acres of meadow, at 3*s*....And in 1772 he subtracted seven one-half acres, at 8*s*....four one-half acres of bere, at 7*s*....four one-half acres of barley, at 5*s*....eight acres of oats, at 5*s*....twelve acres of meadow, at 3*s*.

January 8, 1774.

Moore against *several Persons*....Barley 6*s*. 6*d*. an acre..... wheat, 7*s*....meadow, 2*s*. 6*d*....potatoes 8*s*....in the parish of Emly.

Rial against *several persons*....Five one-half acres of potatoes, 1*l*. 13*s*....two acres of oats, 8*s*....one one-half acre of meadow, 6*s*....one acre of rape, 8*s*....Killenaule, decreed with 6*d*. cost in each.

Cooper against *Glissan*....Bere, 5*s*. an acre....oats, 4*s*. an acre.... oats, 3*s*. 6*d*. an acre....wheat 5*s*. Deanesgrove in the parish of the Rocks.

Herbert against *M'Encraw*....Wheat 8*s*. an acre....oats, 3*s*. 6*d*. ....bere and flax, 6*s*....potatoes, 8*s*. Knockgraffon parish.

February 2, 1775.

Lockwood against *Mockler*....Barley, 5*s*. an acre....oats, 3*s*. 6*d*....bere, one one-fourth acre, 6*s*. 3*d*. Ardmayle parish.

Lockwood against *Meagher*....Bere, 5*s*. an acre....oats, 3*s*. 6*d*....wheat 6*s*. Ardmayle parish.

January 20, 1778.

Cooper against *Cunningham*....Thurlesbegg, the parish of the Rocks, oats, 3*s*. 6*d*. an acre....barley, 5*s*....rape, 8*s*.

1780.

Riall against *Freehy*....Ballingarry parish, wheat, 5*s*. an acre.... potatoes, 2*s*....oats, 10*d*....subtracted in 1777.

Tierney against *Cleary* and others....Parish of Tennor, potatoes, 6*s*. an acre....wheat 7*s*. bere, 6*s*....oats, 4*s*.

Shaw against *Carroll*....Ballyshehan parish, two thirds of the tithes; two hundred and sixty-five barrels of potatoes, growing on four one-half acres, at 3*s*. 6*d*. a barrel, 3*l*. 1*s*. 3*d*.... forty-two barrels of wheat, on seven acres, 2*l*. 15*s*....sixty-four barrels of bere on four acres, 1*l*. 10*s*. 3*d*....in all 7*l*. 6*s*. 6*d*. with 1*l*. cost.

Hare against *same*....Two hundred and sixty-five barrels of potatoes, one-third of the tithes thereof, 1*l*. 9*s*. 8½*d*....forty-two barrels, one-third of the tithes thereof, 1*l*. 8*s*. 2*d*....sixty-four barrels of bere, one-third of the tithes thereof, 13*s*. 7½*d*....Decree, with 1*l*. cost.

Same against *Mary Strang*....Two thousand three hundred and fifty barrels of potatoes, one-half of the tithe of which, 22*l*. 1*s*. 5*d*....bere, one-hundred and twenty-eight barrels, one-half of the tithe of which, 2*l*. 6*s*. 4*d*....oats, one hundred and forty-three barrels, one-half of the tithe of which, 2*l*. 3*s*. 8*d*....flax, one-half of the tithe of which, 5*s*....hay, one hundred and twenty-five tons, one-half of the tithe of which, 6*l*. 5*s*....in all, 33*l*. 1*s*. 4*d*. The archbishop took time to consider.

July 16, 1780.

Same against *Mary Strang*....Nave for the impugnant prayed to be let into the merits, but his grace over-ruled him....Nave then tendered 10*l*. 4*s*. 9*d*. as a compensation, which the promovent refused....Griffith prayed sentence, which was decreed by his grace for 33*l*. 1*s*. 4*d*. with 1*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. costs.

August 12, 1782.

Massey against *Murnane*....Meadow, five acres, 1*l*. and 1*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. cost.

October 7, 1782.

Shaw against *Mahony*...Ordered, that Gilbert Meara, the proctor of Cæsar Sutton, be enjoined from collecting or demanding tithes from any of the parishioners of Ballysheehan, which are claimed by said Sutton.

Hare against *Strang*....Decree, that the appeal is deserted in pain, and that a monition shall issue for 33*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* pursuant to the rule of the 16th July, 1781.

March 10, 1783.

Lloyd against *Hoops*....60 acres of meadow, producing 240 tons, valued 16*l.*....10 acres, 40 tons, 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*.....6048 stone of potatoes, at 1*d.* per stone....the tithe in all 2*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* and 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* cost.

Ryan against *Madden*....Decree for 4*s.* 6*d.* for the tithe of two acres of meadow, and 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* cost.

Moore against *Pat. Moroney*....1 acre potatoes, producing 60 barrels, at 9*s.* 9*d.* per barrel, that is 2*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* per acre....4 acres of meadow, at two one-half tons per acre at 1*l.* a ton.

June, 1785.

Ryan against *Greene*....4 acres and three-fourths potatoes, at 64 barrels, containing 4256 stone, the tithe 425 stone at 4*d.* per stone, amount to 5*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*....flax 2 acres and one-half, 160 stone, the tithe, 16 stone at 4*s.* 3*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*....oats, 4 acres and one-quarter, containing 232 stone, the tithe 43 stone at 6*d.* per stone, 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*....meadow ten acres, 30 tons, the tithe 3 tons, at 2 guineas per acre, 6*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* in all 16*l.* 8*s.* 3*d.*

Parish of Balingarry, June 26, 1784.

Preston against *Clifford*....In 1783, 420 stone of potatoes, tithe at 3*d.* per stone, amount to 10*s.* 6*d.*....oats 48 stone, tithe at 9*d.* per stone, 3*s.* 4½*d.*....barley, 196 stone, tithe at 8*d.* per stone, 13*s.*....hay, 10 tons, tithe whereof 1 ton, 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Decree, and 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* cost.

July 26, 1784.

Walsh against *Fanning*....Parish Kilcooly, in 1783, had two one-half ton, at 20*s.* per, the tithe 5 cwt. value 5*s.*....potatoes, 100 barrels at 8*s.* per, the tithe 1*l.* 10*s.*....oats 5 barrels, tithe half barrel, value 3*s.* 6*d.* in all 1*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* Decree, and 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* cost.

It appears from one of these decrees, that in the year 1780, a demand is brought for two hundred and sixty-five barrels of potatoes, as two-thirds of the tithe of the parish of Ballysheegan. By what learned process the proctor or evidence can prove this precise value, or whether he has measured the crop, I cannot say, but I most strongly suspect the contrary; and then his valuation is a false and arbitrary accuracy, and his subdivision of the crop is a trick to increase the charge. The minuteness of charge is the multiplication of oppression. Do not imagine that the proprietor of tithe cannot proceed otherwise

than by this species of minute valuation, for I have read you the report of suits brought in a different manner, to which I beg you may advert. This method appears from the report, an innovation; it is tithing by mouthfuls.

It appears from this decree, that these two hundred and sixty-five barrels of potatoes, were the produce of four acres and an half; the charge appears to be 4*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* that is near 1*l.* the acre for potatoes; the case goes on and charges for forty-two barrels of wheat, (not measured, I apprehend) 4*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* value 20*s.* the barrel, and as this appears to arise from seven acres, the charge is 12*s.* the acre; to this is added, 20*s.* cost.

The case that follows this, is a demand brought for one-third of the tithe, and proceeds exactly on the same principles of crafty minuteness, false accuracy, and real oppression.

In these cases you will recollect, that there should ever be made a difference between the field price and market price: the field price is what the crop is worth at the time, and in the state in which the parson's right accrues; and the market price is that to which the parson has no right. These distinctions do not seem always to have been religiously adhered to by these clerical judges.

The next case I shall observe on is, a demand brought for two thousand three hundred and fifty barrels of potatoes, one hundred and twenty-eight barrels of bere, and one hundred and forty-eight barrels of oats. On what evidence? Who was the laborious indefatigable man who went through the long process of measuring and weighing this ponderous and bulky produce? This is the case of Mrs. Strang, and the result of this charge is, a decree for 33*l.* 14*s.* and 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* cost. There is no necessity for knowledge of fact to support such a demand; the evidence does it by his power of guessing, by his craft, his sagacity; which, it seems, before such a tribunal, is satisfactory. You think this measure by the barrel a criminal ingenuity; but they carry it much farther, they swear to the stone. I have read you a suit brought for six thousand and forty-eight stone of potatoes; but there is a case which sums up all the principles which I have stated and objected to; it is the case of Ryan against Greene. In this four acres and a quarter of potatoes are alleged to have contained four thousand two hundred and sixty-six stone, and are tithed at 5*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* which is above one guinea an acre for potatoes; two acres and a half of flax are alleged to contain one hundred and sixty stone, and are charged above 3*l.* 4*s.* above a guinea an acre for flax; four acres and a quarter of oats, alleged to contain four hundred and thirty-two stone, are charged 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* about 5*s.* the acre; ten acres of meadow, alleged to contain thirty ton, are charged at 6*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* that is above 12*s.* the acre meadow; the decree went for the sum

charged, 16*l.* 8*s.* 3*d.* and the cost 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* An observation which aggravates even this case, will occur, when I tell you this charge was made in a year of famine....the famine of 1783, when an embargo was laid on your exports, and the people nourished by contribution. There is another aggravation even to this; they charge a famine price, and calculate a plenty produce, and avail themselves of both.

There is another case of scarcity, where a suit is brought for four hundred and thirty stone of potatoes, valued at 3*d.* per stone, a price of scarcity; for forty-eight stone of oats, a price of scarcity; and for ten tons of hay, valued at 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* the ton, a price of scarcity, decreed with 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* costs. Another case of scarcity....where a demand is made for six hundred and thirty stone of potatoes, valued at 3*d.* per stone, a price of scarcity; ninety-six stone of oats, valued at 9*d.* per stone, a price of scarcity; eleven tons of hay, at 2*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* the ton....total tithe, 3*l.* 16*s.* decreed with 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* costs; and these seem to be the case of poor peasants, who have but six hundred or four hundred stone of potatoes, valued at 3*d.* a stone, in a hard year, in the famine of 1783, decreed with the aggravation of the highest costs the law would allow.

But there is a case of a most extraordinary appearance....a case which rises on famine. I do not see that any decree was made upon it; one acre of potatoes is alleged to contain sixty barrels of potatoes, and each barrel is valued at 9*s.* 9*d.*...that is 2*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* tithe for the acre of potatoes.

With regard to the legality of the conduct of a clergyman, who in rating his parishioners, takes advantage of a famine, and brings up as it were the rear of divine vengeance, and becomes in his own person, the last great scourge of the husbandman.... with regard to the legality of the conduct of a clergyman, who not only takes the advantage of famine, but joins a famine price to a plenty produce, and by one and the same act punishes human industry, and aggravates physical misfortune....as to the legality of such a conduct, I shall say nothing....it may be perfectly consistent with his temporal claims, but blasts his spiritual pretensions....for ever.

After these oppressions, the most grievous kind of oppressions....oppressions by judgment of law, you would hardly listen to the minor grievance where the decree shall be for 1*l.* and the costs 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*....where the decree shall be for 4*s.* and costs 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* There are several of this kind....but this would seem the mercy of the court admonishing the peasantry never to appear again before such a tribunal.

From these instances I may infer, that the peasantry must look for redress to parliament, and will not find it in the spiritual courts, which, from their distance, from the uncertainty of their

session, from their constitution, and from their judgments, must rather give the tithe-farmer a confidence in extortion, than the husbandman a confidence in the law. From these instances, I think I have proved, that there has existed such a thing as excess of demand....excess of demand without remedy; and this excess would be better understood, if you compare the ratages of the South with those of other parts of the kingdom.

Here Mr. Grattan observed, that two material differences existed: first, that potatoes were tithed no where but in the South; secondly, that the other articles of tillage were tithed no where so high as in the South; that there were some few parishes, 'tis true, in the North, and some parts of counties that bordered on Munster, where potatoes were tithed; but that the instances were few, and the exception proved the rule.

That the other articles of tillage were not tithed so high in other places, after making every allowance for difference of soil.

Here Mr. Grattan stated the ratages which were usual in the other provinces, and which were much less than those exacted in the South, which, he said, appeared to be the region of poverty, exaction and tumult, and that the tumult seemed commensurate with the exaction, which, he said, fell particularly heavy on those who were the least able to pay. He shewed, that in the other provinces, that not only the tithe on tillage was less, but that there were certain modusses in some of their counties for articles, which, in the South, was heavily tithed....Thus, in the North, there was a modus for flax six-pence, be the quantity ever so great. That, in part of Connaught there was a modus for hay, six-pence per farm, be the quantity ever so great. That, considering the exemption of potatoes, these modusses, and the ratages on tillage in the other parts of the kingdom, two observations must arise, 1st, either that the clergy were greatly cheated in the three parts of Ireland, or that the people were greatly oppressed in the South; 2dly, that you must raise the ratages of the clergy in Ulster, Connaught, and Leinster, or you must now check them in Munster. Are you prepared for the former of those events? Are you prepared in Connaught and Ulster to pay 12*s.* or 14*s.* for potatoes and 12*s.* the acre for flax? Are you prepared in Ulster for the Compensation-bill, and the Magistracy-bill, which must accompany and enforce such efforts to introduce among you those exactions which oppress Munster? It is true, the North is teized in some counties, by small-dues, which it is a part of my scheme to put an end to, and make a compensation to the clergy.

The ratages of the South will be still better understood by comparing them with her own ratages at a former period....

that from every information he could collect, they had greatly increased. This will be a very proper subject for your committee.

That he had affidavits to produce stating the encrease, which was rapid and exorbitant, bearing no proportion whatsoever to the general increase in the value of things. That these affidavits seemed warranted by current testimony of public opinion, and particularly by extracts from the decrees of the Vicar's Court, where it appeared, not from one decree, but a course of decrees, that the acreable ratages of late had greatly encreased.

Here he read some of the decrees before referred to. That it had been said, that in the diocese of Cork and Ross, the ratages had not encreased these last thirty years. That he was willing to rest the case on that principle, and if the ratages in the South had not within those last thirty years greatly encreased, he was willing to give up the question; and he desired a committee to investigate and determine that important point. That this encroachment, on which he insisted, was the more inexcusable, when we considered the great increase of tillage in the South, which of itself would have encreased the incomes of the clergy, even though they had diminished their ratages; the causes of the increase of tillage make the encrease of ratage improper as well as unnecessary; because they are in some degree artificial; the bounty on corn is an artificial cause. That bounty should not be tithed. The effect of that bounty has not been prevented; but the full operation of it has been checked by excessive tithe, and has been interrupted by tumult, the companion of these excessive demands, so that the excess of tithe re-acts on the premium, and makes it doubtful whether the plough shall advance under the bounty, or go back under the tithe.

Another artificial cause of the growth of your tillage in the South, is your want of manufacture: a poor and rapid population, that cannot be employed in manufacture must be employed in husbandry; but then it is the miserable and experimental husbandry; what Mr. Young calls an execrable tillage on bog or mountain, which by the laws of England would be for seven years exempt from tithes, and which by the laws of Ireland ought to be so. You have two acts, one exempting newly reclaimed ground from tithe of flax or hemp for seven years; and another exempting reclaimed bog, provided ten acres shall be reclaimed, from tithe generally for seven years; but why not as in England, exempt all newly reclaimed ground from all manner of tithe for seven years?

Here Mr. Grattan mentioned, that he learned, in some of the Western parts of the county of Cork, they rated the mountaineers higher than in many parts of the richest low land; charging them by the spade length a sum, which, when applied to the acre, was equal to 20 or 30*s.* the plantation acre. These parts and their inhabitants, he understood, were entirely consigned to the dominion of the tithe-proctor or tithe farmer, and were equally savage, and oppressed, and turbulent.

This encroachment, this disproportion, and this excess, which I have already particularized, are the more to be lamented, because the law does not administer the remedy. The ecclesiastical courts I have proved to afford no redress whatever; I have shewn that their judgments are not founded in moderation, and are not always founded in law.

The right of setting out the tithe has not always proved, in the case of the poor, a security against illegal demands, and does not affect to be a security against unconscionable demands.

By the law, the tenant must give forty-eight hours notice, and bind himself to a day, whether fair or foul. In the case of potatoes, he must, if the parson does not choose to attend, leave the ridge in the field, which may prevent his sowing winter corn, and be the difference between the profit on wheat and on oats. The tenant cannot dig his potatoes till October, he seldom does till November; and he must use them in August, because the stock of last year is exhausted. Now, the digging a bowl of potatoes is by construction in the ecclesiastical courts, the subtraction, not of the particular tithe, but of the tithes of the year: for simplicity of suit they construe subtraction of one prœdial tithe to be subtraction of the whole; and for extent of power, that is, for the sake of bringing the whole under their jurisdiction, they construe potatoes to be prœdial tithe. Thus the necessity of the year brings the peasant under the lash of ecclesiastical authority, that great scourge of the farmer.

In the last year, the peasantry very generally set out their tithe, and the clergy in several instances refused to draw; they did so in several instances where there was no illegal combination, unless a combination among themselves, to deprive the peasant of a right to set out his tithes, and get an *ex post facto* law to collect their tithe in a new, summary, and oppressive mode. Sir, it will be proved, that the countryman has waited day after day until the parson should draw his tithe. It will be proved, that he has left his crop in the field until it has become green. It will be proved, that he has offered to the parson or proctor to hire them horses to draw their tithe. It will be proved, that he has offered to draw it home at his own expence.

Here Mr. Grattan read a notice from a landholder to a clergyman, informing him, that he should draw on such a day, and offering to lend the parson horses and cars, to draw his tithe wherever he should appoint; and he observed, that the parson had refused. He also observed, that an offer had been made to a clergyman by a gentleman, to draw, keep, and preserve the tithe in the gentleman's haggard, if the clergyman did not choose to keep it in his own; which offer, Mr. Grattan stated, to have been refused; the clergyman choosing to recover by a compensation, or an *ex post facto* law, which went to deprive the countryman of his common right, without any proof of his guilt.

That if such a bill was permitted it would take from the countryman, in some of the cases mentioned above, not the tenth, but the fifth; for the tenant had lost by weather the tithe severed and set out, and was likely to pay another tithe by act of parliament. That this would be, not compensation, but robbery, and the worst species of robbery, robbery by authority of parliament; it would be to take the most decided and unconstitutional part, in a case where this house affected to take no part at all; and where it declined every kind of information whatsoever, to enable it to take any part with dignity, justice, or effect; and that by such a step we should put the Irish farmer with respect to his tithe, on ground very different from that of the English farmer, and much more disadvantageous.

That the law in England does not require forty-eight hours. That where the tithe is left too long on the ground, the law of England gave the owner of the land an action on the case against the parson for his negligence. You give the parson a compensation for his negligence.

If tithes set out remain too long on the ground, the law of England gives the owner of the land a right to take those tithes as damage faisant; if sued for them, he is to set forth how long they remained on the premises, and the jury (whom your bill excludes, and thus indirectly stigmatizes) is to decide. By the law of England the care of the tithe, after severance, rests with the parson. In England, where the tithe of corn was set out, and the parson would not take it, but prayed a remedy in the ecclesiastical court, a prohibition against the parson was granted.

See how much more care the law of England takes of the husbandman; how much more attention it affords him than the law of the parliament of Ireland: and it is one of the charges and allegations of the husbandman of the south;

"That in certain parishes, the parishioners have duly and "legally set out their tithes, have given due notice, and have

" taken all the legal steps; but that no person has attended on " the part of the clergyman, under the expectation, they con- " ceive, of getting some new method of recovery, hitherto un- " known to the law, and tending to deprive, by a past opera- " tion, the parish of the benefit of its ancient right and privi- " lege of setting out the tithe."

This oppression connects itself with another part of this subject, a very obnoxious, a very oppressive, and a very notorious part of it, the tithe-farmer. The farming of any revenue is a pernicious idea. It is the practice of absolute kings, who, anxious about their riches, and careless about their people, get a fixed income from some desperate adventurer, and then let loose on the community, this animal of prey, at once destitute of remorse, and armed with authority.

In free countries such a practice is not permitted. You would not allow it to the king, and you ought not to allow it to the church. It is an evil in politics, but a scandal in religion; and the more dangerous in the latter, because tithe being indefinite, the latitude of extortion is indefinite. The use of the tithe-farmer is to get from the parishioner, what the parson would be ashamed to demand, and to enable the clergyman to absent himself from his duty: the powers of the tithe-farmer are summary laws and ecclesiastical courts; his livelihood is extortion; his rank in society is generally the lowest, and his occupation is to pounce on the poor in the name of the Lord. He is a species of wolf, left by the shepherd to take care of the flock in his absence; he fleeces both, and begins with the parson.

Here Mr. Grattan stated, that the tithe-farmer seldom got less than one-fourth of the money collected; but sometimes one-third. That there where instances where he got even more, and had reduced the parson to the state of a poor pensioner, on his own living. That he had heard, that in one of the disturbed parishes, the parish had wished to come to a good understanding with the clergyman, and to pay him in person, but that the tithe-farmer had obstructed such an accommodation, and had by his mercenary intervention prevented concord, moderation and composition; parishes were not only subject to one tithe-farmer, but, in some cases, were cursed with a legion of them. A non-resident clergyman shall employ a tithe-farmer, who shall set the tithe over again, to two blacksmiths, who go among the flock like two vultures. A tithe-farmer shall, on being questioned, give the following account of himself: That he held the tithe from one, who had them from an officer, who held them from a clergyman, who did not reside in a parish, where there were resident no dean, no rector, no vicar, no schoolmaster; where the whole business of Christianity, on the Protestant side, was transacted by a curate at 50*l.* a year;

and as the parish has been disturbed by the tithe-farmer or proctor, so has it in some cases been quieted in getting rid of him. I have known a case where the parish made, with their clergyman, the following agreement: Sir, we pay your proctor 800*l.* a year, and he gives you 600*l.* We will give you 600*l.* and become your collectors and your security. In another living, the parish paid the proctor 450*l.* a year, and the proctor paid the parson 300*l.* The parishioners became the collector and the security, paid the clergyman 300*l.* a year, took for their trouble 30*l.* and eased the parish of 120*l.*; the consequence was peace: and the more you investigate this subject, the more you will find, that the disturbance of the people, and the exactions of the church, have been commensurate; and that the peace of the former has attended the moderation of the latter; nor is it only the excess of exaction which makes the tithe-farmer a public misfortune....his mode of collection is another scourge. He puts his charges into one or more notes, payable at a certain time; if not then discharged, he serves the countryman with a summons, charging him 6*d.* for the service, and 1*s.* for the summons; he then sometimes puts the whole into a Kerry-bond or instrument, which bears interest: he then either keeps the bond over his head, or issues out execution, and gets the countryman's body and goods completely into his power. To such an abuse is this abominable practice carried, that in some of the southern parts of Ireland, the peasantry are made tributary to the tithe-farmer; draw home his corn, his hay, and his turf, for nothing; give him their labour, their cars, and their horses, at certain times of the year, for nothing. These oppressions not only exist, but have acquired a formed and distinct appellation....tributes: tributes to extortioners; tributes paid by the poor in the name of the Lord. To oppression we are to add intoxication; the drunkenness and idleness, which not seldom attend the method in which the tithe-farmer settles his accounts with the poor parishioners devoted to his care; the place in which he generally settles these accounts, makes his bargains, and transacts his business, is the alehouse. He sometimes, I am told, keeps one himself, or he has a relation who gets a licence to sell ale and spirits, because his friend is employed by the church, and will bring him custom.

Do you, gentlemen, sign your leases in the alehouse? What should you think of a steward who made your tenants drunk, when he should collect your rents? And what should a clergyman think of of his tithe-farmer, who made his flock drunk, when he collected or settled his tithes, and bathed in whiskey this precious offering, this primæval property, held by some to be the very essence of religion, and not only most ancient, but divine?

To this loss of industry you are to add, the loss of revenue.... (where, as in some cases I am told) the revenue officer is the tithe-farmer, and in that most suspicious and deadly combination of fraudulent capacities, overcharges in tithe, and undercharges in tax: that is compensates to the countryman, by robbing the king, and adds to the crime of exaction the offence of spoliation, and profits by both. I appeal to the commissioners of the revenue, whether they have not good reason to suspect such practices? And I appeal to some of a right reverend bench, whether this be the only commutation, which in their opinion is practicable or proper? Under this head it is alleged, that in certain parishes in the south, tithe-farmers have oppressed, and do oppress his majesty's subjects, by various ways of extortion, by assuming to themselves arbitrarily and cruelly, powers which the law does not give, and by making an oppressive use of those powers which the law has put into their hands. And this the parishioners are ready to verify on oath.

To these evils are we to add another, which is the principal source of them all....the uncertainty of tithe....the full tenth ever must be oppressive.

A tenth of your land, your labour, and your capital, to those who contribute in no shape whatsoever to the produce, must be oppression; they only think otherwise, who suppose, that every thing is little which is given to the parson; that no burden can be heavy, if it be the weight of the parson; that landlords should give up their rent, and tenants the profits of their labour, and all too little: but uncertainty argravates that oppression, the full tenth ever must be uncertain as well as oppressive, for it is the fixed proportion of a fluctuating quantity, and unless the high priest can give law to the winds, and ascertain the harvest, the tithe, like that harvest, must be uncertain; but this uncertainty is aggravated by the pernicious motives on which tithe frequently rises and falls. It frequently rises on the poor....it falls in compliment to the rich. It proceeds on principles the reverse of the gospel; it crouches to the strong, and it encroaches on the feeble; and is guided by the two worst principles in society, servility and avarice united, against the cause of charity, and under the cloak of religion.

Here let me return to, and repeat the allegations, and call on you once more to make the enquiry. It is alleged, that in certain parishes of the south, tithe has been demanded, and paid, for what, by law, was not liable to tithe: and that the ecclesiastical courts have countenanced the illegal exaction; and evidence is offered at your bar to prove the charge on oath. Will you deny the fact? Will you justify the fact? Will you enquire into it?

It is alleged, that tithe-proctors in certain parishes of the south do exact fees for agency oppressive and illegal; and evidence to prove the charge is offered on oath. Will you deny the fact? Will you justify the fact? Will you enquire into it?

It is alleged, that in certain parishes of the south, tithes have been excessive, and have observed no equity for the poor, the husbandman, or the manufacturer: and evidence is offered to prove this charge on oath. Will you deny the fact? Will you justify the fact? Will you enquire into it?

It is alleged, that in certain parishes of the south, ratages for tithes have greatly and unconscionably increased; and evidence is offered to prove this charge on oath. Will you deny the fact? Will you justify the fact? Will you enquire into it?

It is alleged, that in certain parishes of the south, the parishioners have duly and legally set out their tithe, and given due notice; but that no persons have attended on the part of proctor or parson, under expectation, it is apprehended, of getting some new method of recovery, tending to deprive the parish of the benefit of its ancient right, that of setting out their tithe; and evidence is offered to prove this charge on oath.

It is alleged, in certain parishes in the south, tithe-farmers have oppressed and do oppress his majesty's subjects, by various extortions, abuses of law, or breaches of the same; and evidence is offered to prove this charge on oath. Here, once more I ask you, will you deny the fact? Will you justify the fact? Will you enquire into it?

This being the state of the church in certain parishes in the south, I wish to know, what in the mean time within those districts becomes of religion? Here are the parson and parish at variance, about that which our religion teaches us to despise.... riches. Here is the mammon of unrighteousness set up to interrupt our devotion to the true God. The disinterested, the humble, the apostolical character during this unseemly contest, what becomes of it? Here are two powers....the power in the tenant to set out his tithe, the power in the church to try the matter in dispute by ecclesiastical jurisdiction....two powers vested by the law in the respective hands of church and laity, without any effect but to torment one another: the power of setting of tithe does not affect to defend the tenant against unconscionable demand; and if attended with combination secures him against any effectual demand whatsoever. The power of trying the matter in dispute by ecclesiastical jurisdiction, does not take place, except in case of subtraction, and when it does take place is a partial trial. Thus, as the law now stands, combination is the defence of laity, and partiality of the church.

The equity in favour of the tiller of the soil (a very necessary equity indeed) becomes a new source of disturbance, because the parties are not agreed what that equity should be....the countryman, not conceiving that any one can, in equity, have a right to the tenth of his land, labour, and capital, who does not own the land, nor plow, nor sow, nor reap, nor contribute in any degree whatsoever to the produce. The tithe-farmer having no idea, but that of iniquity, on the subject. The parson perhaps conceiving, that a tenth on tillage is a bare compensation in equity, for what he deems the greatest of all iniquity, your vote of agistment. Thus, the two parties, the parson and his parish, the shepherd and his flock, with opposite opinions, and mutual powers of annoyance in the parts I have alluded to, seem to go on in a rooted animosity and silent war.

Conceive the pastor looking over the hedge like a spy, to mulct the extraordinary labours of the husbandman.

Conceive him coming into the field, and saying "you are a "deserving husbandman....you have encreased the value of your "field by the sweat of your brow! Sir, I'll make you pay me "for that,"....or conceive a dialogue between a shepherd and one of his flock; "I will take your tenth sheaf; and if you chuse "to vex me, your tenth hen, and your tenth egg, and your tenth "goose," (not so the apostles)....or conceive him speaking to his flock by parable, and saying, "the ass stopped with his "burden; and his burden was doubled, and still he stopped, "and his burden was still encreased....and then the perverse "animal finding his resistance in vain, went on; so even you "shall find resistance but encrease your load, until the number "of acts of parliament shall break your back."

These pastoral discourses, if they have taken place, however well intended, will not, I fear, greatly advance the cause of the faithful, particularly in a country, where the numbers remain to be converted to the Protestant religion, not only by the superior purity of its doctrine, but by the mild disinterested peace-making spirit of its teachers.

Will not the dignitaries of the church interpose on such an occasion? how painful must it have been to them, the teachers of the gospel, and therefore enemies to the shedding of blood, to have thought themselves under the repeated necessity of applying to parliament for sanguinary laws; the most sanguinary laws on your statute books are tithe-bills; the White-boy act is a tithe-bill; the Riot act is a tithe-bill.

How painful to those dignitaries must it be to feel themselves in the office of making perpetual complaints against their own flock, and to be conscious, in some instances, of having jaded and disgusted the ears of the court, by charges against the peasantry? How painful to them to have repeated recourse to the

military in their own case, and to think that many of their sinful flock, but their flock notwithstanding, were saved from the indiscriminating edge of the sword by ecclesiastical zeal, tempered and withheld, and in some cases disappointed by the judicious mercy of military command?

We, the laity, were right in taking the strongest measures the last session: it was our duty to assert; but of these churchmen, it is the duty, and I suppose the nature, to deprecate, to incline to the mild, the meek, the dispassionate, and the merciful side of the question, and rather to prevent by moderation than punish by death.

Whether these exactions were in themselves sufficient to have produced all the confusion of the last year, I know not, but this I do believe, that no other cause had been sufficient without the aid of exaction; if exaction had not existed, the south would not, I believe, have been convulsed. A controverted election alone could not well have been an adequate cause; the objects of attack must, in some cases, have been something more than partisans, and the flame spread by contagion; the first torch must have been an accident, but the people were rendered combustible by oppression.

The Whiteboy should be hanged; but I think the tithe-farmer should be restrained; I would inflict death on the felon, and impose moderation on the extortioner; and thus relieve the community from the offences of both.

But do not let us so far mistake the case, as to suppose it a question between the parson and the Whiteboy; or that the animosity which has been excited is confined to felons; no, it is extended far more generally; it is extended to those who have been active in bringing those felons to justice; and men will appear at your bar who have suffered under excess of demand, and have acted to restore peace, the instrument of quiet, and the objects of exaction: let us therefore examine the subject, and having already with great propriety taken the most decisive steps against the insurgent, let us enquire now into the cause of the outrage, and see whether exaction might not have had some share, at least, in the origin of it; and if so, let us strive to form some plan which may collect the riches of the church, without repetition of penal laws or of public disturbance.

In forming a plan for the better provision of the church, the first thing to be considered is the quantum of provision; the second consideration is the fund from whence that provision is to arise; the quantum of provision should be the usual net income on an average of years, except in some parishes of great exaction; I say usual, because I would not materially alter their

allowance; I say on an average of years, because I would not make recent incroachment property; I say net, because when the public shall become the tithe proprietor's agent, the public will have a right to the benefit of the agency.

That their income is discoverable I affirm, and I affirm it under the authority of their own act, and their own practice; without going farther back than the last session, you will find the compensation act requires the person suing on the act to make a discovery of his customary income, and in some cases discovery of his ratages for three years back on oath; it requires that he should, in his affidavit, set forth that the valuation of 1786, is made as near as possible the ratage of the three former years; it requires that where a valuation of the tithe of 1786, could not be made, a valuation of the customary tithe for three years back should; it enables the court to appoint persons to enquire into the fact, and call for parties and papers, and thus establishes two principles, which were denied; that the annual income of benefices is discoverable, and that the particular ratage is discoverable also: I might go back to the act of Henry VIII. which requires that a commission should be directed to enquire into ecclesiastical benefices, and report the value of the same; and I might further adduce the act of William III. which gives to the ecclesiastical person who builds, two-thirds of the sum expended, which sum is to be ascertained by a certificate; which certificate, by the twelfth of George II. shall contain an account of the clear yearly income of the benefice. After these instances, I hope no man will deny that the income of the clergyman is discoverable; particularly, when the compensation act of the last winter requires such a discovery to be made on the oath of the parson. That act was supported by the whole bench of bishops; it was probably framed with their advice and suggestions. They would not require their clergy to report on oath what they themselves conceived, or had maintained to be impossible; as if it was impossible to make a discovery for the purpose of commutation, but for the purpose of compensation, easy and obvious. Thus, when I affirm the discoverability of the clergyman's income, I have not only the authority of the church, but its oath. The net return should be the parson's perpetual income, subject to the exception stated above; but in order to guard him against the fluctuation of currency, I would fix the value of that income in grain; it should be the value of so many barrels of wheat, to be estimated every seven years by the corn-office, or the clerk of the market, who now quarterly strikes the average value of corn throughout the kingdom. Thus, his income should not be absolutely either corn or money; but the value of so much corn to be paid in money.

As to the fund from whence these receipts should arise, that fund should be a charge on the barony, to be levied like other county charges; this method is easy, for it is already in use; the head constable should be the parson's collector, and the county should be his security.

To this I know the objection, and it is an objection which can be best answered by those who make it. It will be said, that this scheme prevents the division of unions, and the encrease of poor livings. Apply the first fruits as they ought for the encrease of poor livings, and the repairs of the church, and then you will answer your own argument; but a fictitious and remote valuation for the benefit of the rich clergy has been made of these charitable funds, frustrating the purpose of the charity equally to the neglect of the church and poor. The luxury of the priest has usurped the funds of the poor and of the church, then sets up against both a miserable modus, and prescribes in this instance against charity and religion.

However, if the dignitaries of the church will not, parliament may answer this argument, and provide for more clergy as occasion shall permit. You imparish by act of parliament; with proper provision, when you see the necessity, you may divide. The care of religion is placed no where better than in the legislature. Popery will tell you, that when it was entirely left to the care of the priesthood, it was perverted and destroyed.

But if difficulties should be made to this plan....and in order to give the church the growth of the country....there is another plan, a modus; let every article which shall be subject to tithe be set forth in a tithing table, with certain ratages annexed....let those ratages be taken, and set forth in the tithing table as now equivalent to so many stone of bread corn.

Let the act provide, that there shall be a septennial valuation of bread corn, by the clerk of the market, or the proper officer.

Let there be exemption for the rudiments of manufacture, and a saving for all local custom and exemptions....such as potatoes in most places, hay in several, and such like.

In order to form this modus, which should be provincial, not universal, let four provincial committees be appointed. You will see a precedent in your journals: on the report of these provincial committees, form your bill. In your bill you will probably think proper to give agistment, or a certain sum for head-money, not in addition to, but in ease of ratages on tillage.

In forming your ratages, you will probably enquire into the acreable ratages now established, and adopt them where they are reasonable, and reject them where they are exorbitant.... where there are no acreable ratages established, the contiguous

parish or county, where they are established, will furnish you with a rule.

If once you appoint committees, the parson and parish will both come forth with information....and from both you will collect the present ratages, and be enabled to make a rule. In forming this rule, you will probably think proper, to exempt the poor man's garden in the south from the tithe of potatoes.

The true principle with respect to your peasantry, is exoneration; and if I could not take the burden entirely off their back, I would make that burden as light as possible; I would exempt the peasant's cow and garden from tithe; if I could not make him rich, I would do the next thing in my power; I would consider his poverty as sacred, and vindicate against an extortioner the hallowed circle of his little boundary. The loss to the church might be easily compensated, particularly if you give agistment or head-money in ease of tillage.

I would also relieve the north from small dues, as I would relieve the poor of the south from the tithe of potatoes; and where these small dues had long obtained, I would make the parson compensation, either by giving him head-money, or by making an estimate of these dues, and raising them in the way of other county charges. Should it be said that we should as well exempt the peasant from rent as from tithe; to that uncharitable and unchristian observation, I answer, no. The land is not his own, but his labour is his own. The peasant is born without an estate; he is born with hands, and no man has a natural right to the labour of those hands, unless he pays him: thus, when you demand the peasant's rent, you ask for your own estate; when you demand tithe, you ask for a portion of the peasant's estate, the poor man's only estate, the inheritance which he has in the labour of his hand, and the sweat of his brow.

Human laws may make alterations, and when made, must be observed; but it should be the policy of human laws to follow the wisdom of the law of nature.

The result of these principles, and of these committees proceeding on the rules I have submitted, would be the benefit of the church, as well as the relief of the farmer, for establishing a modus on the average ratages of a certain number of years, except in cases of exaction, you would give the church as much as they have at present, except in those instances of unconscionable demand; and as the ratages would come net to the owner of the tithe, you would in fact, on this principle, give the church more; the spoil of the tithe-farmer would, therefore, enable you even to lower the ratage, and yet, give more to the church; so that the result would probably be, that the moderate clergyman would get more, and the uncharitable clergyman

would get less, which would be a distribution of justice, as well as of property. Having once agreed on the modus, I would wish to give the clergy or lay-impropriator, for the recovery of their income, any mode they choose to appoint, civil bill, or any other method, and then you will save them the charge and disgrace of an expensive agency, which expence arises from the difficulty of the recovery and the uncertainty of the demand; and if you add the facility and cheapness of collection with the certainty of income to the quantum under the modus on the principles I have stated, you will find the value of the church property would, even in the opinion of a notary public, be encreased, though the imaginary claim would be circumscribed and diminished. This is no commutation, no innovation; here is only a regulation of tithe, and an abolition of tithe-farmers, and of those abuses which have grown out of the uncertainty of tithe; it takes from tithe its deadly sting, uncertainty, and makes it cease to be a growing penalty on extraordinary labour; and it puts the question directly to the moderation of the church, will you insist on indefinite demand, and unconscionable ratage, as an essential part of the Christian religion, or the Protestant establishment? The Bill is the answer to this question, even though the clergyman should be silent; and it is therefore I press this method the more, because it does not involve the subject in speculation, nor rest the redress of the peasantry on the ingenuity of system, but makes that relief a matter of moderation, and of Christian charity: were you disposed to go farther you might form, on this regulation, a commutation which should more effectually relieve the plow, and should, at the same time, give the benefit of the growth of the country to the church: let a person in each parish be appointed in vestry by the parson and the parishioners, and if they do not agree, let each appoint their own, who shall every year make a return of acres under tillage to applotters, who shall make a valuation of the same according to a tithing table, such as I have stated to be established by act of parliament, and that valuation to be raised in the manner of other baronial charges; thus the parson's income would increase with the extent of tillage, without falling principally on the plow. The principle of this plan, if you choose to go beyond a modus, is obvious; the mechanical part of this, and of the other regulation which I have submitted, will be best detailed in the provincial committees, if you shall choose to appoint them, for, in fact, your plan must arise out of the enquiry, and the resolutions of these committees, and the great difficulty on the subject is your aversion to the enquiry. There are other difficulties, I allow, the difficulties of pride, the difficulties of passion, the difficulties of bigotry, contraction of the head, and hardness of the heart. Tithes are made more respectable than

and superior to any other kind of property. The high priest will not take a parliamentary title; that is, in other words, he thinks they have a divine right to tithe.

Whence? None from the Jews; the priesthood of the Jews had not the tenth; the Levites had the tenth, because they had no other inheritance; but Aaron and his sons had but the tenth of that tenth; that is, the priesthood of the Jews had but the hundredth part, the rest was for other uses; for the rest of the Levites, and for the poor, the stranger, the widow, the orphan, and the temple. But supposing the Jewish priesthood had the tenth, which they certainly had not; the Christian priesthood does not claim under them. Christ was not a Levite, nor of the tribe of Levi, nor of the Jewish priesthood, but came to protest against that priesthood, their worship, their ordinances, their passover, and their circumcision. Will a Christian priesthood say it was meet to put down the Jewish, but meet likewise to seize on the spoil; as if their riches were of divine right, though their religion was not; as if Christian disinterestedness might take the land, and the tithe given in lieu of land, and possessed of both, and divested of the charity, exclaim against the avarice of the Jews?

The Apostles had no tithe, they did not demand it; they and he whose mission they preached, protested against the principle on which tithe is founded. "Carry neither scrip, nor purse, "nor shoes; into whatever house ye go say, peace." Here is concord and contempt of riches, not tithe. "Take no thought "what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, nor for your bodies "what ye shall put on;" so said Christ to his Apostles. Does this look like a right in his priesthood to a tenth of the goods of the community?

"Beware of covetousness....seek not what ye shall eat, but "seek the kingdom of God."

"Give alms....provide yourselves with bags that wax not old, "a treasure in Heaven which faileth not." This does not look like a right in the Christian priesthood to the tenth of the goods of the community exempted from the poor's dividend.

"Distribute unto the poor, and seek treasure in Heaven."

"Take care that your hearts be not charged with surfeiting, "and drunkenness, and the cares of this life."

One should not think that our Saviour was laying the foundation of tithe, but cutting up the roots of the claim, and prophetically admonishing some of the modern priesthood. If these precepts are of divine right, tithes cannot be so; the precept which orders a contempt of riches, the claim which demands a tenth of the fruits of the earth for the ministers of the gospel.

The peasantry in apostolic times had been the object of charity, not of exaction. Those to whose cabin the tithe-farmer has gone for tithe of turf, and to whose garden he has gone for the tithe potatoes, the Apostles would have visited likewise; but they would have visited with contribution, not for exaction: the poor had shared with the Apostles, though they contribute to the churchman.

The gospel is not an argument for, but against the right divine of tithe; so are the first fathers of the church.

It is the boast of Tertullian, "*Nemo compellitur sed sponte* "*confert hæc quasi deposita sunt pietatis.*"

"With us men are not under the necessity of redeeming "their religion, what we have is not raised by compulsion, each "contributes what he pleases; *modicam unusquisque stipendium* "*vel cum velit, et si modo velit, et si modo posset;* what we re- "ceive we bestow on the poor, the old, the orphan, and the "infirm."

Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage, tells you, the expences of the church are frugal and sparing, but her charity great; he calls the clergy his *fratres spartulantes;* a fraternity living by contribution.

Forsake, says Origen, the priests of Pharaoh, who have earthly possessions, and come to us who have none: we must not consume what belongs to the poor; we must be content with simple fare, and poor apparel.

Chrysostome, in the close of the fourth century, declares, that there was no practice of tithes in the former ages; and Erasmus says, that the attempt to demand them was no better than tyranny.

But there is an authority still higher than the opinions of the fathers; there is the authority of a council; the council of Antioch, in the fourth century, which declares, that bishops may distribute the goods of the church, but must take no part to themselves, nor to the priests that lived with them, unless necessity required them justly; "have food and raiment, be "therewith content."

This was the state of the church in its purity; in the fifth century decimation began, and Christianity declined; then indeed the right of tithe was advanced, and advanced into a style that damned it. The preachers who advanced the doctrine placed all Christian virtue in the payment of tithe. They said that the Christian religion, as we say the Protestant religion, depended on it. They said, that those who paid not their tithes, would be found guilty before God; and if they did not give the tenth, that God would reduce the country to a tenth. Blasphemous preachers....gross ignorance of the nature of things.... impudent familiarity with the ways of God....audacious, assum-

ed knowledge of his judgments, and a false denunciation of his vengeance. And yet even these rapacious, blasphemous men did not acknowledge to demand tithe for themselves, but the poor....alms! the debt of charity....the poor's patrimony. "We "do not limit you to a precise sum; but you will not give less "than the Jews"....*decimæ sunt tributa egentium animarum redde tributa pauperibus.* Augustine goes on and tells you, that as many poor as die in your neighbourhood for want, you not paying tithe, of so many murders will you be found guilty, at the tribunal of God....*tantorum homicidiorum reus ante tribunal eterni judicis apparebit.* Let us, says St. Jerome, at least follow the example of the Jews, and part of the whole give to the priest and the poor. To these authorities we are to add, the decree of two councils....the provincial council of Mascon, in the close of the sixth century, and the decree of the council of Nantz, in the close of the ninth. The first orders that tithes may be brought in by the people, that the priest may expend them for the use of the poor, and the redemption of captives. The latter decrees, that the clergy are to use the tithes, not as a property, but a trust....*non quasi suis sed commendatis.*

It was not the table of the priest, nor his domestics, nor his apparel, nor his influence, nor his ambition; but a Christian equipage of tender virtues....the widow, the orphan, and the poor; they did not demand the tithe as a corporation of proprietors, like an East India Company, or a South Sea Company, with great rights of property annexed, distinct from the community, and from religion; but as trustees, humble trustees to God, and the poor, pointed out they presumed by excess of holiness and contempt of riches. Nor did they resort to decimation, even under these plausible pretensions, until forced by depredation committed by themselves on one another. The goods of the church of whatever kind, were at first in common, distributed to the support of the church, and the provision of the poor; but at length the more powerful part, those who attended the courts of princes; they who intermeddled in state affairs, the busy high priest, and the servile, seditious, clerical politician; and particularly the abbots who had engaged in war, and had that pretence for extortion, usurped the fund, left the business of prayer to the inferior clergy, and the inferior clergy to tithe and the people.

Thus the claim of tithe originated in real extortion, and was propagated by affected charity; at first, for the poor and the church, afterwards subject to the fourfold division, the bishop, the fabric, the minister, and the poor; this in Europe.

In England tithe is not founded on divine right, but was said to be introduced by murder. A King of Mercia in the seventh century assassinates another Prince in a most barbarous man-

ner, and grants, with what power I know not, the tenth of his subjects' goods, for absolution; but in England, as elsewhere, the fourfold division took place; so says Blackstone.

Nay the preamble of the grant of Stephen recognizes tithe to be alms.

Since it is divulged far and near by the church, that souls may receive absolution by the grant of alms, "I, Stephen, to "save my own soul, that of my father's, and that of my mother's, "and my relations."

Then he goes on and grants or confirms tithes and other things.

Nay, there are two acts of parliament express, one the 13th, Richard II. providing that for the appropriation of benefices, there shall be provision made for the vicar and the poor.*

The cause of this act of parliament were benefices given to persons who did not, or could not preach, lay persons, sometimes nuns, (as we give them to non-residents) to the neglect of the poor's portion.

These principles were departed from, and the trust most undoubtedly buried in oblivion; but let me add, the Christian religion was forgotten likewise.

Hence the reformation bringing back christianity to its old purity; and hence a superior and milder order of priests, who purged the spiritual and some of the temporal abominations, but did not entirely relinquish the claim to the tithe; though I must own great numbers have too much purity to insist on it; a claim which I have shewn to have been in its creation an encroachment on the laity, and in its application an encroachment on the poor. No divine right, no, nor natural right: the law of nature and the law of God are the same; the law of nature doth not give property, but the law of nature abhors that disproportion of property which is to be found in the claim of 900 or 1000 men to the 10th of the goods of 3,000,000; a claim in the 3000th part of the community to the 10th of its property; surfeit on the part of the few; famine on the part of the many; a distribution of the fruits of the earth; impossible, beastly, shocking in itself, and when accompanied with a claim to extravagant moderation and purity, ridiculous and disgusting; a claim against the proportions of Nature and the precepts of the gospel.

* Because divers damages and hindrances have oftentimes happened by the appropriation of benefices in some places; it is agreed, that in every licence it shall be expressly comprised, that the diocesan of the place shall ordain, according to the value of such churches, a convenient sum of money shall be paid and distributed yearly out of the fruits and profits of some churches to the poor parishioners of some churches in aid of their sustenance for ever; likewise that the vicar be well and sufficiently endowed. Statute Henry IV. confirms this act.

I know there are acts of parliament on this subject. The act of Henry VIII. which requires the setting out of the tithe; an act of collection, not creation; an act which had the lay impropriator in view, and which seems to take for granted a claim of superstition founded on the pretence of charity. I know there are many subsequent acts (which are called tithe bills) intended to assist the collection of customary, not full tithe, and in that confidence granted by parliament. I am not now enquiring whether the claim to the full tithe is legal, but whether the application of that tithe for the sole purpose of supporting the priest is an usurpation. And, I have shewn you that tithe was a charity, subject to the support of the poor in the first place, and the priest in the last. I have shewn you that tithe does not stand on the delicate ground of private property. I have shewn you, that it was a trust converted into a property, by abuse; which abuse the legislature may control, without sacrilege or robbery. If a right to the full tenth is yet insisted on, give them the full tenth, on the principles on which alone they at first ventured to demand it, subject to a poor rate; let the trust be executed; let widows and orphans share it; let the house of industry and the various hospitals and infirmaries share it; let the house of God (now a hovel repaired at the expence of parliament, though, by the cannon law, it should be repaired by the priesthood) share it; let the poorer order of peasantry share it. If the clergy will insist on taking the full tithes of his potatoes, if they take the staff out of his hands, they must carry the peasant on their shoulders. Thus, the clergy insisting on the *summum jus*, and the laity on the *summa justitia*, the former would not be richer by the change. I should on such a change, condole with the church, and congratulate the poor; and I should applaud the discretion, as well as the moderation, of those excellent pastors, who did not rake up from the ashes of superstition, this claim to the tenth, but were satisfied with competence and character, and brotherly love, and a right to live by their ministry, a right set forth in the gospel, and which nature had set forth, even though the gospel had been silent.

"Impracticable,....impracticable,....impracticable," a zealous divine will say, any alteration is beyond the power and wisdom of parliament; above the faculties of man to make adequate provision for 900 clergymen who despise riches! were it to raise a new tax for their provision, or for that of a body less holy, how easy the task! how various the means! but, when the proposal is to diminish a tax already established, an impossibility glares us in the face, of a measure so contrary to our practices both in church and state.

If you think the property of the church divine, and that when you affect it at all, you touch on holy things, then call the proposal and call the reformation prophane, sacrilegious, blasphemous, but never call the proposal impracticable. How are the clergy paid in Holland? by fixed salary. How in Scotland? by fixed salary, never less than 1000 marks, nor more than 3000; Are the clergy in Scotland deficient? Has history no obligation to the clergy of that sagacious people? How are the civil, military, and revenue establishments paid in Ireland? by fixed salary. You have not found it difficult, but fatally facile to create such salaries. In these last twenty years, you have created not a few, and you have done this for laymen, to whom salary was the principal object; but for the church, where the provision, the temporal consideration is but secondary, a moderate means for the support of the great duty of prayer; to suppose the regulation, or even moderation of that provision impracticable, annexes a most transcendent importance to what is gross and temporal, and a comparative insignificance to what is pure and spiritual, and throws a certain complection of grossness, and inabstinence on certain devout and most learned controversialists.

If indeed you conceive what is given in commutation should be equal to the tenth of your produce, the impracticability is admitted. While I admire the enormity of the suggestion, I acknowledge the impracticability of the execution of it. I believe the legislature will never agree to give them the tenth eitheir in commutation or tithe, both are impracticable, such a claim, and such a commutation, that 900 men should have the tenth of the property of 3,000,000; and you will find we are much more; the custom of the country, the modus of several places, your own vote of agistment, and above all the interest of religion, and of frugal piety forbid it; give them the tenth and you give away your religion; but if you mean a commutation for customary profits, not extravagant claims, I think I have shewn you that commutation is not impracticable; I have shewn you how their present livings can be discovered, and can be commuted: the value is not an impenetrable mystery; there is hardly a parish in which you could avoid to find twelve respectable parishioners who would ascertain their ratages, and their income; nor is there a clergyman who could not tell you, nor a tithe farmer, nor a tithe-proctor, nor a bishop, for he in his traffic with the minister about translation generally gives in a schedule of the value of the livings in his diocese. I think it unnecessary to add, that there are several acts, and one of the last session, requiring such a discovery, and the ratages in certain cases to be made on oath.

Men are apt to argue as if an error in that discovery might be fatal, as if the essence of religion was in the quantum of solid food, and as if 30*l.* a year more, or 30*l.* less, would be a difference decisive as to the propagation of the gospel. The inaccuracy that may attend the various ways of information on this subject cannot be much, and if it shall in a small degree lower the great livings and raise the small, cannot be fatal.

I should not wish to give the ministers of the gospel less than they have at present, except in some cases of hardship and extortion; but suppose some of them did receive less, would the church fall? The importance and the difficulty of accuracy on this question are both over-rated.

This objection of impracticability therefore against a commutation is but a pretence, and against a modus is not even a pretence; or is it impracticable to enquire into the present ratages, and on that information to proceed? If so, if this step is impracticable, the abuses that grow out of tithes are incurable, and then you ought to reject the system of tithe as an incorrigible evil, and recur to another mode of paying your clergy. If a modus be impossible, a commutation is necessary.

We are too apt to conceive public cares impracticable; every thing bold and radical in the shape of public redress is termed impracticable.

I remember when a declaration of right was thought impracticable; when the independency of the Irish parliament was thought impracticable; when the establishment of a free trade was thought impracticable; when the restoration of the judicature of our peers was thought impracticable; when an exclusion of the legislative power of the council was thought impracticable; when a limited mutiny-bill with Irish articles of war in the body of it, and the declaration of right in its front, was thought impracticable; when the formation of a tenantry-bill, for securing to the tenantry of Ireland their leasehold interest was thought impracticable; and yet those things have not only come to pass, but form the base on which we stand. Never was there a country, to which the argument of impracticability was less applicable than Ireland.

Ireland is a great capacity not yet brought into action; much has been civilized, much has been reclaimed, but something is to be redressed; the lower orders of the people claim your attention; the best husbandry is the husbandry of the human creature. What! can you reclaim the tops of your mountains, and cannot you improve your people? Every animal, except the tiger, (as I have heard) is capable of being reclaimed; the method is to feed, to feed after a long hunger; you have with your own peasantry began the process, and you had better complete the experiment.

Inadequate, inadequate! interposes the advocate for exaction; the rich will intercept the relief intended by parliament.

This objection supposes the condition of the peasantry to be poor in the last degree; it supposes that condition to arise from various complicated causes; low price of labour, high price of land, number of absentees, and other causes, and it refers the poor to the hangman for regulation, and to providence for relief; and it justifies this abandonment of one part of the community, by a crimination of the other: on a surmise that the upper orders of men in this country are complete extortioners, and would convert abatement of tithe into increase of rent, and thus intercept the justice of parliament. Here I must absolutely and instantly deny the fact; the landlords are not as described; expensive frequently I allow; but an hospitable, a humane and affectionate people; the genius of the Irish nation is affection; the gentlemen are not extortioners by nature, nor (as the tithe farmer is) by profession. In some cases they do set their land too high, in many not, and on that head they are daily becoming more reasonable.

Your magistracy-bill, your riot-act, your compensation-bill, what becomes of the authority of these laws with the lower orders, if you argue them into a conviction, that the landlords of Ireland, that is the landed interest who passed these acts in their collective capacity, are in their individual capacity but so many extortioners? Look to the fact, to their leases for thirty-one years, or three lives; not like bishop's leases: look to their lands, not like church lands. See the difference between the lands of laymen, who have an interest in the inheritance, and of church men, who have only the *esprit de corps*, that is, a false and barren pride in the succession; look to the landlords' conduct; they passed a tenantry-bill, the bishops rejected a lease-bill, and have almost uniformly resisted every bill that tended to the improvement of the country. If by the remotest possibility, their body could be in the smallest degree prejudiced in the most insignificant of its least warrantable pretensions; but if still you doubt, call forth the tenantry, and put the question to them; do not take your opinion from the oppressor; ask the oppressed, and they will tell you what we know already, that the great oppression is tithe; the middle-man's over-reaching, as in many instances, I acknowledge he is, (compared to the tithe-farmer's) is mercy. Suppose him as destitute of compunction, he is not armed with the same powers of torture, though he had the same genius for oppression; he has not his own tribunals, nor can he put the countryman to expence of attending on Vicar's Courts, nor of watching his crop, nor of delaying his harvest home, nor of notices, nor summonses, nor of drinking at his ale-house, while the value of the tithe is com-

puted, nor of all that train of circumstances and charge with which the uncertain dues of the church are now collected, at the expence of the morals of the people.

But if the charge was founded in fact, it is not an argument, and has nothing to say to the question, where similar exertions of oppression, if morally probable, are rendered legally impossible. The landlord cannot in consequence of exemption from tithe, raise his rent on his lessees, during the continuance of the term. Now, do you imagine that it is the cottier only, and not the lessee also, that complains of tithe? they are both aggrieved; the tenantry of Ireland are aggrieved, the lessee therefore must be relieved by the plan, and the cottier cannot be equally oppressed, because he agrees for his rent before he sows his crop, but pays his tithe afterwards; the latter of course must be, and the former cannot be, a charge for his extraordinary labour. Rent is a charge on land, tithe on labour, the one definite, the other indefinite; they are not convertible; encrease your rent under any pretence, still it must avoid the essential evil of tithe; the evil of being arbitrary; a tax rising with industry. Suppose the severest case, one pound an acre advanced rent for potatoe ground, the cottier by extraordinary labour, works himself comparatively out of his rent, and into a greater tithe; thus extortion by rent, is but a cruel compulsion on extraordinary labour, but tithe a penalty.

There are certain arguments, which leading to something absurd and nonsensical, are stricken out of the tribe of logic; those arguments should meet the same fate which lead to something that is worse than either nonsense or absurdity, to cruelty and to oppression. Of this tribe is the reasoning I now combat, an argument which would leave the landlords without character, to leave the common people without redress; I condemn the premises, but I abhor the conclusion. What! should the clergy oppress the poor, because the landlords (as is alleged) do so already? because the latter (as is alleged) overvalue land, shall the church overcharge labour? because the peasant pays (as is alleged) sometimes five or six pounds per acre for his land, shall he pay twelve or twenty shillings to the parson for his potatoes? The premises of this argument impeach the character of the higher order, and the conclusion would steel one order against the other, and the result of such reasoning would leave you (what it affects to find you) wicked and miserable; and common sense and Christian charity lift up their hands against such an opprobrious premise, and such a pernicious conclusion.

If such were the state of our country, the church should interpose and give a good example, and not follow a bad one; they should say, we will take the lead; we will ourselves mo-

derate the exactions which oppress the poor; if the rich take the advantage, and frustrate our pious intentions, we are not in fault; the character of religion is free, her ministers do not participate the plunder of the people. The vote of agistment left the measure I propose practicable, and made it necessary; by that vote you sent the parson from the demesne of the gentleman into the garden of the cottager; by that vote you said you shall not tax us; it remains for you to say, you shall not tithe the poor unconscionably; but, going as far as that vote and no farther, you declare to the proprietors of tithe, "Tithe the poor as you please, provided we do not pay you," and this is what some mean by their zeal in the support of the church; this is the more exceptionable, when you recollect that of the poor who pay your clergy, there are numbers, of a different religion, who of course receive no consideration from your clergy, and must pay another clergy. The protestant interest may require that these should contribute to the Protestant establishment; but the proportion and the manner in which you now make them contribute, redounds but little to Protestant honour, either in church or state.

Aye! but will you encourage tumult? Will you reward the White-boy? Will you give a premium to disturbance?....Sir, do not advert so lightly to the state of this country, nor pass so superciliously over general distress, as to think that the Right-boy or White-boy, (or by whatever other vagrant denomination tumult delights to describe itself) are the only persons who suffer by the present state of tithes; there are two other descriptions who are oppressed by them, those who did nothing in the late disturbance, and those who took part to quell them. Can you suppose so many would have been neutral in the suppression, if they had not been a party to the oppression? and have you complained of the languor of your magistracy, and the supineness of the Protestant country gentlemen, without adverting to the reason? The tumult was confined, but the suffering was extensive. But there is another body of men who suffer, they who took part to suppress. Have they any pretensions? Do you deny that they are sufferers? they will come to the bar and prove it; they will prove two things very material, very worthy your attention, their merit and their suffering.

Yes, but will you innovate? Admit this argument, and we sit here to consecrate abuses. The statutes of Mortmain were innovations; the suppression of monasteries innovation; the reformation innovation; for, what is the Protestant religion, but the interposition of parliament, rescuing Christianity from abuses introduced by its own priesthood?

Institutions divine and human corrupt by their nature or by ours; the best human institution, the British constitution, did

so corrupt, that, at different periods, it was anarchy, oligarchy, despotism, and was restored by parliament.

The only divine institution we know of, the Christian religion, did so corrupt, as to have become an abomination, and was rescued by act of parliament.

Life, like establishments, declines, disease is the lot of nature, we oppose its progress by strong remedies, we drink a fresh life at some medicinal fountain, or we find a specific in some salubrious herb: Will you call these restoratives, innovation on the physical œconomy? Why then, in the political œconomy, those statutes which purge the public weal, and from time to time guard that firm animal man against the evils to which civil society is exposed, the encroachments of the priest and the politician.

It is then on a false surmise of our nature, this objection; we live by a succession of amendment; such is the history of man, such above all, is the history of religion, where amendment was ever opposed; and those cant expressions, the supporting church and state, were ever advanced to continue the abuses of both. On those occasions prejudices from the ragged battlement of superstition ever screened innovation. When our Elizabeth established the Protestant religion, she was called an innovatress; when Luther began the reformation, he was called an innovator; nay, when Herod and the high priest Caiaphas (and high priests of all religions are the same) heard that one had gone forth into the multitude preaching, gathering the poor like the hen under her wing, saying to the rich, give unto the poor, and look for treasures in heaven, and take heed that your hearts be not overcharged with luxury, surfeit, and the cares of this life; I say, when Herod and the high priest saw the author of the Christian religion, thus giving comfort and countenance, and hope to the poor, they were astonished, they felt in his rebuke of their own pomp and pride, and gluttony and beastliness, great innovation; the felt in the sublimity of his moral, great innovation; they saw, in the extent of his public care, great innovation, and accordingly they conspired against their Saviour, as an innovator; and, under the pretence of supporting what they called the Church and State, they stigmatized the redemption of man, and they crucified the Son of God.

If we were desirous to retort on the church the argument of innovation....its own history is fertile; what is the idea of property in the church, but an innovation? their conversion of property from the great body of the Christians, to their own use? innovation....their temporal power? innovation....their application for donations, equal to tenth? innovation....the conversion of these donations to their own use? innovation....their excluding the fabric of the church as well as the poor, from the

benefit of those donations? innovations....their various tithe bills? innovation....their Riot-act? innovation....their Compensation-act? innovation.

To judge of the objection of innovation against my plan, see what that plan does not do!

It does not affect the doctrine of our religion....it does not alter the church establishment....it does not effect the constitution of episcopacy. The modus does not even alter the mode of their provision, it only limits the quantum; and limits it on principles much less severe than that charity which they preach, or that abstinence which they inculcate. Is this innovation? Moderation, innovation! as if the Protestant religion were to be propagated in Ireland, like the influence of a minister, by bribery; or like the influence of a county candidate, by money; or like the cause of a potwalloping canvasser, by the weight of the purse; as if Christ could not prevail over the earth, unless Mammon took him by the hand. Am I to understand, that if you give the parson 12*s.* in the acre for potatoes, and 10*s.* for wheat, the Protestant religion is safe on its rock; but if you reduce him to 6*s.* the acre for potatoes and wheat, then Jupiter shakes the Heaven with his thunder....Neptune rakes up the deep with his trident, and Pluto leaps from his throne?....arguments and appetites which depart from Christian purity, are best illustrated by Heathen mythology. See the curate....he rises at six to morning prayers; he leaves company at six for evening prayer; he baptizes, he marries, he churches, he buries, he follows with pious offices his fellow-creature from the cradle to the grave....for what immense income!....what riches to reward these inestimable services? Do not depend on the penury of the laity. Let his own order value his deserts; 50*l.* a year; 50*l.* for praying, for christening, for marrying, for churching, for burying, for following with Christian offices his fellow-creature from cradle to grave....so frugal a thing is devotion, so cheap religion, so easy the terms on which man may worship his Maker, and so small the income in the opinion of ecclesiastics, sufficient for the duties of a clergyman, as far as he is connected at all with the Christian religion.

I think the curate has by far too little....bloated with the full tenth, I think the church would have abundantly too much.

The provision of the church is not absolute property, like an estate, but payment for a duty: it is a salary for prayer, not the gift of God independent of the duty. He did not send his Son to suffer on earth, to establish a rich priesthood, but to save mankind....it is the donation of the laity, for the duty of prayer. The labourer deserves higher for doing his duty....he is paid not as a high priest, but a pastor in his evangelic, not his

corporate capacity....when he desires to live by his ministry, he demands his right; when he desires the tenth of your wealth, he demands your right; and he presumes riches to be the right of the church, instead of supposing what he ought, the Gospel to be the right of the people, and competency for preaching the Gospel, not luxury, to be the right, as it is the profession of the church. A provision for the Minister of the Gospel on its own principles, keeping clear of the two extremes, poverty on one side, and riches on the other; both are avocations from prayer; poverty, which is a struggle how to live, and riches, which are an occupation how to spend. But of the two extremes, I should dread riches.... and above all, such indefinite riches as the tenth of the industry, capital, and land of 3,000,000, would heap in the kitchens of 900 clergymen....an impossible proportion; but if possible, an avocation of a very wordly kind, introducing gratifications of a very temporal nature....passions different from the precepts of the Gospel....ambition, pride, and vain glory. Add to this acquisition of the tenth....the litigation which must attend it; and the double avocation of luxury and law: conceive a war of citations, contempts, summonses, civil bills, proctors, attornies, and all the voluminous train of discord, carried on at the suit of the man of peace....by the plaintiff in the pulpit, against the defendants, his congregation. It is a strong argument against the tenth, that such claim is not only inconsistent with the nature of things, but absolutely incompatible with the exercise of the Christian religion. Had the Apostles advanced, among the Jews, pretensions to the tenth of the produce of Judea, they would not have converted a less perverse generation; but they were humble and inspired men.... they went forth in humble guise, with naked foot, and brought to every man's door in his own tongue, the true belief; their word prevailed against the potentates of the earth, and on the ruin of the barbaric pride, and pontific luxury....they placed the naked majesty of the Christian religion.

This light was soon put down by its own ministers, and on its extinction a beastly and pompous priesthood ascended. Political potentates, not Christian pastors....full of false zeal, full of worldly pride, and full of gluttony....empty of the true religion. To their flock oppressive. to their inferior clergy brutal, to their king abject, and to their God impudent and familiar; they stood on the altar, as a stepping stool to the throne, glozing in the ear of princes, whom they poisoned with crooked principles and heated advice, and were a faction against their king, when they were not his slaves; ever the dirt under his feet, or a poignard in his heart.

Their power went down; it burst of its own plethory, when a poor reformer, with the Gospel in his hand, and in the inspir-

ed spirit of poverty, restored the Christian religion....the same principle which introduced Christianity guided reformation. What Luther did for us, philosophy has done in some degree for the Roman Catholics, and that religion has undergone a silent reformation, and both divisions of Christianity, unless they have lost their understanding, must have lost their animosity, though they have retained their distinctions. The priesthood of Europe is not now what it was once; their religion has encreased as their power has diminished. In these countries particularly, for the most part, they are a mild order of men, with less dominion and more piety; therefore, their character for the most part may be described in few words.... morality, enlightened by letters, and exalted by religion....such many of our parochial clergy, with some exceptions however, particularly in some of the disturbed parts of the kingdom.... such some of the heads of the church....such the very head of the church in Ireland. That comely personage, who presides over a vast income, and thinks he has great revenues, but is mistaken, being in fact nothing more than the steward of the poor, and a mere instrument in the hand of Providence, making the best possible distribution of the fruits of the earth; nay, there are of the church some superior to the prejudice which on the subject of tithes may be expected. Of all institutions, says Paley, adverse to cultivation, none so noxious as tithe....not only a tax on industry, but the industry that feeds mankind; it is true! the mode of providing for the church is exceptionable, and in some parts of Ireland has been, I apprehend, attended with very considerable abuses: these are what I wish to submit to you; you will enquire whether in some cases the demands for tithes have not been illegal, the collection of them oppressive, the excess of demand uncharitable, and the growth of it considerable and oppressive.

Whether in all cases the tithe-farmer has been a merciful pastor, the tithe proctor an upright agent, and even the vicar himself a most unbiassed judge.

In this enquiry, or in forming some regulations from this enquiry, you will not be withheld by the arguments of pride, bigotry, and prejudice; that argument, which reflecting on God maintains the sacred right of exactions; that other argument, which reflecting on parliament denies your capacity to give redress; that other argument, which reflecting on human nature supposes that you inflame mankind by redressing their grievances; that other argument, which traduces the landed interest of Ireland as an extortioner, and belies one part of the community to continue the miseries of the other....an argument of calumny, an argument of cruelty. Least of all should you be withheld by that idle intimation stuffed into the speech from the

throne, suggesting that the church is in danger, and holding out from that awful seat of authority, false lights to the nation, as if we had doated back to the nonsense of Sacheverel's days, and were to be ridden once more by the fools and bigots. Parliament is not a bigot....you are no sectary, no polemic....it is your duty to unite all men, to manifest brotherly love, and confidence to all men....the parental sentiment is the true principle of government. Men are ever finally disposed to be governed by the instrument of their happiness. The mystery of government would you learn it? look on the Gospel, and make the source of your redemption the rule of authority, and like the hen in the scripture, expand your wings and take in all your people.

Let bigotry and schism, the zealot's fire, the high priest's intolerance, through all their discordancy, tremble, while an enlightened parliament, with arms of general protection, overarches the whole community, and roots the Protestant ascendency in the sovereign mercy of its nature; laws of coercion, perhaps necessary, certainly severe, you have put forth already, but your great engine of power, you have hitherto kept back; that engine, which the pride of the bigot, nor the spite of the zealot, nor the ambition of the high, nor the arsenal of the conqueror, nor the inquisition with its jaded rack and pale criminal, never thought of: the engine which armed with physical and moral blessing comes forth, and overlays mankind by services; the engine of redress....this is government, and this the only description of government worth your ambition. Were I to raise you to a great act, I should not recur to the history of other nations; I would recite your own acts, and set you in emulation with yourselves. Do you remember that night, when you gave your country a Free Trade, and with your hands opened all her harbours. That night when you gave her a Free Constitution, and broke the chains of a century....while England, eclipsed at your glory and your island, rose as it were from its bed, and got nearer to the sun. In the arts that polish life, the inventions that accommodate, the manufactures that adorn it, you will be for many years inferior to some other parts of Europe; but, to nurse a growing people, to mature a struggling, though hardy community, to mould, to multiply, to consolidate, to inspire, and to exalt a young nation; be these your barbarous accomplishments?

I speak this to you, from a long knowledge of your character, and the various resources of your soul, and I confide my motion to those principles not only of justice, but of fire, which I have observed to exist in your composition, and occasionally to break out in a flame of public zeal, leaving the ministers of the crown in eclipsed degradation. It is therefore I have not come

to you furnished merely with a cold mechanical plan; but have submitted to your consideration the living grievances, conceiving that any thing in the shape of oppression made once apparent....oppression too of a people you have set free....the evil will catch those warm susceptible properties which abound in your mind, and qualify you for legislation.

No. LXXIX.

CORRECT LISTS OF THE MAJORITY AND MINORITY ON THE QUESTIONS RESPECTING THE REGENCY; WITH A LIST OF THOSE MEMBERS WHO DID NOT VOTE ON THOSE QUESTIONS....P. 203.

Majority on the Question respecting the Regency.

ABERCROMBIE, B. Clackmananshire
Addington, H. Devizes
Addington, Hiley, Truro
Aldridge, J. Queenborough
Amyatt, J. Southampton
Annesley, F. Reading
Apsley, Lord, Cirencester
Arden, Sir R. P. Aldborough
Arden, Lord, Launceston
Banks, H. Corfe Castle
Barclay, R. Kincardineshire
Baring, F. Grampound
Baring, J. Exeter
Barne, Barne, Dunwich
Barre, Isaac, Calne
Barrington, J. Newton, Hants
Barwell, R. St. Ives.
Bastard, Edmond, Dartmouth
Bathurst, P. Eye
Bayham, Lord, Bath
Baley, N. Anglesea
Bearcroft, E. Hindon
Belgrave, Lord, Totness
Beaufoy, H. Yarmouth
Bellingham, W. Ryegate
Berkeley, Hon. G. Gloucestershire
Bishop, Sir Cecil, Bramber
Blackburne, J. Lancashire
Bloxam, M. Maidstone
Bond, J. Corfe Castle
Boone, C. Castle Rising
Bootle, R. W. Chester
Boscawen, W. A. S. Truro
Bowyer, G. Queenborough
Bramston, T. B. Essex
Brandling, C. Newcastle
Brett, C. Sandwich
Brickdale, M. Bristol
Brodie, Nairn County
Brook, T. Newton, Lancashire
Browne, J. Hawkins, Bridgenorth
Browne, F. J. Dorsetshire
Brudenell, G. B. Rutlandshire
Burges, J. B. Helstone
Burton, F. Woodstock
Call, J. Callington
Calvert, J. Hertford
Calvert, J. jun. Tamworth
Campbell, Lord F. Inverary

Campbell, Clay, Glasgow, &c.
Carew, R. P. Ryegate, &c.
Caswell, T. Brackley
Cawthorn, J. F. Lincoln
Cecil, Henry, Stamford
Chaytor, W. Heydon
Cocks, Hon. J. S. Grampound
Colt, R. Lymington
Cornwallis, Hon. W. Portsmouth
Cotton, Sir R. S. Cheshire
Courtown, Earl of, Marlborough
Crickit, C. A. Ipswich
Cruger, H. Bristol
Crutchley, Jeremiah, Horsham
Curzon, P. A. Leominster
Darell, L. Heydon
Dashwood, Sir H. Woodstock
Daws, J. Hastings
Denham, Sir J. S. Lanarkshire
Devaynes, W. Barnstable
Dickens, F. Cambridge Town
Dimsdale, B. Hertford
Dolben, Sir W. Oxford University
Douglas, A. Forfarshire
Douglas, Sir G. Roxburghshire
Drake, W. sen. Agmondesham
Drake, W. jun. ditto
Drummond, H. Midhurst
Drummond, J. Shaftesbury
Duncomb, H. Yorkshire
Dundas, H. Mid-Lothian
Duntze, Sir J. Tiverton
Edgecumbe, Hon. R. Fowey
Edmonston, Sir A. Irvine Borough, &c.
Edwin, C. Glamorganshire
Egerton, J. W. Brackley
Egerton, W. Hindon
Eliot, Hon. E. J. Liskeard
Eliot, Hon. J. Liskeard
Ellis, J. F. Lestwithiel
Estwick, S. Westbury
Euston, Earl of, Cambridge University
Fane, Hon. H. Lyme Regis
Fane, Hon. T. Plymouth
Fellows, W. Andover
Ferguson, Sir A. Edinburgh
Fife, Earl of, Elginshire
Fitzroy, Lord C. St. Edmondsbury
Fleming, J. Southampton
Flood, Right Hon. Henry, Seaford
Fludyer, G. Chippingham
Fraser, J. Gatton
Gamon, R. Winchester
Gascoine, B. Liverpool
Gideon, Sir S. Coventry
Gilbert, T. Litchfield
Gipps, G. Canterbury
Goddard, Ambrose, Wiltshire
Gordon, Lord W. Invernessshire
Gordon, I. Stockbridge
Gough, Sir H. Bramber
Gower, Earl, Staffordshire
Gower, Hon. J. L. Appleby
Graham, Marquis, Great Bedwin
Grant, I. Sutherlandshire
Gregory, M. Newton, Hants
Grenville, Right Hon. James, Buckingham
Grenville, Right Hon. W. W. Speaker, Bucks
Griby, J. Suffolk
Grimstone, Visc. Hertfordshire
Grimston, Hon. W. St. Albans
Grosvenor, Hon. T. Chester
Hales, Sir P. Marlborough
Halifax, Sir T. Aylesbury
Hamilton, J. J. St. Germain
Hamilton, I. Haddingtonshire
Hammet, Sir B. Taunton
Hardinge, G. Old Sarum
Harley, Right Hon. T. Herefordshire
Hawkins, C. St. Michael's
Henniker, J. New Romney
Herbert, Lord, Wilton

Hill, Sir Richard, Shropshire
Hill, J. Shrewsbury
Hinchinbroke, Visc. Huntingdon
Horbart, Hon. H. Norwich
Houghton, Sir H. Preston
Home, P. Berwickshire
Horbart, R. Bramber
Honewood, Sir J. Steyning
Hood, Alex. Bridgewater
Hopkins, R. Dartmouth
Hopkins, B. B. Ilchester
Howard, Sir G. Stamford
Howard, Hon. R. Steyning
Hungerford, I. P. Leicestershire
Hunter, J. Leominster
Jekyll, J. Calne
Jennings, G. Thetford
Jervis, Sir J. Yarmouth
Johnes, T. Radnorshire
Johnston, Sir James, Dumfries
Irvine, A. East Looe
Kempe, T. Lewes
Kensington, Lord, Haverfordwest
Kent, Sir C. Thetford
Knight, J. G. Aldborough
Kynaston, J. Shropshire
Langhorn, Sir J. Northamptonshire
Langston, John, Sudbury
Lascelles, E. Northallerton
Lawley, Sir G. Warwickshire
Lenox, Lord G. Sussex
Lethieulier, B. Andover
Littleton, Sir Edward, Staffordshire
Lincoln, Earl of, East Retford
Lewis, Sir W. London
Lygon, W. Worcestershire
Long, Charles, Rye
Long, Sir T. J. Wiltshire
Macdonald, Sir Arch. Newcastle under Line
Macnamara, J. Leicester
Macreth, R. Ashburton
Maddocks, J. Westbury
M'Dowall, A. Wigtown
Mainwaring, W. Middlesex
Manners, R. Bedwin
Martin, J. Tewkesbury
Masters, T. Gloucestershire
Mawbey, Sir J. Surry
Medley, G. East Grinstead
Mesurier, Paul Le, Southwark
Metcalf, P. Horsham
Middleton, Sir C. Rochester
Middleton, W. Ipswich
Milnes, R. S. York
Minchin, H. Oakhampton
Mitford, John Bearalston
Munro, Sir Hector, Inverness, &c.
Montague, M. Bossiney, &c.
Moor, J. Selkirk
Mornington, Earl of, Windsor
Mortimer, H. W. Shaftsbury
Musgrave, Lord, Newark upon Trent
Muncaster, Lord, Milbourn Port
Murray, Hon. J. Perthshire
Murry, Hon. D. Peebleshire
Neville, R. A. Reading
Nicholas, R. Cricklade
Nugent, E. Buckingham
Onslow, Hon. T. Guildford
Orchard, Paul, Callington
Pardoe, J. Plympton
Parry, J. Carnarvonshire
Peachey, J. Shoreham
Penn, Richard, Appleby
Pennyman, Sir James, Beverley
Philips, E. Somersetshire
Phillipson, R. B. Eye
Phipps, W. M. Pool
Pitt, Right Hon. William Cambridge
Pochin, W. Leicestershire
Popham, Alex. Taunton
Powney, P. P. Windsor
Praed, W. St. Ives
Preston, Sir C. Kinghorn, &c.

Preston, R. Dover
Pringle, M. Selkirkshire
Pye, H. J. Berkshire
Pulteney, W. Shrewsbury
Rashleigh, P. Fowey
Radcliffe, Sir C. F. Hythe
Rich, Sir T. Marlow
Robinson, John, Harwich
Robinson, C. Canterbury
Rolle, J. Devonshire
Rooke, J. Monmouthshire
Rose, G. Lymington
Ross, C. Kirkwall
Rouse, Sir J. Suffolk
Rouse, C. W. B. Evesham
Roushart, Sir J. ditto
Ryder, Hon. D. Tiverton
Scott, Sir J. Weobly
Scott, J. West Looe
Selwyn, G. A. Luggershall
Selwyn, W. Whitchurch
Shaft, R. Dowton
Shuckburgh, Sir G. A. W. Warwickshire
Smith, Samuel, jun. Worcester
Smith, Samuel, St. Germains
Smith, Robert, Nottingham
Smith, C. L. Leicester
Smith
Smith, W. Sudbury
Smith, Josiah, Devizes
Smyth, J. Pontefract
Sneyd, W. Castle Riding
Sotheron, W. Pontefract
Stanhope, W. S. Kingston
Stanley, T. Chichester
Stephens, P. Sandwich
Stephenson, J. Plympton
Steward, Gab. Weymouth
Strutt, J. Malden
Stuart, Hon. C. Bossiney
Sulivan, R. J. New Romney
Sumner, G. Ilchester
Sutton, J. Newark
Sutton, Sir R. Boroughbridge
Sutton, G. Grantham
Sykes, Sir F. Wallingford
Sykes, Sir C. Beverley
Thistlethwayte, R. Hants
Thomas, G. W. Chichester
Thornton, H. Southwark
Thornton, H. Kingston upon Hull
Thornton, R. Bridgewater
Thynne, Hon. T. Weobly
Townshend, Hon. J. T. Newport, Hants
Tudway, C. Wells
Turner, Sir G. P. Thirk
Tyrconnel, Earl of, Scarborough
Vansittart, G. Berkshire
Vernon, R. Newcastle under Line
Villiers, Hon. J. C. Old Sarum
Waller, R. Chipping Wycombe
Watson, B. London
Weyms, W. Fifeshire
Wenman, Visc. Oxfordshire
Westcote, Lord, Bewdley
Whitbread, S. Bedford
Wilberforce, W. Yorkshire
Williams, W. Flint
Williams, Sir H. Beaumaris
Wilmot, J. Coventry
Wodehouse, Sir J. Norfolk
Wood, R. Minehead
Worcester, Marquis of, Monmouth
Wraxall, N. W. Lluggershall
Yonge, Sir G. Honiton
York, Hon. P. Cambridgeshire
Younge, Sir W. St. Mawes

Minority on the Question respecting the Regency.

Acourt, W. P. A. Heytesbury
Adam, W. Kintore, &c.
Amcotts, Wharton, Retford
Anson, George, Litchfield

Anstruther, J. Anstruthercaster, &c.
Astly, Sir Edward, Norfolk
Bamfield, Sir Charles W. Exeter
Bastard, J. P. Devonshire
Basset, Sir Francis, Penryn
Baham, Visc. Orford
Beckford, Rich. Arundel
Bentinck, Ld. Edward, Nottingham
Benyon, Richard, Peterborough
Bertie, Hon. W. Salisbury
Bridgeman, Sir H. Wenlock
Bridgeman, Orlando, Wigan
Bullock, John, Essex
Burgoine, Rt. Hon. J. Preston
Burke, Rt. Hon. Edmund, Malton
Burrell, Sir Peter, Boston
Burton, Robert, Wendover
Calcroft, John, Wareham
Campbell, John Pryse, Cardigan
Carnegie, Sir Dav. Aberdeen, &c.
Cavendish, Lord George H. Derby
Cavendish, Lord George, Derbyshire
Christian, John, Carlisle
Clayton, Sir Robert, Blechingly
Clayton, Wm. Great Marlow
Cleveland, John, Barnstaple
Clive, Lord, Ludlow,
Clive, William, Bishop's Castle
Codrington, Sir Wm. Tewkesbury
Coke, Daniel Parker, Nottingham
Coke, Edward, Derby
Colhoun, Wm. Bedford
Collier, Sir George, Honiton
Conway, Hon. Robert, S. Wotton Basset
Conway, Hon. George S. Oxford
Conway, Hon. Wm. S. Downton
Conway, Hon. Hugh S. Tregony
Cooper, Sir Grey, Richmond
Cornewall, Sir George, Herefordshire
Cotes, John, Wigan
Cotsford, Edward, Midhurst
Courteney, John, Tamworth
Crespigny, Philip Champ. Alborough
Crewe, John, Cheshire
Cunynghame, Sir W. A. Linlithgowsh
Dalrymple, Wm. Wigtown, &c.
Damer, Hon. George, Dorchester
Damer, Hon. Lionel, Peterborough
Davers, Sir C. Bury St. Edmonds
Dawkins, James, Chippenham
Delme, Peter, Morpeth
Dempster, George, Cupar, &c.
Dickinson, Wm. Rye
Downe, Visc. Petersfield
Duncannon, Visc. Knaresborough
Dundas, Sir T. Sterlingshire
Dundas, T. Orkney
Eden, Sir John, Durham
Edwards, G. Noel, Rutland
Elliot, Sir Gilbert, Berwick on Tweed
Ellis, Right Hon. Welbore, Weymouth, &c.
Elphinstone, Hon. G. K. Dunbartonshire
Erskine, Sir James, Morpeth
Evelyn, Wm. Hythe
Ewer, W. Dorchester
Farrer, T. Wareham
Fetherstonhaugh, Sir H. Portsmouth
Fielding, Viscount, Berealston
Fitzherbert, T. Arundel
Fitzpatrick, Right Hon. R. Tavistock

Fletcher, Sir H. Cumberland
Flemyng, Sir Michael Le, Westmorland
Foley, Hon. Andrew, Droitwich
Foley, Hon. Edward, Worcestershire
Forester, George, Wenlock
Fox, Right Hon. C. J. Westminster
Francis, Philip, Yarmouth, Isle of Wight
Frederick, Sir John, Christchurch
Fullerton, William, Lauder, &c.
Galway, Viscount, York
Garforth, J. B. Haslemere
Gould, Sir Charles, Breconshire
Gould, Charles, Brecon
Greville, Right Hon. C. Warwick
Grey, Charles, Northumberland
Hamilton, Right Hon. W. Gerard, Wilton
Hanay, Sir S. Camelford
Harrison, John, Grimsby
Heneage, John Walker, Cricklade
Honeywood, Filmer, Kent
Howell, David, St. Michael's
Hunt, Thomas, Bodmyn
Hussey, William, Salisbury
Jervaise, J. Clarke, Hants
Jervaise, T. Clarke, Yarmouth
Inchinquin, Earl of, Richmond
Jolliffe, William, Petersfield
Keene, Whitshed, Montgomery
Kenrick, John, Blechingly
Kinsmill, Robert, Tregoney
Knight, Richard Payne, Ludlow
Ladbroke, Robert, Warwick
Lambton, W. H. Durham
Laurie, Sir Robert, Dumfriesshire
Laurence, William, Ripon
Lee, John, Clitheroe
Legh, T. Peter, Newton, Lancashire
Lemon, Sir William, Cornwall
Lemon, John, Saltash
Lisburne, Earl of, Cardiganshire
Lister, Thomas, Clitheroe
Long, Dudley, Grimsby
Lowther, Sir William, Cumberland
Lowther, John, Haslemere
Lowther, James, Westmorland
Loveden, Edward L. Abington
Ludlow, Earl, Huntingdonshire
Mackbride, John, Plymouth
Mackenzie, Francis Hum. Rosshire
Mackworth, Sir Herbert, Cardiff
Macpherson, James, Camelford
Maitland, Viscount, Malmesbury
Marsham, Hon. Charles, Kent
Malden, Viscount, Oakhampton
Masters, Richard, Cirencester
Melbourne, Viscount, Malmesbury
Middleton, Sir W. Northumberland
Miller, Sir John, Newport, Cornwall
Middleton, Lord, Whitchurch
Molesworth, Sir William, Cornwall
Monckton, Hon. Edward, Stafford
Montagu, Right Hon. Frederick, Higham-Ferrers
Molineux, Crisp, King's Lynn
Morgan, John, Monmouthshire
Morshead, Sir John, Bodmyn
Mostyn, Sir Roger, Flintshire
Moysey, Abel, Bath
Mundy, Edward, M. Derbyshire
Myddleton, Richard, Denbigh
Nedham, William, Winchelsea
Nesbit, John, Winchelsea

Newhaven, Lord, Gatton
Newnham, Nathaniel, London
Forth, Lord, Banbury
North, Hon. G. A. Wotton Basset
Norton, Hon. Chapple, Guilford
Ord, John, Wendover
Osbaldiston, George, Scarborough
Owen, Hugh, Pembroke
Owen, William Mostyn, Montgomeryshire
Page, Francis, Oxford University
Palmerstone, Viscount, Boroughbridge
Parker, Sir Peter, Malden
Parkyns, Thomas, Boothby, Stockbridge
Payne, John Willet, Huntingdon
Pelham, Right Hon. Thomas, Sussex
Pelham, Hon. Henry, Lewes
Pelham, Charles A. Lincolnshire
Penrhyn, Lord, Liverpool
Penton, Henry, Winchester
Philips, J. G. Carmarthen
Pierrepont, Charles, Nottinghamshire
Plumer, William, Herts
Popham, William, Milbourn Port
Powys, Thomas, Northamptonshire
Purling, John, Weymouth
Rawlinson, Sir Walter, Huntingdon
Rawlinson, Abram, Lancaster
Ridley, Sir Mathew White, Newcastle on Tyne
Rushworth, Edward, Newport, Hants
Russel, Lord John, Tavistock
St. Aubin, Sir John, Penryn
St. John, Hon. St. Andrew, Bedfordshire
Salt, Samuel, Aldborough
Satterthwaithe, J. C. Cockermouth
Saville, Hon. R. Lumley, Lincoln
Sawbridge, John, London
Scott, Thomas, Bridport
Scudamore, John, Hereford
Senhouse, H. Cockermouth,
Sheridan, Richard B. Stafford
Sinclair, Sir John, Lestwithiel
Skene, George, Aberdeenshire
Sloane, Hans, Christchurch
Sloper, William Charles, St. Alban's
Smyth, Sir Robert, Colchester
Spencer, Lord Charles, Oxfordshire
Spencer, Lord Robert, Oxford City
Stanley, Thomas, Lancashire
Stephenson, Roland, Carlisle
Stewart, Alexander, Kircudbright
Strachey, Henry, Bishop's Castle
Stuart, Hon. James, Buteshire
Stuart, John Shaw, Renfrewshire
Stuart, Charles, Bridport
Swinburne, Sir J. E. Launceston
Taylor, Clem. Maidstone
Taylor, Michael Angelo, Poole
Tempest, John, Durham City
Thorold, Sir John, Lincolnshire
Townshend, Lord John, Westminster
Vanneck, Sir Gerard William, Dunwich
Vaughan, Hon. John, Berwick on Tweed
Vyner, Robert, Thirsk

Upper Ossory, Earl of, Bedfordshire
Walpole, Hon. Horatio, Lynn-Regis
Walwyn, James, Hereford
Warren, Sir George, Lancaster
Webb, John, Gloucester
Weddell, William, Matton
Whitmore, Thomas, Bridgenorth
Wilbraham, Roger, Helston
Windham, Right Hon. William, Norwich
Winnington, Edward, Drastwich
Wrightson, William, Aylesbury
Wynn, Glynn, Carnarvon
Wynn, Sir W. Williams, Derbyshire

List of those Members who have not voted on the Question respecting the Regency.

Adeane, J. W. Cambridge
Ambler, Charles, Saltash,
Aubrey, Thomas, Wallingford
Aubrey, Sir John, Bucks
Barnard, Viscount, Totness
Beckford, William, Wells
Campbell, Sir James, Culros, &c.
Clavering, Sir Thomas, Durham County
Compton, Lord, Northampton
Cunninghame, Right Hon. Robert, East Grinstead
Cust, Francis, C. Grantham
Eden, Right Hon. W. Heytesbury
Ferguson, James, Bamffshire
Goodricke, Sir John, Ripon
Hare, James, Knaresborough
Lewis, Edward, New Radnor
Luttrell, John Fownes, Minehead
Mansell, Sir William, Carmarthenshire
Milford, Lord, Pembrokeshire
Mitford, William, Newport, Cornwall
Montgomerie, Hugh, Airshire
Orde, Right Hon. Thomas, Harwich
Palk, Lawrence, Ashburton
Peyton, Sir Henry, Cambridgeshire
Pitt, Hon. George, Dorsetshire
Rumbold, Sir Thomas, Weymouth
Russel, Lord William, Surrey
Smith, Nathaniel, Rochester
Trevanion, John, Dover
Trevelyan, Sir John, Somersetshire
Trottman, F. Northampton
Vaughan, E. Lloyd, Merionethshire
Watherstone, Dalhousie, Boston
Wilks, John, Middlesex
Wycombe, Lord, Chip. Wycombe

No. LXXX.

PROTESTS UPON THE REGENCY....P. 228.

Dissentient.

BECAUSE the undoubted right and indispensable duty declared in the said resolution to have been exercised and discharged by the lords and commons of Ireland, and to which it is alleged they are alone competent, do not in any legal or sound sense appear to us to have any existence. And because the assuming a right in the lords and commons alone to confer upon his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales the government of this kingdom, under the style and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, to exercise and administer according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers and prerogatives to the crown and government thereof belonging, or the addressing his royal highness to take upon himself such government in manner aforesaid, before he be enabled by law so to do, seems to us altogether unwarrantable, and to be highly dangerous in its tendency to disturb and break the constitutional union, whereby this realm of Ireland is for ever knit and united to the imperial crown of England, on which connection the happiness of both kingdoms essentially depends; and we are the more apprehensive of danger, lest the so doing should be considered as tending to the prejudice, disturbance or derogation of the king's majesty in, of, or for the crown of this realm of Ireland.

Mountmorris, by proxy
Courtown, by proxy
Enniskillen, by proxy
Mornington, by proxy
Altamont, by proxy
John Clogher, by proxy
George Lewis, Kilmore
William Leighlin and Ferns
Powerscourt
Hillsborough
Carhampton
Lanesborough
William Ossory
Lifford, C.
R. Dublin
Conyngham
Tyrone
Bective
Chetwynd
Valentia
Longford
Glandore
Ranelagh
Harberton
Bellamont

Dissentient.

BECAUSE when his excellency the lord lieutenant, his majesty's representative here, hath told us that under the impressions of his official duty and of the oath that he hath as chief governor of this kingdom, he is obliged to decline transmitting to Great Britain the address of both houses of parliament to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, it doth not consist with that decorum, with that justice, and that grave proceeding, in which this house, the great and dernier court of justice, will ever act, to proceed to a condemnation and censure of his excellency without being allowed to enquire and look into the constitution of his office or into his oath. And besides, we cannot consider it as a want of respect to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the not transmitting the said address to him, as it would expose his royal highness to difficulty and embarrassment, by laying him under the disagreeable necessity of deciding upon great legal and constitutional principles, in which his royal highness's future interest, and the rights of that imperial crown, which he is born to inherit, may be very deeply concerned; and moreover, we conceive this house ought ever to be mindful of the station, in which the constitution hath placed it, and ought to resist every thing, which partakes of intemperance and excess.

Mountmorris, by proxy	Bellamont
Courtown, by proxy	Valentia
Mornington, by proxy	Lifford, C.
Enniskillen, by proxy	Tyrone
Altamont, by proxy	Langford
George Lewes Kilmore	Glandore
John Clogher, by proxy	Bective
W. Leighlin and Ferns	Harberton
Lanesborough	R. Dublin
Powerscourt	Ranelagh
Hillsborough	W. Ossory
Carhampton	Conyngham

Dissentient.

BECAUSE although desirous to express our humble thanks to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, for his gracious answer to the addresses of both houses of parliament, and that to a degree, which might induce us to pass over the departure, which there seems to be in the mode and form of this address from the usual course and proceedings of parliament, yet we cannot agree to this address, which doth not consist, as we conceive, with those constitutional principles, which are maintained in our protests of February last, and to which we adhere.

Harberton
Tyrone
Lanesborough
William Ossory
Glandore
Mountmorris
Lifford
R. Dublin
Ranelagh
Chetwynd
Langford
Altamont

No. LXXXI.

[PAGE 230.]

HOUSE OF LORDS, ON A MOTION FOR ADJOURNING THE CONSIDERATION OF THE ADDRESS TO THE PRINCE OF WALES TO A DISTANT DAY, THE DIVISION WAS AS FOLLOWS:

AGAINST.

Arch. Cashel Tuam
Duke Leinster
Earl Meath
Drogheda
Granard
Shannon
Clanbraysil
Belvidere
Louth
Arran
Miltown
Charlemont
Grandison
Ross
Clanwilliam
Aldborough
Mountcashel
Portarlington
Farnham
Visc. Mountgarret
Visc. Strangford
Allen
Deser
Clifden
Gasford
Doneraile
Pery
Bishop Waterford
Cloyne
Limerick
Killala
Baron Kinsale
Dunsany
Castlestewart
Belmore
Welles
Leitrim
Landaff
Donoughmore
Loftus

(Teller, Lord Farnham)

FOR

Chancellor
Archb. Dublin
Earl Tyrone
Hilsborough
Bective
Lanesborough
Bellamont
Glandore
Carhampton
Visc. Valentia
Ranelagh
Visc. Chetwynd
Enniskillen
Erne
Bishop Kilmore
Ossery
Ferns
Baron Longford
Conyngham
Harberton
Earlsford

(Teller, Lord Bellamont)

Proxies.

AGAINST.

Earl Roden
Baron Muskery
Lismore

FOR

Earl Altamont
Courtown
Mornington
Visc. Mountmorris
Baron Carysford
Arden

Against the Adjournment in the Commons.

Hon. Arth. Acheson
Thomas Adderly
George Ager
Hen. Alcock
James Alexander
Hon. Alexander
Mer. Archdall
Sir Fitz Aylmer
Thomas Burton
John Blakeney
Sir John Blaquiere
Henry V. Brook
Arthur Brown
Right Hon. W. Brownlow
Hon. Bruen
George Bunbury
George Burdett
Thomas Burgh, (Old Town)
George P. Bushe
William Burton
And. Caldwell
Hugh Cane
Eph. Carroll
Sir H. Cavendish
Sir H. Colthurst
Right Hon. T. Conolly
Henry Cope
Isaac Corry
J. L. Cotter
Roger Cotter
Sir E. Crofton
Ath. Dawson

Thomas Dawson
Simon Digby
Robert Dillon
John Dunn
George Dunbar
Sir Thomas Fetherson
Lord Hen. Fitzgerald
Warden Flood
Hon. William Forward
Sir John Freke
Daniel Gahan
Right Hon. Henry Grattan
Godfrey Greene
Richard Griffith
William Handcock
Francis Hardy
Travers Hartley
Sir Henry Hartstone
Henry Hatton
Samuel Hayes, (Dunbo)
Joseph Hare
Sir Francis Hutchinson
Denham Jephson
John Hely Hutchinson
Lord Jocelyne
Ger. Jocelyne
William Todd Jones
Sir Allen Johnson
Hon. Thomas Knox
Sir Hercules Langrishe
Robert Langrishe
Charles Leslie
Thomas Loftus
John Metge
Alexander Montgomery
John Montgomery
Nathaniel Mantz Moor
Hon. John Moor
John Moor
Lodge Morres
Sir William Morres
Sir Richard Musgrave
Thomas Nesbitt
Richard Neville
Sir Edward Newenham
T. B. O'Flarerty
Right Hon. George Ogele
Charles O'Hara
Right Hon. John O'Neill
Edm. Pery
Thomas Pegatt
George Ponsonby
John Preston
Joseph Preston
Henry Pritty
Thomas Richardson
William Richardson
Hon. Her. Rowly
Right Hon. H. L. Rowley
George Sandford
Charles Francis Sheridan
Mich. Smith
Sir Skeffington Smith
John Staples
Sir Annesley Stewart
James Stewart (Tyrone)
Hon. John Stratford
Daniel Toler
Charles Tottenham
R. Tottenham
N. Loftus Tottenham
John Townshend
James Uniacke
Robert Uniacke
John Usher
John Warburton
Hon. Edward Ward
Augustus Warren
Robert Welsh
Nic. Westley
John Wolf
Hon. Major Cuffe
Hugh Howard
J. Leigh
Sir James May
Thomas Hobson

(Tellers Mr. Grattan and Mr. Conolly.)

For the Adjournment.

Richard Annesley
Right Hon. J. Beresford
Sir J. Browne
Robert Boyd
Thomas Bugh
John Chatterton
Theo. Clements
Charles H. Coote
Henry Coddington
Maurice Copinger
John Craddock
William Cunningham
Denis Daly
Sir Charles Desvoux
Lord Delvin
James Fitzgerald (Prime Serjeant)
John Fitzgibbon
Sir Fred. Flood
Alleyne Fitzherbert
T. J. Foster
Luke Gardener
John G. Leitrim
Sackville Hamilton
Sir J. S. Hamilton
J. Harrison
L. H. Harmon
Samuel Hayes, (Avondale)
Sir Hugh Hill
Lord Headford
R. Herbert
Hon. Mr. Hewitt
R. Hobert
Peter Holmes
Sir Richard Johnson
R. Johnson (Counsellor)
Theo. Jones
Lord Kilwarden
Edward King
Lord Kingsborough
David Latouche
John Latouche
Sir N. Lawless
Peter Latouche
Richard Longfield
Mont. Longfield
Georges Lowther
R. Magennis
M. Mason
John M'Clontack
Sir R. G. Meredyth
George Molyneux
Sir L. O'Brien
L. Parsons
C. Price
Hon. Thomas Packinham
Sir John Parnell
George Rawson
Richard Penefather
Sir B. Roche
R. Ross
John Reilly
Prendergast Smyth
William Smith (Westmeath)
Henry Stewart
Edward Tighe
Fred. Trench
John Toler
John Tydd
R. Vowel
Nat. Warren
A. Wolfe

(Tellers, Lord Kilwarden and Mr. Fitzgibbon.)

No. LXXXII.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS ON THE POLICE BILL.

(P. 248.)

MR. SPEAKER,

YOUR committee appointed to examine the accounts of the commissioners of police, having met according to order, and called for such papers as appeared to them to be necessary, and also examined several witnesses relative to the state of the said accounts, in the most solemn manner, directed me to report as follows:

Your committee having examined the accounts laid before them by the commissioners of police, do find, that in the two years and a half, which their institution has subsisted, ending the 25th of March last, they have spent more than 51,000*l.* of the money of the public.

They find further, that the total expence of the first year, including the salaries paid to the commissioners and divisional justices, amounted to 20,197*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* and of the second year to 19,981*l.* 0*s.* 2¾*d.* of which sums your committee find that the sum of 9,682*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* was the charge for the watch in the first year, and 9,500*l.* in the second year, and that the remainder (being a sum of 10,514*l.* 16*s.* in the first year, and 10,481*l.* 0*s.* 2¾*d.* in the second) has been expended in salaries and other charges, which have attended this establishment.

Your committee then proceeded to examine into the particulars of these last sums, and find, that a sum of 4,000*l.* and upwards has been expended for the police house, and the houses and offices of the divisional magistrates, and of the high and chief constables, and for furniture.

Your committee further find among many other unsuitable and objectionable articles composing the last mentioned sum of 4,000*l.* there is a charge of 138*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* for looking glasses, and 99*l.* 8*s.* 3¼*d.* for Wilton and other carpets.

Your committee proceeded further to examine the expence of the police cavalry, and find that above 4,600*l.* have been expended for the forty horse of the police establishment in the two first years, although it appears to the committee, that the keeping any horse policemen was, and is unnecessary, and consequently that the last mentioned sum was an expence useless to

the public. It also appears to your committee, that the additional watch at 9*d.* per day has not answered the desired effect.

Your committee having observed an excessive charge for the article of coals, and enquired into the application thereof, do find, that about 406 tons have been, on an average, the annual consumption, of which 48 tons have been the allowance to the four divisional magistrates; about 209 to high and chief constables, the house of correction, and watch houses; and for the remaining quantity of above 180 tons, there appears no account except for such part thereof, as may have been consumed at the police house.

Your committee have further to observe, that the commissioners appear to have made an improvident contract, in paying 20*s.* a ton in the second and third years, the coal factor who furnished the first year having declared his readiness to continue his contract at 19*s.*

Your committee then proceeded to consider the charge under the head of stationary, and find it to be for the two years and a half 3,316*l.* 6*s.* 6½*d.* On this extraordinary charge your committee have to observe, that upwards of 150*l.* were paid for gilt paper, and 49*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* for sealing wax, in the first year and a half, ending the 25th of March, 1788; charges unwarrantable and unnecessary, which are confirmed by the charge of 13*l.* being found sufficient for both those articles in the following year.

Your committee find a considerable and very extraordinary charge for books, some of which appear to be unnecessary, and by no means appertaining to the business of the police, the catalogue of which was presented to the house last session.

Your committee also find, that the commissioners of police have, for the last year and three quarters, paid by agreement to their stationer 104*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* per quarter (which is about 8*l.* a week), for compiling and printing the Hue and Cry, and for occasional hand bills, of which sum he allows one guinea per week to a clerk for compiling the Hue and Cry, and he calculates the occasional hand bill at seven shillings per week, which leaves about 6*l.* 10*s.* to said stationer, for printing the said Hue and Cry.

Your committee then examined John Chambers and Thomas M'Donnel, master printers, and found they would undertake to print the Hue and Cry, on a paper, and with a type of the same kind, as those made use of for it for about 3*l.* 13*s.* per week less than is now paid by the commissioners.

Your committee think it necessary also to take notice, that a sum of 246*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* was paid in the first year; and 153*l.* 14*s.* 7½*d.* in the second, for advertisements in newspapers.

Your committee think it their duty to observe, that there is a charge of 176*l.* 7*s.* 1½*d.* for a survey and maps of the metropolis district.

Your committee further find, that about 900*l.* have been expended in law suits, in the greater part of which the commissioners of police have been unsuccessful.

Your committee proceeded to examine into the stoppages made from the police watchmen, and find, that 1¼*d.* per day, amounting to 2*l.* 13*s.* 2¾*d.* a year, is stopped for clothing from the daily pay of each police night watchman, which (for the 400 men) amounts to 1064*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* a year; and that 2¼*d.* per day, amounting to 3*l.* 8*s.* 5¼*d.* a year, is stopped for clothing from each watch constable, which, for 40 men, comes to 136*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* a year, which stoppages amount in the whole to 1,201*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* per annum.

Your committee further find, that the clothing, to which such stoppages is applied, consists, for the night watchmen, of coat, waistcoat, breeches, flannel under waistcoat, one pair of long gaiters, and hat and cockade, for all which the price paid by contract amounts to 2*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* per man yearly, and for the 400 men to 888*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and that the clothing of 40 watch constables consists of the aforesaid articles, and also of silver lace, loop and button for the hat, and of a silver epaulet, all which clothing costs 2*l.* 19. 1½*d.* per man, and for 40 men costs 118*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* which sum added to the aforesaid sum of 888*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* makes 1,006*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* per annum.

And your committee find, that the difference between the actual clothing expences of the police night infantry, and the aforesaid stoppages amounts to 194*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* per annum, for which saving it does not appear, that the commissioners of police have given credit in their accounts to the commissioners of account or elsewhere.

It further appears to your committee, that during the first year of the police institution, neither flannel waistcoats nor long gaiters were given to the watchmen, and that consequently (though the contract price was then seventeen pence a suit higher than at present), yet the clothing of each of the 400 private men did not exceed 2*l.* 0*s.* 11*d.* per annum, and therefore gave opportunity for a saving of 70*l.* more than their clothing admits in the current year.

Your committee also find, that exclusive of the aforesaid stoppage, and of a stoppage for the surgeon, there has been stopped one penny per night from each of the 400 police night watchmen, seven eighths of a penny per night from each of the 40 watch constables, and one penny five eighths per night from each of the 40 horsemen, which different stoppages amount to 760*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* per annum, and this sum is alleged to have been

paid in some subsequent period to such police men as have not been dismissed for misbehaviour.

Your committee also find, that in the accounts laid before them by the commissioners of police, credit is not given to the public for more than the sum of 124*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.* under the head of arrears, which article is in the second year's charge, and that consequently 646*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* (which is more than five sixths of the whole of the above stoppages of the first year) is by the account implied to have been paid in or before the second year to the police men as arrears; but no account has been produced to this committee of the payments to the police men of that large proportion of those arrears so stopped from them during the first year, and not credited to the public, but it is alleged said arrears have been paid.

It appears that no credit whatsoever has yet been given to the public for the aforesaid stoppages for the second year, ending at Michaelmas last, and amounting to a like sum of 760*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* although police accounts for the half year, ending the 25th of March, 1789, have been laid before the committee; (the reason alleged for which, by one of the commissioners is, that there are some of those arrears, which have not yet been paid to the men.)

Your committee think it right to observe that a greater sum has been received by the commissioners of police, for non-effective men, in the accounts of the two first years, than the sums therein credited to the public.

Your committee further find, that a secretary, with a salary of 200*l.* a year, and three clerks under him, whose salaries amount to 240*l.* per annum, attended the police-house, exclusive of the accountant and his clerk, and of the stationer's clerk, who compiles the Hue and Cry.

And that George Parker, one of those three clerks, enjoying a salary of 70*l.* per annum, has not been in Ireland during the last half year.

They also find, that each of the four divisional justices has two clerks, for whom the public is charged 125*l.* making for the eight clerks a sum of 500*l.* a year.

Your committee observe further, that the general accounts of the police, laid before the commissioners of account, and afterwards before this committee, are ill arranged, and many of the articles not distributed under their proper heads; and that having examined the accountant as to that point, he alleged, that the arrangement of all accounts of expenditure originated from the commissioners.

And your committee came to the following resolutions;

I. Resolved, That it appears to this committee, that the police establishment has been attended with unnecessary patronage, waste, and dissipation.

II. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the peace and protection of the city of Dublin might be more effectually maintained at a lesser expence, and that the present system of police establishment ought to be changed.

No. LXXXIII.

MR. GRATTAN'S SECOND SPEECH ON TITHES....P. 249.

MR. GRATTAN presented to the house according to order, a bill to appoint commissioners for the purpose of enquiring into the state of tithes in the different provinces of this kingdom, and to report a plan for the ascertaining the same.

He said, the advocates for tithes and their abuse, having declined a public enquiry, thought they best consulted the dignity of the church by resorting to a paper war: this paper war has been conducted under the mitred auspices of certain bishops: these bishops have in the course of it accused me of making an attack on the Protestant clergy of the South. You know, they know, how totally unfounded such a charge is; I did prefer then, and I prefer now, certain allegations, that in some parts of the South there existed illegal demand, increasing demand, excessive demand, an abuse of the compensation act; tithe-proctors who extort fees, tithe-farmers who lay the poor under contribution; these charges I did not affirm to affect the major part of the Southern clergy, but I did, and I do now affirm, that they do affect in degree and extent such a proportion of district as to call for the interference of parliament. Two pamphlets on this subject, entitled my Speech, were published, different from each other, or resembling each other in nothing except in not being my speech, and in not being published by my authority; to these pamphlets the dignitaries above alluded to have replied: convinced that I neither spoke nor wrote the contents of either, they have charged me with both. This unfounded charge on me they have thought proper to mask by calling it a Defence of the Protestant Clergy of the South, and have thus

endeavoured to disperse through the community a false alarm, and a groundless accusation. This alarm and accusation, called a Defence, sets forth, that the bishops of the South, in the year 1786, wrote circular letters to their clergy, desiring returns of their respective ratages; with a recommendation that these returns, if possible, should be made on oath. The Defence sets forth, that returns were made. I own, I should be very glad to see them; not one syllable....the Defence suppressed the returns of the clergy, and gives the public in their place its own calculation, which it professes to be an average formed on these returns....Even so, let us admit such evidence; where the bishops contend, let the party be the evidence, and the advocate be the judge. The authors of the Defence having stated, that a most minute and general enquiry has been made, allege,* that, in the whole extent of that enquiry, they no where find the rate for potatoes higher than 12*s.* the plantation acre; these are their words, and on the veracity of this allegation, depends whatever attention should be paid to their defence. I have from private hands assurances innumerable, in the most positive and direct manner, contradicting that allegation. I have from private hands affidavits without number disproving that allegation. I will reject them all. I will for, argument, give the pastors a victory over their flock, and the fruits of their care, and suppose for a moment, their parishioners to be perjured, yet what shall we say of the clergy, who have, by themselves, or their witnesses, sworn the same thing? I will read you a report from the judge who went the Munster circuit of the spring of 1788. It is as follows: "At the last assizes held for the county of Kerry, at Tralee, a civil bill was brought before me, upon the compensation act, for the value of certain tithes. From the evidence of the plaintiff's own witnesses, and the schedule, the demand appeared as follows: tithe of potatoes, one acre and a half, 2*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.*" (Gentlemen will recollect, that, by the compensation act, the bill or petition is not to be brought for the value, but the customary charge.) I will read another document, equally authoritative from Cork.

* Defence of the Protestant clergy, p. 93...."But it must be remembered, "that from the vicinity of these parishes to Limerick, and the great fertility "of the ground, the average value of the crops of potatoes is twenty pounds, "the tithes two pounds, and other crops in proportion. Now, is twelve shil-"lings an unreasonable demand for what is worth two pounds? I further re-"mark, that *I no where find the rate higher than twelve shillings the plantation* "*acre*; and the crop, wherever it is charged, not worth less than eleven or "twelve pounds, more generally sixteen or twenty."

Rates of Tithes, on Petitions, for the year 1786, *in the County of Cork.*

IRISH ACRE.

Potatoes. from		to		Wheat. from		to		Barley. from		to		Oats. from		to		Meadow. from		to	
s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
12	9½	16	0	8	0	9	7	8	0	9	7	3	2	4	9½	3	2	0	0
16	0	0	0	12	9½	16	0	12	9½	0	0	4	9½	6	4½	6	4½	0	0
12	9½	0	0	9	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	9½	0	0	4	9½	0	0
8	0	12	9½	6	4½	9	7	6	4½	0	0	1	8½	4	0	3	2	4	0
12	9½	16	0	12	9½	0	0	8	0	9	7	8	0	0	0	4	9½	6	4½
11	2	14	4½	11	2	14	9½	8	0	11	2	4	0	6	4½	3	2	0	3
9	7	14	4½	6	4½	9	7	8	0	0	0	3	2	6	4	3	2	5	2
11	2	12	9½	8	0	9	7	0	0	0	0	1	7	4	9½	1	7	4	0
8	0	16	0	11	2	0	0	9	7	0	0	5	2	0	0	4	9½	0	0
12	9½	16	0	8	0	9	7	8	0	9	7	4	0	4	9½	3	2	0	0
12	9	0	0	9	7	0	0	11	2	0	0	4	9	0	0	3	2	0	0

I must here again observe, that the petition is by the act to be brought for the customary charge.

I must observe also, that only nineteen petitions were tried for 1786, wherein rates were specified, and of the nineteen, eleven exceeded the rate of 12*s.* the plantation acre; a rate, the Defence affirms, has never been exceeded; I must also observe, that these petitions must have been supported by the oath of the clergy or their witnesses, and do directly falsify the allegation of the Defence....What becomes of the Defence now? not refuted, but convicted, convicted on oath, the oath of the clergy themselves or their witnesses, taken at a public trial. Thus the defence of the bishops is put down by the oaths of the clergy.

Here I might leave the defence, if it did not advance another proposition too glaring to pass without observation: * It states (in a very confused manner I own, but it does state), that the average ratages have not in any southern county or diocese increased these thirty years. The gross improbability of this assertion must appear to every man, who reflects on the progress of things since the year 1756, (the period to which the Defence refers); who reflects how the mode of living has changed, and become more expensive since that time, and how much the

* Defence of the Protestant Clergy, p. 47..." It is incontrovertibly true, that in most places the rates of tithe have not varied for the last thirty years."
And in p. 41..." But sure I am, from the present state of ratages, collected " from exact information, the average increase, through any entire county, di- " ocese, or parish, if any there has been, can be but very small indeed, and that " in very few parishes only, but certainly not throughout any diocese or " county."

style and tone of modern clergymen excels in expence and *display*, the old ministers of the gospel. The improbability of this assertion would appear more fully, if I were permitted to bring to the bar of this house the parishioners, who could most feelingly attest the direct contrary; or were I permitted to produce affidavits which swear the direct contrary. But I will for a moment reject all this, and I will refute their case by nothing less than the authority of their own oaths, and the acknowledgment of their own vindication. The Defence states, that the average ratages of the poor dioceses of Cloyne and of Cork, are above 10*s.* an acre, potatoes, and of Cork above 7*s.* 9*d.* wheat, and Cloyne above 9*s.* wheat. While in the rich diocese, potatoes are, as the Defence states, 7*s.* the acre, and wheat 6*s.* 6*d.*

The Defence endeavours to account for the disparity, and ascribes it to a number of corn mills established in the county of Cork, and to the export trade of corn from the ports Youghal, Cork, Kinsale, and Dungarvan. Now these mills, and this export trade, are almost entirely the effect of the corn bounty, the inland bounty, which did not take place till the year 1758, and still more, the export bounty, which did not take place till the year 1773, and which, with the inland bounty, has been gradually, and more abundantly, operating ever since.

The Defence has then assigned a cause, which cause began to exist within thirty years of the date of the enquiry; it follows, that the effect must have taken place within that period; it follows, that an encrease of average ratage has taken place in some dioceses within those thirty years; it follows, that the other great position of the Defence is unfounded.

Thus the two great positions of the case fail: the first is refuted by the oath of the party, and the second by the admission of the Defence: the Defence acknowledges what it denies, that the clergy have increased the average prices of some dioceses within these thirty years; it acknowledges, what it also denies, that they have tithed the bounty; but I will wave all this, and yet will shew their case to be inadmissible: it states that they have procured returns from the clergy, what kind of returns you have heard; but it does not pretend to have gotten any from the lay impropriators; and it affirms, that this share amounts to one-third of the tithes of this kingdom; it acknowledges then, that the enquiry has omitted one-third of the question, and on such an enquiry they propose to decide the state of Munster and all its peasantry. Allow their Defence....biassed, as it must be thought; fallacious, as it has been sworn; self-convicted, as it has been proved; however, in compliment to its authors, let us for a moment allow it. Yet still it is not the state of the tithes of Munster; it is not commensurate with the question it presumes to cover; it does not affect to touch at all

one of the three parts of the case; and when it affects to touch the other two, I have shewn it to be but affectation. With every respect to the clergy of Munster, the question is not, whether they are the oppressors? it is higher, it is, whether the people are oppressed. To acquit the clergy, supposing such a defence, which proves nothing but its own contradiction, could do so, decides only an inferior question; to obtrude that decision as disposing of the whole of the case, is to make a criminal use of their supposed innocence; and as the defence would acquit the parsons on their own evidence, so would it dismiss the peasant unredressed, without any evidence at all. In answer to such a proposal, we ask of right reverend authority, where is your flock? what, is there no wolf but the shepherd? Bring us a better account of your charge; go back to your fold. But I might wave all this, yet the Defence is still inadmissible, because false in its conception. The exhibiting the average rates of the different dioceses of the south, does not enable the public to judge of its condition. In order to expose the art of deciding any thing by those clerical averages, it is sufficient to recollect the famous average of a dignified writer, who, estimating the average income of the Irish clergy, excluded the bishoprics, and included the curates, to give the reader a just and fair sense of the property of the church. And still further to expose a defence founded on average ratages, it is sufficient to examine the decrees of the court of Cashel, whose average decrees are stated for the five years previous to 1786, to be 8*s.* an acre potatoes, but whose particular decrees appear from the books in some cases to have exceeded 20*s.* The average ratages of the different dioceses give the public no knowledge of the case. It may happen, that the average ratage of a diocese shall be moderate, and yet the ratages universally exceptionable. Suppose one half of the diocese under the ratage of Dr. Atterbury, and the other under the ratage of Captain Right, the average might perhaps be moderate, but that apparent moderation of ratage would arise from the very circumstance which made it peculiarly culpable, from the double grievance, from the two extremes, from the opposite offences; it may happen that the proprietors of tithe in some cases crouch to the rich, and encroach on the poor; the average, under such circumstances, might appear moderate, but the moderation would arise from the compound of crimes, from crouching and encroaching, from meanness and extortion. The moderation of average price therefore proves nothing; it is a method which not only conceals, but inverts the case. It makes the parish of A. appear better from the circumstance that makes her worse, from comparative misery; it makes the parish of A. when rated too high, appear to be actually relieved when the parish of B. is rated too

low; as if the former derived a paradoxical relief from the sense of its own peculiar hardship, and obtained a preternatural respiration from burthens, because they were heaped with uncommon measure on herself; it is a clerical chemistry, which extracts a complexion from the consumption of the case; oppression alone would not do; but add partiality, and the compound is vended by the right reverend authors, as an image of their charity, and a case for their clergy. And as a defence founded on an exhibition of average prices only, is unjust to the parish, so it is injurious to the parson; it makes the moderation of parson A. state in favour of parson B. who is an extortioner, and the exaction of B. state against A. who is moderate; as if A. derived riches from the extortion of B. and consolation from the reflection, that if he himself got too little, his neighbour B. whose example he condemned, got too much; and it supposes that A. had a further consolation from the experience, that if he did not share the profit, he divided the infamy. This process by average is a confusion and incorporation of vice and virtue, fame and infamy; it is resorted to from an indifference about the real state of the peasantry, suggested by the spirit of corps, at the expence of the best members of the church, and by a false tenderness of some peccant individuals, who may atone for the crimes of an exactioner, by the virtues of a sycophant, and by adulation to their bishop, may secure absolution for every other abomination. The exhibiting average prices therefore gives no information. From those submitted in the Defence, nothing can be collected, except that they are not founded in fact. They are stated to be formed on returns, which do not exceed 12*s.* the plantation acre; though from the oaths of the clergy, or their witnesses, the prices are proved to go to 27*s.* Waving therefore other objections, this defence must be rejected on two grounds: first, because the average price is not the true defence. Second, because this Defence is not the true average. But though right reverend authority has not made out a case for the clergy, it has made out a case for the people. So it frequently happens; men are but instruments of Providence, and without knowing it, fulfil her ways. The zealot is but an inflamed organ, bursting forth with unpremeditated truths; reverend writers endeavouring to establish a right in the Protestant clergy to a tenth of the peasant's labour, as prior to the Protestant religion, paramount to all other rights of property, and therefore prior not only to the Protestant, but to the Christian religion, have only served to bring forth proofs, that such a right, if any, resides in the poor, and that the parson was only his trustee: so now the bishops in their defence, state the average ratages of three out of the five dioceses to which their acreable ratages refer, to

amount to above 10*s.* the plantation acre for potatoes; and in forming this average they acknowledge they exclude all particular ratages above 12*s.* and therefore their average is less than the fact; and they do not pretend to include one or two shillings in the pound, notoriously paid to the tithe proctor by the peasant, though reluctantly acknowledged by the Defence, and omitted in the average, which, on that account, is a still further departure from the fact. This 10*s.* the acre, demanded and received without any consideration of charity, which was the object of tithe; of building and repairing churches, as is required by the canon law; without parochial schools, as are required of the clergymen by the statute law, and in some places without residence, which is required by canon, common, and statute laws, arises not only from the produce that feeds mankind, but from the only produce which in Ireland sustains the poor and most numerous description of mankind, who have not poor rates as in England, and who have another order of clergy to pay, which is not the case in England: this heavy burden is more sensibly felt, by being peculiar to the south, which by the Defence of the Clergy is admitted and represented to be in a state of not only actual but comparative misery. For the continuation of this partial wretchedness, they state that one-half of the tithe of the south arises from that very wretchedness, viz. from tithe of potatoes; the other half arises from wheat, which they state in these dioceses to be from above 7*s.* to above 9*s.* the Irish acre; from barley, which they state to be from near 7*s.* to near 9*s.*; from oats, which they state to be from near 4*s.* to above 5*s.*; from hay, which does not pay tithe in Connaught; from flax, which does not pay tithe in Ulster; from cows and sheep and lambs, which they omit in their statement, but from which the clergy of the south receive a considerable income. In short, from what does, and what does not pay tithe elsewhere. I congratulate the southern clergy on all these advantages; but the Defence interrupts me, and says, that all this is only one-half of their income, there is another gotten from potatoes. Here the description of the men from whom that half principally arises....beggars! men publicly pronounced, and by all admitted to be trodden down to the earth, men who get 5*d.* a day for their labour, and pay 6*l.* a year by the acre for their potatoe garden, which heavy rent is acknowledged to be aggravated by a tithe of 10*s.*; for the continuance of which heavy tithe, the heavy rent is by the advocates of exaction made the apology. Poor people! "If we relax, the landlord would "encroach; he is worse than the parson." These charges are further aggravated in some places by the disposition of the man who makes them, the tithe farmer. The Defence states, that while the rich diocese of Cashal and Emly pays 7*s.* the acre

potatoes, the poor dioceses of Cloyne and of Cork pay above 10s. It states the cause of this inequality to be the tithe farmer. It states two causes of high ratages in these dioceses, a brisk corn trade, and the tithe farmer. The latter cause alone is referable to potatoes. It describes these tithe farmers, vagabonds, fishermen; but fishermen, it says, who do not live by fishing; and who, it also says, till nothing; and who, it is concluded to say, live by no labour, except the labour of exaction. The leasing the tithe to such a crew is made a matter of mercy: "poor people, they," so runs the canting Defence, "have nothing else to live by." Thus the equity in favour of the tiller of the soil, is made an equity in favour of a crew who bid against him; this equity, however, they own to be nothing more than setting the tithe to the highest bidder; and when these bidders are the cause, as the Defence states, of raising the tithe of potatoes in the dioceses of Cork and of Cloyne, to above 10s. the acre, which tithe, in the diocese of Cashel and Emly, they state to be but 7s. that is, when these canters raise the tithe above 30 per cent. the defence does expressly applaud them for their moderation.

I have stated, that the Defence of the southern clergy had made out a case for the poor. It has done so: it has proved the poor of those districts to be in worse situation than in any other part of Ireland; but it has gone farther, it has proved the clergy to be in a better; it sets forth, that from a number of corn mills, and from a brisk export of corn, the extent of tillage in those parts has greatly increased; it states, that from those causes, the ratage on tillage has increased likewise; and thus it allows, what however in another part it denies, that the clergy have the double advantage, an increase of tillage, the effect of bounty, an increase of ratage, the effect of tithing that bounty. The Defence states, that the clergy of the south have also a tithe of potatoes, the effect of their peculiar good fortune, which tithe the Defence admits to be nearly equal to all the rest. The Defence does not state, but we do and can prove, that in some of these disturbed parts, the livings of the clergy have of late years doubled. I might appeal to individuals, some of them will acknowledge it, none of them can deny that the increase has been abundant. Hence it follows, that the authors of the Defence cannot set up the plea of poverty against the relief of oppression; and as they have made out a case for the poor, so have they suggested the facility of a remedy. They have in their Defence stated, that in the south the ratages have not in any county or diocese, for these thirty years, varied; that is, they have in their Defence set up a modus, a ratage of thirty years is a modus in fact, though it is not a modus in law, and does most decisively ascertain the possibility of establishing a

modus by law. What now becomes of the solemn asseveration of the impossibility of paying the clergy in any manner, other than that of tithe? Either they who superintended the Defence, believe that the ratages have not varied, and their argument of impossibility is a pretence, or they do believe they have varied, and their Defence in this particular has exceeded the boundaries of reality, yet it does not so egregiously depart from them, as not to conclude the authors of the Defence, as to the practicability of fixing a standard, and is an argument sufficient for a modus, though not for a justification. The bill now submitted to your consideration, proposes that commissioners should be appointed to enquire and to report: as to the commissioners, I do not mean that their number should be confined to the members of parliament; I would admit men more familiar with the subject. As to the enquiry, it would be much facilitated by what has been done and written already; here it will appear, that the proprietors of tithe in the districts lately disturbed, have, for the most part, proceeded by an acreable ratage, that where they have not, they have proceeded by a mode peculiarly capricious and oppressive; and as in the former case, they have made a modus easy, so in the latter they have made it necessary. Your commissioners will discern where the ratage increased from the activity of the tithe farmer, from the advantage of the bounty, or the exceptionable conduct of the clergyman. Possessed of a knowledge of the criminal causes of increase, your commissioners will disavow all such in the formation of a modus, or tithing table, for the different articles which are to be subject to tithe. They will, in the tithing table, estimate each rate as equivalent to so many stone of bread corn, to be valued at stated years, and at the desire of the owner of tithe.

Your commissioners will naturally think it advisable in any plan they form, to exempt the cottager's potatoe garden from tithe; the proprietor of the tithe to be compensated by a presentment, or an agistment, equal to the sum at which the garden is rated; they will also relieve the parishioner from small dues, and where such have been usually paid, they will probably think to compensate the clergyman in the manner above mentioned. They will then think it advisable to relieve the proprietors of tithe, as well as the farmer and the poor, by giving the said proprietors for the recovery of their income a remedy effectual and summary.

Your commissioners may form a modus, as I have stated above, or they may go a step further, and submit a plan, by virtue of which, surveyors shall be appointed annually, by the parson and parish, to survey, and make a return of the number of acres under tillage. The acres to be rated according to the tithing-table, and the gross sum to be levied in the manner of other

county charges. When I say the commissioners will adopt such a plan, I only mean that if you appoint them, I will assist them by submitting such plan. I have stated it in general terms; but the mechanical part I have digested into two bills. The appointment of commissioners should precede the introduction of such bills, because the enquiry necessary to lay the foundation of such bills, should not be left to an individual, but entrusted to a body empowered and appointed by parliament. To an individual, however active his enquiry, authentic his information, the answer will ever be, we do not know all this, and therefore it is, I submit to you to enquire into all this yourselves. And in order that this system of reform should be a means of coercion, as well as of relief, I would have a provision, by which any parish rising up in tumult, such as was committed in 1786, and as is described in our laws, shall for blank time forfeit the benefit of the act, by paying an extraordinary ratage, the increased sum to go to some public use.

But whatever redress is intended, that redress must come from you, it will not come from the clergy: the parochial clergy may wish for a regulation, the bishops do not. One dignitary has denied that tithe can by any possibility be an oppression; other kinds of property may, but the full tenth of your capital, land and labour paid to the church, we are informed, carries along with it an inherent impossibility of being a burthen! A heavenly-gifted and mysterious property it seems, which cannot corrupt, but must for ever abide by original purity, and primæval perfection! Should an argument, which depends more on faith than on reason, find no reception in your mind, another dignitary has told you *that the poor are not to be relieved, if the clergy are to be at the expence.* When a bill for the improvement of barren lands, and the encouragement of industry among the lower orders of the people, was on the last session resisted by the spiritual peers, a right reverend prelate was said to have declared as a principle, that the poor should not be relieved, if the clergy were to be at the expence. Such a sentiment coming from a Christian and a Protestant bishop, must have smote every breast with deep and sincere affliction: but, if we are cast down by so great and grave an authority on the one side, we are consoled again by a still higher interposition, the express commands and practice of the scriptures on the other. The Saviour of man suffered on a principle different from that which the right reverend prelate has introduced. The apostles, the martyrs, and that flaming constellation of men that in the early age of Christianity shot to their station in the heavens, and fell, and falling illumined the nations of the earth with the blaze of the gospel, rose and fell with inspirations of a very different kind. Had Christ been of the prelate's opinion, he never

had been born, and we had never been saved. Had he said to his apostles, 'The poor are not to be fed, the valley is not to laugh and sing at the expence of our church;' or, had the apostles said to the nations of the earth, 'Ye are not to be benefited at the expence of Christian pastors;' or, had the martyrs expostulated with themselves, 'We will not suffer for mankind,' what had become of the Christian religion? Let the Pagan priest of Jove, or the sensual priest of Mahomed, deliver such doctrine, but do not you part with the palm of Christianity, nor relinquish the lofty self-surrendering precepts of your gospel, to poach in politics, for little and wicked tenets, in order to brand your Prayer Book with the image of a sorry selfishness, which would disgrace the frontispiece of Machiavel. With all his errors on his head, the Pope himself is too discreet to commit himself with the Bible, by inculcating self-interest as a part of his creed. He has proclaimed, that the support of the poor is necessary, according to the true ancient discipline of the church; and he has taxed church-benefices accordingly. There are some indiscretions, compared with which, hypocrisy would be decorum; dissimulation would be virtue. I am not reflecting on what fell from a bishop, so much as I am defending Christianity, by whose principles, on the last day, even the proudest of the priesthood must be tried. Let me suppose that day to have arrived, and, at the dread tribunal, the mitred head to be confronted with the naked peasant...." I was an hungered, and you fed me not: I was naked, and you clothed me not." Will you then answer your God as you have answered your country? " The poor were not to be relieved at the expence of the clergy." But this is putting human infirmity to too severe a trial, and suggesting gloomy scenes of death and judgment, for which men occupied by the riches, engaged in the amusements, and fretted somewhat in the politics of the world, are but little prepared. It was a declaration of indiscretion, of passion; to speak severely of it, of a warm judgment; to say the worst of it, of a fallible temper, and entirely to be forgiven, provided it shall be never repeated. I shall therefore hope, on recollection, it will not as a general principle be laid down, that the clergy should not contribute a little to the relief of the poor. Alas! that will not do; we are told the poor in Ireland do not deserve relief....' Suspicious subjects, Presbyterians inimical to the constitution, or Papists incredible on their oaths;' that is, below the condition not only of other Christians, but of other men, Jews, Pagans, Mahomedans: now, as the Roman Catholics happen to be the most numerous part of the Christian church, it follows, if the charge be true, that the majority of the followers of Christ are the worst of the human species; that the

greater part of Christendom is the most reprobate part of the earth, and that the Redeemer of mankind has come in vain; and the result of the two opinions, that by one right reverend dignitary entertained of the Catholic church, coupled with the other tenet suggested by another dignitary, of the Protestant church, is, that the former church has done much mischief to man, and that the latter is not to be at any expence to do him service. However, I will suppose these opinions to relax; the Presbyterian to be restored to his credit, the Catholic to be admitted to grace, yet there is another difficulty in the way of redress, the alleged poverty of the Irish church. The bishops allege in the Defence, that the people of Ireland pay incomparably less to their church. They acknowledge, that, on a dividend of the whole income, including bishopricks and colleges, each Irish clergyman would receive 230*l.* per annum, and each English clergyman 150*l.* But then they compare the two aggregate funds, and because 1000 Irish clergymen do not divide as great an aggregate as 10,000 English, they affirm that Ireland pays incomparably less to her church. They do not deny that the English clergy are as ten to one, their fund as six to one; they cannot deny that the church of England, men in England, are more than ten times as many, and the people of England much more than ten times as rich; and then their pampered expostulation amounts to this, that the clergy of England, being ten times as many, having above ten times as much to do, get only six times as much, from a country which is perhaps twenty times as rich. In all this pathetic lamentation, how have they forgotten the presbyter! how have they forgotten the priest! and their humble pittance! and yet a poor priest shall defend the privileges of a man against proud oppression, and a presbyter shall be able to puzzle a mitre. With regard to the presbyter, I am clear his income should be increased; the *regium donum* is contemptibly small, one of the acts of a new administration should be to increase it.

When certain right reverend dignitaries insist on the poverty of the Irish church, compared with that of England, they suggest to the people of Ireland the following question: What induced those dignitaries to come to Ireland? Am I to understand that they left their great pretensions in the English church from a contempt of its riches? and sought preferment in the Irish church from a love of its poverty? Am I to understand that a contempt for dignity, added to a contempt of riches, has induced them to obstruct the progress of our native clergy? and happily fixes their humble eye upon the Irish mitre?....Exalted they are then at leisure to make pastoral observations on our people...." The Squirearchy are tyrants....the common people thieves....the Presbyterians enemies to the constitution, and the

Catholics incredible on their oaths." Having made an estimate of the value of the income of the clergy; then they calculate, and, like the industrious ant, or the busy bee, *thymo crura plena*, depositing, in the episcopal cells, the bulky store of ecclesiastical revenue, they return to the crowd, and expostulate with their brethren on the poverty of the church.

I speak of some, not all. There are among them, men whom I revere. Such is one whom I do not name, because he is present; mild, learned, pious and benevolent; a friend to the meekness of the gospel, and a friend to man. Such is another whom I may name, because he is not present. He has the first episcopal dignity in this realm....it is his right....he takes it by virtue of the commanding benevolence of his mind, in right of a superior and exalted nature. There are men possessed of certain creative powers, and who distinguish the place of their nativity, instead of being distinguished by it....they do not receive, they give birth to the place of their residence, and vivify the region which is about them. The man I allude to, I know not, or know him as we know superior beings, by his works.

I have, in the foregoing part, endeavoured to defend myself against an attack, published without the names of certain dignitaries of the church, but not without their authority: I shall now strive to answer another attack, published by their authority, and with their names annexed....the parochial clergy of Munster, at their annual visitations assembled.

A very respectable assembly; how employed? To assist the committee appointed by act of parliament to enquire into the scandalous abuses which have sunk the charitable funds of royal and private donation?....No, from the Southern archbishop that committee has received no assistance....To establish parochial schools, according to act of parliament, at their own expence?.... No, that work has been neglected....To establish diocesan schools, at their own expence, as by law they are obliged?.... No, that too has been neglected or perverted....To enquire into the state of charter schools, and to follow Howard in his pious and singular activity?....No, the parochial clergy of the province of Munster, at their visitation, have been otherwise employed. They have read a speech concerning tithes, their property, and yet there were subjects more worthy of their interference! Their God has been denied by the arguments of the Atheist; his Son has been denied by the arguments of the Deist. English bishops, Presbyterian ministers have come forth....The parochial clergy of Munster, and their six bishops....have they signalized themselves in this holy war?....Their learning....their industry.... their zeal on their natural subject....I look for....I cannot find them....Their country, as well as their God, had been outraged ....her trade crippled, her constitution destroyed, and her final

judicature, of which the right reverend the lords spiritual compose an implicit part, usurped. What an opportunity here for their interposition during a long period! Where are their spirited votes? Where are their deep researches? A layman indeed, on that occasion, came forth, Molyneux came forth; and, though he could not retake the citadel, he rescued the holy vestiges, the vestal fires of the constitution, and rescued them without aid from the dignified priests of the temple. A most successful struggle to recover trade and freedom was afterwards made.... what an opportunity here! The Presbyterian ministers came forward in every shape; the Roman Catholic priest afforded us his literary assistance; the parochial clergy of Munster, and their six bishops....not one syllable....on their part a sad blank.... profound, uninterrupted taciturnity. When their God, their Redeemer, and their country are in question, they are silent; but, when a twelve-penny point on their tithe is brought forward, then they are vivacious; then the press groans with clerical Billingsgate; then a synod is held in the capital, in the seat of learning, under mitred auspices, training up the reverend youth of the country in the holy office of anonymous publication, and inoculating their tender minds with the scribbling itch of meagre production; and then the parochial clergy of Munster, deans, deacons, archdeacons, prebendaries and precentors, with six bishops in holy order, and solemn march, advance....on what? On the principles of decorum and respect due to a member of the legislature: "The provincial clergy having read a speech, entitled by the publishers the speech of Mr. "Grattan, and by him not disavowed." Their bishops should have informed their clergy, that, to justify the application, it is not sufficient the publication should not be disavowed, but necessary that it should be authorized. Giving a reason for the application, and giving a bad one, they convict themselves of making the charge, and of making it without foundation. Here I must suggest an established rule, which I scorn to insist on, but am forced to acknowledge. No man, no body of men, have a right to charge on a member of the legislature, as his speech made therein, an unauthorized publication. Against this rule have transgressed those anonymous and wrathful clergymen, who, in a flock of noisy publications, have attacked what I never published, and replied to what I never said. They are welcome; they have shewn that all of them can write, it remains for them to shew that some of them can excel....their patrons I hope will reward them! The flies of the vintage they gather about the press, and already taste, in devout expectation, the inspiring fruit. A light swarm! that they should travel over boundaries I am not astonished; but that the grave body, the parochial clergy of Munster, with their six bishops....they too are wel-

come. I should be the last man to avail myself of an intemperance, and they are the last body against whom I should insist upon it. Requesting therefore, that when the exalted of their body complain of encroachment, they may extend to others that indulgence, which they themselves (it appears) sometimes stand in need of, I shall wave the irregularity of the attack, and suppose the parochial clergy of Munster to have come forward in a shape, in which they are not exposed to a censure, but entitled to an answer. 'Tis a matter of anxiety to know what is the evil they advance to combat....they state it, "Lest an anonymous pamphlet should, in their own province, prejudice them in the opinion of men unacquainted with their persons or moderation." If by such they mean people of the other provinces, I do not see how the parochial clergy of Munster can be specially affected in their own province, by the opinion of men who live out of it; but, if they wish to recommend themselves to such, if the opinion of such men is worth their attention, the parochial clergy of Munster must take measures very different from the manifesto; they must agree to an exemption for the potatoes of the peasant; they must agree to an exemption for the flax of the manufacturer; they must accede to a modus, not a manifesto. But, if the parochial clergy of Munster are indifferent about the opinion of the other provinces, and by men unacquainted with their persons and moderation, mean their own parishioners, I marvel much that these grave and enlightened men should allege so slight and sarcastic a cause for their momentous interposition, assigning, on the first supposition, a very inadequate, on the second supposition, a very extraordinary, and on neither the real cause for their manifesto. When a great body condescends to give a reason for its proceedings, that reason should be excellent; and rather than have offered such a one as they have submitted, I think the parochial clergy of Munster had more consulted their dignity, by assigning no reason at all, by resting every thing on their authority, and by standing forth in the public prints, a great name without an argument.

Having professed such an object for interposing the parochial clergy of Munster endeavour to accomplish that object by a manifesto, declaring that the prices set forth in the speech alluded to do greatly exceed the prices demanded by the clergy of Munster, and are gross misrepresentations. Here it becomes of moment, to know what are these prices set forth in the speech. I do not find, the speech relies on prices for wheat, which exceed 16*s.* the acre, or on prices for potatoes, which exceed 27*s.* the plantation acre. But such prices, or any thing near such prices, are bad enough in all conscience. Whether the prices are 10*s.* for wheat, or 13, 14, 16, 20, or 27*s.* the acre,

for potatoes, they are unconscionable. I agree with the parochial clergy of Munster, in their honest indignation at the perusal of such charges; they are enormous, uncharitable, and unchristian: the next question is, where these charges have been found?....In the returns of the judge, or of the proper officer, appointed by the proper court to try bills or petitions under the compensation act; charges, which by the act must be the usual charges of three years back, and which must be verified by affidavit; so that this manifesto is nothing more than a declaration, that the prices reported by the judges or triers, and verified by the oath of the parsons, or their witnesses, do greatly exceed the real prices, and are gross falsehoods; that is, that the witnesses in these cases concerned for the clergy, have been guilty of perjury. But as this is impossible, we must suppose, that these prices are not chargeable with falsehood, but so chargeable with excess, that they become incredible from their enormity; and thus this declaration of the parochial clergy of Munster is nothing more than a manifesto against the exactions of their own body. These clergymen.... these tithe-farmers....or these tithe-proctors, who have recovered under this act, and who by themselves or their witnesses, have sworn to such scandalous charges, should take notice, that they are proclaimed by the parochial clergy of Munster, at the annual visitation assembled; that the prices demanded by said persons, are proclaimed and stigmatized, and publickly disavowed and reprobated by the bishops and the clergy of the province of Munster, at their annual visitation assembled; that these prices are pronounced not only to exceed what they themselves demand, but to exceed their demand in a very high degree, to be not only exorbitant charges, but incredible calumnies....Miraculous! that the clergy of Munster, with their six bishops, unconsciously led, but happily influenced, meaning only to attack a member of parliament, should, by a blind, but heaven-directed zeal, pronounce ecclesiastical and episcopal judgment against unconscionable tithe. See the first fruits of the zeal of a layman, and the temerity of a bishop.

The parochial clergy of Munster, having in the first paragraph of their manifesto, affirmed a universal proposition, are advised in the second, to give that paragraph a contradiction. they are of opinion, that the prices set forth in the speech, and denied in the manifesto, may exist notwithstanding; but if they do, they are only apparently high, and are really justifiable. In the first paragraph, they are advised to decide against their existence and moderation. "They greatly exceed the prices demanded, they are false, they are calumnious." In the second, they are advised to change their opinions with respect to both; they may not be false, they may be justifiable....the contradic-

tion is of little moment; the justification must be observed upon: is 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 27*s.* an acre for potatoes, justifiable? Have the provincial clergy of Munster, with six bishops at their head, come forth to tell us this? Have the parochial clergy of Munster come forth to excuse extortion? Do the parochial clergy of Munster design by such a justification, to recommend themselves either in or out of their province, to those who are, or to those who are not, acquainted with their persons, and who are yet to be acquainted with their moderation? I did hope, that the parochial clergy of Munster, at their annual visitation assembled, would have held a different language, and instead of reading newspapers, or answering pamphlets, would have employed those sage and sacred moments to restrain exaction, and to animadvert on improper ministers. Here I see and lament that fatal spirit of corps, which arms the enemies, and discomfits the real friends of the church. The reverend and learned body read in the pamphlet, certain figures of unjust prices, with natural indignation. But they were brought to recollect, that these prices might be the charges of a brother churchman. In their capacity, as men and gentlemen, they abhor: in their corporate capacity as priests, they are advised to apologize; hence a confusion of style from a distraction of sentiment; hence the printer, who puts down the figures of certain prices is guilty: the minister who exacts them....innocent. A piece of money, which in numbers tells as exaction, being deposited in the pious hand of a spiritual pastor, undergoes a sort of transubstantiation, and is only apparently high, while the clerical offender is acquitted by a miracle, and this miraculous benefit of clergy is extended to the lay, as well as the ecclesiastical owners of tithe; and to all the low and wretched train of persons of various professions and religions, connected with its collection. I excuse the zeal of the parochial clergy of Munster, I say nothing of their discretion. I applaud the first motions of their heart: I am sure the majority of them scorn to practise what they are influenced to extenuate: but do not these worthy men perceive, that while they insist on the moderation of such practices, they may bring into question the moderation of their own principles, and teach the public to fear, lest these prices, which are now the subject of their Defence, may become hereafter the object of their imitation? The progress of exaction is well known: from general indignation to special toleration; from special toleration to general adoption. I own I see the necessity of my bill *now*, emphatically *now*; just at the critical period before those high charges have become a general practice; and when they begin to receive a degree of countenance; when the balance of charity trepidates in episcopal hands; when Exaction has not lost all her native horrors, and yet is growing somewhat familiar to their eyes; is only apparently high....probably justifiable.

The parochial clergy of Munster proceed: they say, they do not believe, that in the whole province of Munster, there exist, of prices unusually high, three or even two instances. The parochial clergy of Munster do not believe that throughout the whole province of Munster, in the counties of Cork, Tipperary, Limerick, Kerry, or Clare, in all the livings, lay, as well as ecclesiastic, among all the owners of tithe, clergymen, lay-impropriators, tithe-proctors, tithe farmers, or sub-tithe farmers, there exist of prices unusually high, three or even two instances. I respect the parochial clergy, and marvel, that so grave a body should have been induced to commit itself on so extraordinary an assertion.

The declaimers for tithe have represented the landlords of Ireland as extortioners, these are the lay-impropriators; the same declaimers have represented the middle-men as extortioners, these are the tithe-farmers: do these descriptions of men, the landlords, who are extortioners, the middle-men, who are extortioners, put on a new nature when they come in contact with tithe, and derive the virtue of moderation from the contagion of a property the best formed to prompt, reward, and conceal exaction? This is infallibility! denied indeed to the doctrine of the priesthood, but now transferred to the property of the church. Here again breaks out that spirit of corps, which always exposes the church; there is no extravagant conclusion to which it will not lead men in certain situations, though of excellent understandings. But, to wave the rashness of such an assertion, had not the parochial clergy of Munster their own experience to direct them? Had they never made the ratage or value of church benefices any part of their private meditation? Had they not the returns admitted to be made in 1786, to direct them? There, every where, they could have discovered their error. What! in the whole province of Munster they do not believe that of prices unusually high, there exist three or even two instances? Admit their position, and they are ruined; all are alike, 12*s*. 14*s*. 16*s*. 20*s*. or 27*s*. the acre, for potatoes, are, according to this, not the unusual charges of a few, but the extortions of all. Never was such an attack published against the southern clergy, as this manifesto propagated by themselves; and, lest such a paper should extend or descend to prejudice the clergy with the present and with future times, let me interpose a moment, and rescue their character from their vindication; unable as I find myself in this step to support their discretion, let me say something in favour of their truth and moderation; and, in contradiction to the first paragraph of their manifesto, let me assure you, that the prices sworn to by some of the clergy, or their witnesses, however high, were truly set forth by the same; but, let me add, in contradiction to the third

paragraph, that those prices were unusually high; the extortions of the particular men, not of the body in general; and, for the sake of the body in general, and the individuals in particular, let me hope their manifesto may meet with but little regard.

Having ceased to assert, the manifesto proceeds to interrogate. When a grave and respectable body of men propound questions, they deserve answers, even though the questions themselves are of little moment. The parochial clergy of Munster interrogate, whether a want of moderation in some (supposing, what they do not allow, such want to exist) bespeaks a want of moderation in all; without adverting to the rules of logic, and consulting merely the character of the clergy of the south, particularly some of the subscribers, I should immediately answer in the negative; but, if I paid any attention to the manifesto, I should answer in the affirmative; because in part of that unlucky production, I find that the exactions of the few, though not according to the practice, do not appear sufficiently offensive to the principles of the many, but are stated as probably justifiable; it is therefore only by rejecting their Defence that we can answer their question to their satisfaction or their credit. The parochial clergy of Munster ask, whether the want of moderation in some (if any) will account for the indiscriminate attack made on the body? To this question I lament that no answer can be given, because all enquiry was, and is now resisted by some of that very quarter, from whence the question has proceeded. We cannot determine, however we may surmise, that high charges in some instances on the peasant's subsistence, tithed in no other part of Ireland, might have excited discontents which go generally beyond the region of their causes, and spread by contagion. The parochial clergy of Munster ask, whether the want of moderation, if any, in some, will justify every species of violence, combination, and exaction? To whom do they apply this question? To government, who gave them troops; to the legislature, that gave them a riot act, and a white-boy act, and a magistracy and two compensation-acts? Are the parochial clergy of Munster, aware of the force, the influence, the expence, and the high penal nature of these measures? And how the constitution bled, and the springs of justice well nigh cracked, while we listened to such suggestions? Do I condemn them? No. After some necessary qualifications and amendment, I voted for most of them. Whatever right the rest of the community may have to expostulate with me on this subject, they have none. I voted, under the pressure of the times, for temporary coercion, before enquiry; and I did hope the clergy would not have opposed me in moving for subsequent enquiry,

to prevent the continuation and repetition of coercion. The parochial clergy of Munster ask, whether exaction will justify outrage? I own I am at a loss to discover their provocation for such an interrogatory. Versed, as they certainly are, in the science of ethics, they undoubtedly must know, that crimes justify their punishment, not one another. Exaction will not justify robbery, nor robbery exaction. When the southern clergy applied to government for troops, to the legislature for capital punishments, they said, "Suppress the insurgent by arms, "punish the robber by death," and we listened to them. When they come forth a second time, with a tarnished display of past sufferings, and with a peevish interrogatory, "Whether exac- "tion will justify every species of cruelty," they mean nothing; or, they do mean, "Be tender of the exacter....do not enquire "into his transgressions....let his sufferings be a set-off against "his offences:" and here we cannot listen to them; otherwise civil society, contrary I am sure to their intentions, would cease to be a system of reward and punishment, and would become nothing more than a scale of iniquity; from exaction to tumult, and from tumult suppressed, to exaction triumphant! disgusting extremes! A bishop bawling for tithe, or a whiteboy for rebellion.

The parochial clergy of Munster ask, whether a want of moderation in some, will justify a crimination of the whole body? which crimination they affirm to be the great object and end of the speech alluded to. To this most serious and unmerited reflection, I answer, that I did arraign many of the tithe-farmers, many of the tithe-proctors, and some of the clergy of the south; but that I did not arraign the majority of the latter description, on the contrary, declared I presumed the majority to be innocent. I may add, that some of their subscribing dignitaries were present; the manifesto then is liable to this observation, that it has brought forward the misrepresentation of my speech, and that it has omitted to bring forward the fact. I am glad, however, that the parochial clergy of Munster, by their question, declare they disapprove of general charges, founded on some particular instances; but this concession will subject them to a keen retort from various descriptions of his majesty's subjects: and first, from all the peasantry of Munster, who will ask, whether the turbulence of some peasants justified a certain quarter in resisting an enquiry into the distresses of the body at large? and whether those excesses justified the declaimers for tithe in representing the peasantry of Munster as one vast confederated Popish banditti? It will expose them to another question from the landlords of Ireland, who may ask, whether the rack-rent of some justified those declaimers for tithe in representing the landlords of Ireland in general as extortioners? It

will expose them to another question from all the Presbyterians, who may ask, whether the rising of soms Popish peasants in the south, justified the advocates for tithes in proclaiming the Presbyterians of the north, and indeed the whole Presbyterian community, as labouring under an incapacity of being sincere friends to the constitution? It will expose them to another question from the Roman Catholics, who will ask, whether such risings as above, justified the advocates for tithes in representing the whole Catholic community as inimical to the constitution, and incredible on their oaths? What description of subjects that has not been traduced? What character that has not been outraged? Offend their God, and some men will absolve; offend their property, and they persecute. I am glad that the parochial clergy of Munster have felt the impropriety, though I should be sorry they ever should feel the lash of general reflections, founded on particular instances: and I sincerely hope it will be a lesson to some of their bishops in future not to make, and a lesson to some of the clergy not to countenance such general reflection. I agree with the parochial clergy of Munster such reflections are matter of censure in a printer; but I go a step further....I do not think them matter of thanksgiving in a bishop.

The parochial clergy of Munster complain, that all means have been used to give currency to unmerited censure, and to impose a stigma on the clergy of Munster. They are right, but let them direct their complaints to the proper objects: let them turn to those who helped certain ponderous publications on their side, through a series of heavy editions: let them turn to their own hot and hazardous pilots: let them expostulate with their own stars, those cloudy luminaries, under whose angry influence worthy men have sought those rocks on which they fear, vainly I hope, the wreck of their reputation. Let them turn to those who advised some amongst them to resist the interest of the manufacturer, by petitioning against a modus for flax; to resist the interest of the husbandman, by petitioning against a bill for the improvement of barren land; to those who attempted to commit the established church, with the whole Catholic community, by declaring the individuals who compose it to be incredible on oath, and with the whole Presbyterian community, by declaring both to be inimical to the constitution of the realm. Turn to those who spirited up worthy men to express their approbation of such illaudable productions. Turn to those who have now spirited up grave and worthy men to come forward with this empty manifesto. The clergy, no doubt, have reason to complain of the paper war: they have found, in a country, where reason may write, the palm is not to the powerful; their antagonists have reached them, but the

worst wound came from their own quarter; the pompous folly, the dogmatical and intolerant spirit, the false alarm spread, the unfounded charge made, the want of discretion, the want of decorum, and the want of temper. There is something which distinguishes an ecclesiastical war on the subject of property; a miraculous degree of perseverance, a marvellous portion of fire, a certain turbulence of zeal, and an appetite for the thing in controversy, which is not only keen but ferocious. However, if their own publications have hurt them, the injury is not great; none of them have been read, that are not now forgotten; the brief children of temporal desires, they have tasted of death, even in the life time of their ghostly fathers.

To the nobility and gentry of Munster, the parochial clergy appeal. Why not the poor? do they not pay tithe? do not their potatoe gardens pay tithe? The Saviour of man would not have passed them by. Had he only appealed to the nobility and gentry of Judæa, he must have overlooked his own apostles. Had the parochial clergy of Munster been left to themselves, their appeal would have taken a more evangelic direction; but when potentates prescribe, when certain dignitaries, long in the habits of courtly application suggest, the parochial clergy are controlled, and those right reverend spiritual politicians present, as usual, their faces to the great, and habitually turn from the poor and the Lord; they overlook Lazarus expiring at their feet, and call on Dives to give his sense on the subject of charity. Have the parochial clergy forgotten, that, by some of their own writers, these noblemen and gentlemen have been represented as the patrons of exaction, though now the poor are referred to them, as the arbiters of moderation. I am sure the landed interest was grossly misrepresented, I am glad the parochial clergy of Munster are sensible of it. But it is not such men that can establish the clergy's character for moderation, because such men are seldom the object of their exaction; it is the poor, to whom they do not appeal, it is the cottager's voice, the peasant's testimony; or, (since he is not allowed to be credible on oath) his simple affirmative; or, (since he must not speak his native language) his hands uplifted in their favour: these are the best witnesses to prove the moderation of the clergy of Munster.

The parochial clergy of Munster inform you, that the church is attacked; they tell you more, that religion is attacked; and they tell you how, because an attack, as they conceive, has been made on themselves. They annex the existence of the church, and the divinity of religion, to the importance of their own persons. With every respect for the parochial clergy of Munster, I cannot accede to the irreverent and vulgar familiarity with which controversialists on their side are prone to

introduce and make common cause with the the Almighty. Let bigots rail, let polemics revile, let headlong zealots vociferate, but the parochial clergy of Munster will agree with me, that licentiousness should be confined to the human species, and that the majesty of the Godhead should remain inviolate. What, is there nothing in our religion, nothing in its external, nothing in its internal evidence, nothing in its miracles, prophecies, propagation, doctrine, and diction, to raise its author above the possibility of being affected by the paper war, and wretched controversy, in which some idle ecclesiastics may have involved themselves? He has prevailed against greater enemies, the pride of the high priest, the servility of the bishop. But it should seem that it was not religion which supported the parson, but the parson that supported religion. The error, however, is natural and common; the politician thinks the state rests on his shoulders; and the dignified divine imagines the church and the Christian religion, the firmament and starry sphere to dance round his person and property. It is a matter of curiosity to know what, on the present occasion, has endangered the Christian religion; an anonymous pamphlet against tithe, and a motion to enquire into the sufferings of the poor; for this is the Godhead brought out from his shrine, and exposed as an outwork in defence of church property. However, if their religion is so connected with every step they take, they have the remedy within themselves; let them agree to such acts as will benefit the community; or let them cease to oppose every act that has a tendency to relieve or to enquire. Once more I offer a public enquiry; I solicit once more redress for the peasantry of this country. I offer a bill appointing commissioners for that salutary purpose....Do the clergy of Munster decline the offer? What, are they afraid of an enquiry? Will they shelter themselves under a court? Have they come forth with a manifesto, and do they now deprecate an examination? Once more I offer it, and I add, that if this bill should pass, and commissioners should be appointed, the clergy will be made sensible that we are friends to the provision of the church, as well as to the relief of the people.

No. LXXXIV.

DECLARATION OF THE CATHOLIC SOCIETY OF DUBLIN...P. 304.

Dublin, October 21st, 1791.

IN the present enlightened and improved period of society, it is not for the Irish Roman Catholics alone to continue silent. Not accused of any crime; not conscious of any delinquency, they suffer a privation of rights and conveniences, the penalty reserved in wise states for offences of atrocious magnitude. It does not become them, whilst with liberality ever to be gratefully remembered, many descriptions of their fellow-citizens compassionate their situation, to seem indifferent to the desirable, and they hope, not distant event of their emancipation. They wish to ascertain upon what terms they may venture to settle in a country, which they love with the rational preference of men, not the simplicity of puerile acquiescence. It is not for the Irish Catholics, armed as their cause is with reason and justice, like public foes to seek advantage from public calamity. They ought to advance their claim at a time most favourable to discussion, when the condition of the empire is flourishing and tranquil. They might seem culpable to their country, if affecting to dissemble what it were unmanly not to feel, they reserved their pretensions in ambuscade to augment the perplexities of some critical emergency. They would be culpable to posterity, if they omitted to profit of the general inclination of public sentiment. They would be culpable to themselves, if they suffered an imputation to subsist, that in the extent of the British territory, they alone submit without repining, to a mortifying and oppressive bondage, degrading to themselves, and pernicious to their country. They conceive, that in the present state of things, their silence might be received as evidence of such dispositions.

Influenced by these considerations, and instructed by a recent transaction, that although laws may be shameful and preposterous; for even in a philosophic age there will be bigots and tyrants, where the votaries of freedom are most sanguine. A number of Roman Catholics, resident in Dublin, have formed themselves into a society, which they invite their fellow sufferers throughout the nation to unite with, which shall have for its object to consider, and individually to support with all their zeal and personal influence, such measures, not inconsistent

with their duty to the civil magistrate, as shall appear likely to relieve them from the oppressions and disqualifications imposed in this country on persons professing the Roman Catholic religion. We therefore do unanimously resolve,

That we will, to the utmost of our power, endeavour, by all legal and constitutional means, to procure the repeal of the laws by which we are aggrieved, as Roman Catholics. That we will promote repeated application to every branch of the legislature for that purpose; and assist such application by all means of legal influence, which it shall at any time be possible for us to exert.

It would be tedious, it might be disgusting, to recount each individual grievance under which we suffer. The Roman Catholics seem preserved in this land but as a source of revenue. The whole legislative, the whole executive, the whole judicial powers of the state, are in the hands of men, over whom they have no control; and with whom they can have little intercourse. They are prohibited to engage in any mode of industry from which it is possible to debar them, or which is worth the monopoly. They are restricted in the education of their children. As conscientious we cannot lightly abandon our religion, as prudent men we hesitate to engage in controversial study; the wisest have been bewildered in such pursuits, and they are for the most part incompatible with our necessary occupations. Nor is there any moral advantage held out as an inducement to change our creed: it is not pretended that we should become better men, or more dutiful subjects, but merely experimentalists in religion seek to gratify their caprice by forcing us from our habits of education into the perplexing labyrinth of theology.

The liberty of Ireland to those of our communion is calamity, and their misfortunes seem likely to encrease, as the country shall improve in prosperity and freedom. They may look with envy to the subjects of an arbitrary monarch, and contrast that government, in which one great tyrant ravages the land, with the thousand inferior despots whom at every instant they must encounter. They have the bustle and cumbersome forms without the advantages of liberty. The octennial period, at which the delegated trust of legislation is revoked, and his importance restored to the constituent, returns but to disturb their tranquillity, and revive the recollection of their debasement. All the activity, all the popular acts of electioneering canvas, enforce the idea of their insignificance; they exemplify it too: witness the various preferences given by persons of rank to not always the most deserving among our Protestant countrymen, a preference nearly as detrimental to the independent Protestants as to us.

There exists not in their behalf any control over power. They have felt the truth of this assertion, when in this age of toleration, even within the last eight years, several new penal statutes have been enacted against them.

They experience it daily, not alone in the great deliberations of the nation, and in the little concerns of public money for the service of the state, but in the local imposition of county and parochial taxes. We appeal to our rulers, we appeal to Ireland, we appeal to Europe, if we deserve a place in society, should we seem willing to insinuate that such a situation is not severely unacceptable.

We are satisfied that the mere repeal of the laws against us will prove but feebly beneficial, unless the act be sanctioned by the concurrence of our Protestant brethren, and those jealousies removed by which the social intercourse of private life is interrupted. It is time we should cease to be distinct nations, forcibly enclosed within the limits of one island. It shall be a capital object of our institution to encourage the spirit of harmony, and sentiments of affection, which the ties of common interest, and common country, ought, ere now, to have inspired. Countrymen! too long have we suffered ourselves to be opposed in rival factions to each other, the sport of those who felt no tenderness for either. Why should diversity of sentiment, so usual where the matter in debate is abstruse or important, separate those whom heaven placed together for mutual benefit and consolation? Objects, material in their day, produced hostility between our ancestors. The causes of that discord have ceased to exist; let the enmity too perish. Let it be the duty of present and future ages to prevent the recurrence of such unnatural and calamitous dissension; except in the actual discharge of the religious duties, which conscience renders inevitable, we wish there never shall be found a trace of that, which may possibly divide us into distinct communities.

The ill effects of these restrictions are not confined to those of our religion; they extend to every individual, and every public body in the nation; under the weight of them, industry, under their influence, public spirit is enervated. It is the interest of every man in Ireland that the entire code should be abolished. It is the interest of the crown, as it must promote the general happiness of the subjects. It is the interest of the great, as it will serve to tranquillize the country, and to encourage industry: it is the additional interest of the middle and inferior ranks, as it must impart new importance to their sentiments, and to the expression of their sentiments; we call upon every order of the state, not alone by their benevolence and justice, but by their patriotism and self-interest, to co-operate with our exertions.

It adds the insult of mockery to the misfortune of the Irish Catholics, that the number of persons aggrieved, in every other instance an inducement to redress, is a reason alleged to procrastinate their relief, and an argument used to impose silence on their murmurs: is it their act, that a multitude of Irishmen are aggregated by common grievance, and classed in one great community of fellow-sufferers? Why accuse them of hostility to the constitution? They earnestly solicit to participate in its advantages. Why suspect them of enmity to their country? They desire entirely to incorporate themselves with it, to contract closer ties, which shall decide them to consign their posterity irrevocably to its bosom. We envy not its endowments to the established church; adversity has instructed us, that all the consolations which are promised, are most faithfully and tenderly administered by the pastors with moderate appointments, a free gift of gratitude to the kindest benefactors. Fastidiously excluded from the constitution, we can pronounce on it but as aliens, by speculation. We discern in it the means of much happiness; we regret that its symmetry is not complete; a chasm remains which might be filled with advantage by the Roman Catholics; we have neither passion nor interest at variance with the order of things it professes to establish. We desire only that property in our hands may have its natural weight, and merit in our children its rational encouragement. We have sworn allegiance to our sovereign, and the very evils we complain of prove how inviolable is our attachment to such obligation. We respect the peerage, the ornament of the state, and the bulwark of the people, interposing, as we hope the Irish Catholics will experience, mediatory good offices between authority and the objects of it. We solicit a share of interest in the existence of the commons. Do you require an additional test? We offer one more unequivocal than a volume of abjurations....we hope to be free, and will endeavour to be united. Do you require new proofs of our sincerity? We stood by you in the exigencies of our country. We extend our hands, the pledge of cordiality. Who is he that calls himself a friend to Ireland, and will refuse us?

We feel ourselves justified in this association: the period draws near when it will be fit the Irish Catholics approach the legislature with respectful solicitations. It is meet that those who suffer should confer, in order to ascertain the means and matter of redress likely to prove at once satisfactory and successful. It is insinuated, that some of our Protestant brethren are adverse to our emancipation; it is meet we should investigate the grounds of this strange assertion. The laws that have separated us from our countrymen, destroying our intercourse with bodies constituted by authority, leave us no other manner

to collect, or to convey the general sense of our grievances, than this of a self-created society. We mean not to interfere with the harmony now happily subsisting through the nation: if the applications on our behalf are complied with, we can never have occasion: if rejected, we cannot have an interest to interrupt it. Engaged for the most part in the various departments of commerce, we are concerned not less than any other class of citizens, to cultivate the blessings of tranquillity; individually, we have more at stake than some, who presume to falsify our motives, and calumniate our actions. The Roman Catholic body measured strength with the power of the state, and was vanquished, when it possessed a force that never can be exerted, and was opposed to enemies far less numerous than it now should encounter. The confiscations of that period are confirmed to the present occupiers by immemorial possessions, by the utter impossibility of ascertaining the original proprietors, by the personal and pecuniary interest of almost every Roman Catholic in the land to maintain the settlement. Many of our communion already have, and still more are likely to expend their property on titles derived under these forfeitures. It is not from the wealthy, attached to their present enjoyment, that commotion is to be apprehended. It is not from the industrious; a single year of anarchy must prove fatal to their competence. It is not from the poor, a wretched band of slaves, mouldering under these bad laws, and only made use of to degrade the Irish Catholics to a rabble, when it is convenient to despise them. We are willing to forget that any beside the present race ever existed in this island. We long have been willing to forget it, if our recollection were not kept alive by what we suffer, and by the celebration of festivals, memorable only as they denote the æra and the events, from whence we date our bondage.

We will endeavour by temperate, by unremitting assiduity, to procure the benefit of that constitution, which, of our fellow-subjects, is denied alone to those of our persuasion. We are amenable to all the decress of the state; we contribute to all its exigencies; we are still to be informed upon what grounds its advantages are made a monopoly to our exclusion. We challenge an investigation of our principles and conduct; we feel not ourselves; we know not that there is in our brethren a deficiency of manly spirit, of capacity or virtue; which ought to assign to the Irish Roman Catholics an inferior rank among the creatures of our common Father. If we have a crime, it is to have slept over our chains; our cause is the cause of justice, and our country. We solicit counsel and assistance from all to whom these sacred names do not present themselves unheeded.

To the patronage of the lettered we peculiarly recommend ourselves; where talents have arisen among us, they have been compelled to seek refuge in a foreign country, or they have perished in their infancy, robbed of the hope that animates; curtailed of the education that invigorates them. We claim as of right, the benefit of open trial and candid discussion; even amidst the cares of legislating for an extensive empire, the British senate did not refuse its attention to the unfortunate exiles of Africa. If in this enlightened age it is still our doom to suffer, we submit; but at least let us learn what imputation of crimes can instigate, or what motives of expedience can account for the denunciation of that heavy judgment. That if loyalty, which strong temptations could never alienate; if exemplary good conduct under the most trying circumstances; if reverence to a constitution which in our native land we are forbidden to approach, be insufficient to remove unjust aspersions, and entitle us to the kindness and confidence of our brethren, we may be at least instructed how we should atone for what we cannot deem inexpiable, the political errors or misfortunes of our ancestors.

By order of the Society,

THEOBALD M'KENNA.

No. LXXXV.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN IN 1791.

[P. 304.]

1st. THIS Society is constituted for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and an union of power among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty.

2d. The members of this society shall either be ordinary or honorary, and shall not be limited to any description of men, but to extend to all persons who may be deemed eligible.


UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
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